

# Selected Writings of Vladimir Minorsky

---

V. F. Minorsky, the renowned Iranist, published these 29 studies in a variety of journals between the years 1915 and 1967. While his work focused mainly on Iran, his interests included Iran's neighbors, and he made valuable contributions to Turkish, Mongol, Caucasian, Kurdish, Armenian, and Byzantine studies as well. For an appreciation of Minorsky's work, see the excellent entry by C. E. Bosworth (2004) online at *Encyclopaedia Iranica*: [Minorsky, Vladimir Fed'orovich](#) (1877-1966).

---

## *Caucasica series*

[Caucasica in the History of Mayyafariqin](#) [Caucasica I] from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XIII, 1(1949) pp. 27-35, in 10 pdf pages.

[Caucasica II](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1951), pp. 868-877, in 11 pdf pages. Contents: 1. The Georgian Maliks of Ahar; 2. The Princes Orbeli in Persia.

[Caucasica III: The Alan Capital \\*Magas and the Mongol Campaigns](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1952), pp. 221-238, in 19 pdf pages.

[Caucasica IV](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XV, 3(1953) pp. 504-529. [Discusses Sahl ibn Sunbat of Shakki and Arran; the Caucasian vassals of Marzuban in 344/955], in 27 pdf pages.

---

[Transcaucasica](#), from *Journal Asiatique* (1930) vol. 217 pp. 41-112. Minorsky revisited some of the topics presented in this French-language article in later works; others are treated only in this article. Topics include: the name of Dvin; Sogdabil and Ardabil; the fortress of Alinjak and the Hamsa valley, Tamerlane's campaigns in the Caucasus. Includes title page, table of contents, article, and several maps in 77 pdf pages.

[La domination des Dailamites](#). This important monograph was published as the third volume in the series *Publications de la société des études iraniennes et de l'art persan* (Paris, 1932). Includes a map and plates in 28 pdf pages.

[Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Jul., 1933), pp. 643-650, in 9 pdf pages.

[The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-Marjān](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1937), pp. 141-150, in 11 pdf pages.

[A Persian Geographer of A. D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia](#), from *Geographical Journal*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Sep., 1937), pp. 259-264, in 7 pdf pages.

[Geographical Factors in Persian Art](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1938), pp. 621-652, in 33 pdf pages.

[A "Soyūrghāl" of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu \(903/1498\)](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1939), pp. 927-960, in 36 pdf pages.

---

[Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī on Finance](#), by M. Minovi and V. Minorsky from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1940), pp. 755-789, in 36 pdf pages.

[Some Early Documents in Persian \(I and II\)](#), from *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Oct., 1942), pp. 181-194 and *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Apr., 1943), pp. 86-99, in 31 pdf pages.

[The Guran](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1943), pp. 75-103, in 30 pdf pages. Study of a Persian-speaking people in the southeastern and southern fringes of Kurdish settlement.

[Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* XI, 2(1944) pp. 243-265.

[Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1945), pp. 550-578, in 30 pdf pages.

[The Tribes of Western Iran](#), from *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 75, No. 1/2 (1945), pp. 73-80, in 12 pdf pages.

---

[Jihān-Shāh Qara-Qoyunlu and His Poetry \(Turkmenica, 9\)](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1954), pp. 271-297, in 28 pdf pages.

[A Mongol Decree of 720/1320 to the Family of Shaykh Zāhid](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1954), pp. 515-527, in 14 pdf pages.

[Addenda to the Hudud al-'Alam](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1955), pp. 250-270, in 22 pdf pages.

[The Qara-qoyunlu and the Qutb-shāhs \(Turkmenica, 10\)](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1955), pp. 50-73, in 25 pdf pages.



[The Aq-qoyunlu and Land Reforms](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1955), pp. 449-462, in 15 pdf pages.

[Mongol Place-Names in Mukri Kurdistan](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1957), pp. 58-81, in 25 pdf pages.

[Shaykh Bālī-efendi on the Safavids](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 1/3 (1957), pp. 437-450, in 15 pdf pages.

[A New Book on the Khazars](#), from *Oriens*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2 (Dec. 31, 1958), pp. 122-145, in 25 pdf pages. Courteous yet highly critical review of D. M. Dunlop's *History of the Jewish Khazars* (1954).

---

[Ahl-i Hakk](#), from *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1(1960), pp. 260-263. [Discusses a heterodox religious faith practised in Asia Minor, the Caucasus, northern Mesopotamia, and western Iran]

[Vīs u Rāmīn, a Parthian Romance](#), in 58 pdf pages. Includes Minorsky's four articles with this title published between 1946 and 1962 in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.

[A Greek Crossing on the Oxus](#), from *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Fiftieth Anniversary Volume (1967), pp. 45-53, in 10 pdf pages.

---

[Курды. заметки и впечатления Kurdy. заметки i vpechatleniya \[The Kurds: Notes and Impressions\]](#) (Petrograd, 1915). Russian-language study in 53 pdf pages with a map. Topics include: Kurdish history, settlements, customs, religion, position of women, relations with Russia, etc.

---

Available at Internet Archive (archive.org) are additional translations and studies by Minorsky, including selections from the *Hudud al-Alam (The Regions of the World)*, *A Persian Geography 372 A. H.—982 A.D.*; *Studies in Caucasian History* (Cambridge, 1953); and *A History of Sharvan and Darband in the 10th-11th Centuries* (Cambridge, 1958): [Minorsky's works at Internet Archive](#).

---

Compiled by Robert Bedrosian, 2018

---

This material is presented solely for non-commercial educational/research purposes.



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqīn

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (1949), pp. 27-35

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609061>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:53 UTC

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



*School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge University Press* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

## Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqīn

By V. MINORSKY

**M**AYYĀFĀRIQĪN, a small town situated on one of the left tributaries of the Tigris, at 70 km. to the north-east of Āmid (Diyārbakr), owed its importance to its situation on a short road connecting Armenia (Mush) with Upper Mesopotamia. It is probable that the ancient capital of Armenia, Tigranocerta, built by Tigran II *circa* 80 B.C., stood in the immediate neighbourhood of Mayyāfāriqīn.<sup>1</sup>

In Islamic times Mayyāfāriqīn had a historian, Aḥmad b. Yūsuf b. ‘Alī ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī, who wrote shortly after 572/1176. The only two copies of this curious work belong to the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> The detailed description of the work and the first systematic presentation of its contents belong to that accurate British historian H. F. Amedroz, who has so considerably increased our knowledge of the medieval Arabic sources for the Near East.<sup>3</sup> Numerous passages from Ibn al-Azraq are quoted by Amedroz in the footnotes of his edition of Ibn al-Qalānīsī (1908). In more recent years M. Canard has published six passages of the history of Mayyāfāriqīn relative to Sayf al-daula <sup>4</sup> and Claude Cahen has summed up its rich information on the early \*Artuqids.<sup>5</sup>

These preparatory works will greatly help the future editor of the Mayyāfāriqīn chronicle. His task will not be easy, for the two versions are defective and divergent, and the best plan will be to print them in parallel columns. The script of Or. 6310 is very cursive and devoid of dots; that of Or. 5803 is defaced towards the end. The scribes were negligent even in geographical and personal names. The grammar of the author (or of his copyists) is lax and may occupy the attention of some student of vulgar Arabic in Upper Mesopotamia.<sup>6</sup>

The object of the present article is limited to grouping together the passages

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, “Maiyāfāriqīn” in *EI.*, and A. Manandian, *Tigran II i Rim*, Yerevan, 1943, pp. 42–6.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 5803 (200 fol. almost complete), and Or. 6310 (covering only 170 ff. of Or. 5803 in a slightly abridged form, and with numerous variants). It is likely, however, that Or. 6310 represents the original draft of the chronicler. A table of concordances of the two MSS. prepared by Amedroz is attached to Or. 6310.

<sup>3</sup> See his articles in the *JRAS.*, 1902, 783–812 (general account of the History of Mayyafariqin), and 1903, 123–154 (history of the Marwānids) with an appendix by J. Marquart, *ibid.*, 1909, 170–6.

<sup>4</sup> Sayf al-daula, *Recueil de textes*, Alger, 1934, 71–8, 208–10, 257, 276–280, 283–5.

<sup>5</sup> *JA.*, October 1935, 219–276. The former reading *Ortuq* is apparently incorrect but the Georgian chronicle, Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i/1, 369, spells *Ordukh*.

<sup>6</sup> One can quote: (a) such irregularities in numerals as: عشر فوارس، عشرة الف دينار; (b) verbs in the plural before collective nouns: وثبوا القسوس، وثبوا الاكراد; (c) the use of rigid وكان اجتمع، وكان قد نقذوا: كان.

bearing on Caucasian affairs. The great interest of Ibn al-Azraq is that he had a personal knowledge of Transcaucasia, for in 548–9/1153–4 he was in the employment of the king of Georgia Dimitri (1125–1156). On Armenia he was well informed through his association with the Turkoman rulers (the Artuqids, the Shāh-Arman of Akhlāt and the lesser amirs). At the period when he lived the Christian kingdom of Georgia, under its \*Abkhazian dynasty<sup>1</sup> was rapidly rising to the zenith of its power. The strong kings of the Bagratid dynasty were :—

David IV the Restorer (1089–1125)  
his son Dimitri I (1125–1156)  
his son Giorgi III (1156–1184).

By that time the great Seljuks were gone and their *epigoni* were eclipsed by their former vassals. The latter, when united, represented a serious force, but the Georgians, with their allies and vassals from Northern Caucasus (the Qipchaq Turks), could cope with any ephemeral coalitions. Only with the rise of the atabeks of Azarbayjan (the Eldiguzids) was a brake put on the Georgian expansion in two directions : to the South—towards the Armenian lands deprived of their independence by the Muslims ; and to the East—towards the Caspian sea. It is true that the rulers of Shirvan had been linked to the Georgians by family ties ; but Ganja,<sup>2</sup> on the Georgians' right flank, formed a brake on the forward policy of the Christian kings.

The highest point of expansion was reached in the reign of Giorgi III's daughter, the famous Queen Tamar (1184–1213) ; but she died on the eve of great ordeals. The Khwārazmshāh Jalāl al-dīn, whom the Mongols had driven beyond the Indus, suddenly appeared in north-western Iran, expelled the last Eldiguzid, invaded Georgia, took Tiflis, and temporarily confused the local issues. The Mongols were close on his heels and in 1220 the Georgians clashed with their vanguard for the first time. As in Persia and in Russia, the shroud of Mongol domination veiled the national life of Georgia.

The general tenour of the passages quoted below is mostly known from H. F. Amedroz's articles (see above), but an unabridged translation will clear up not a few details. Ibn al-Azraq's original passages are important, as they are often the source of the later epitomizers, such as Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (d. in 654/1256), Ibn Shaddād (wrote in 679/1280), and al-'Ayni (d. in 855/1451).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In this case *Abkhāz* has no ethnical meaning. In 975 the Bagratid prince Bagrat, whose mother was an Abkhazian princess, succeeded to the throne of Abkhazia. In 1008 he ascended the throne of Georgia (Karthli) and thus united the two kingdoms. The Bagratid family, native of Sper, in the Chorokh basin, ruled in Armenia, Georgia, and several other places.

<sup>2</sup> First under the Kurdish Shaddādids and then under the Seljuk princes and governors. On the Shaddādids see now Kasravi, *Pādshahān-i gum-nām*, iii, Tehran, 1308/1929.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brosset's *Histoire de la Géorgie* (i, St. Petersburg, 1849–1851), still unsurpassed in its wealth of quotations, and Defrémery's selection of Muslim texts on Transcaucasia, *JA.*, 1849, xii, 457–523 (chiefly I. Athir, years 514, 429, 517, 548, 550, 556, 557–8, 561, 599, 601, 602, 603, 605, 618, 619, 620, 622, 623, 624). The continuation of the series : 1849, xiv, 447–514 ; 1850, xvi, 50–75, 153–201 ; 1851, xvii, 105–162, does not bear on our subject.

## I

The important passage which I quote in the first place has been known in the versions of Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī (Defrémery, loc. cit., 485) and al-ʿAyni (Brosset, loc. cit., i/2, 239). The latter quotes Ibn Shaddād, and as H. F. Amedroz has established, he in his turn “drew from Ibn Azraq about a quarter of his contents”. The victory of King David the Restorer (1089–1125) took place in 1121–2 when Ibn al-Azraq must have been five years old, but the fact that in 1153 he visited the battlefield shows his interest in the event, and he must have had an account of it both from the Artuqid and the Georgian side, when recollections were still fresh.

After the Muslim conquest (in the second half of the seventh century) Tiflis was for a long time ruled by Arab governors.<sup>1</sup> Towards 215/850 Ishāq b. Ismāʿil (of Quraysh origin) became independent in Tiflis and the Caliph Mutawakkil sent against him his Turkish general, Bugha, who took the town in the autumn of 238/852.<sup>2</sup> Though surrounded by Christian territory the city remained in the hands of the Muslims, and between 210/825 and 331/942 Abbasid dirhams were struck in Tiflis. In 421/1030 the Georgians made an alliance with the Amir Jaʿfar of Tiflis, but soon King Bagrat IV (1027–1072) invested Tiflis, and after the death of Jaʿfar was admitted into the town.<sup>3</sup> In December 1068 the Seljuk sultan Alp-Arslan conquered Tiflis and gave it to the Shaddādid Faḍlūn, the former lord of Ganja. His rule was soon interrupted by the Georgians, but again Bagrat established in Tiflis a *Sithlaraba* (\*Sayyid al-ʿArab ?).<sup>4</sup> It was only in 515/1121–2 that King David II “the Restorer” finally occupied Tiflis, but the names of local “amirs”, apparently offspring of the house of Jaʿfar, are mentioned even in later times.

Ibn al-Azraq places the beginning of the rule of the Jaʿfarids *circa* 315/927. We have no information on the origin of the Amir Jaʿfar and do not know whether he was related to Ishāq ibn Ismāʿil. The forty years’ anarchy in Tiflis, of which our author speaks, should fit into the period between Faḍlūn’s uneasy, and apparently short, rule in Tiflis (after 1068) and the year 1121.

The detail of the appearance in Tiflis of a “protector” sent by Tughril ibn Muhammad is curious. This Seljuk king ruled only a short time, 526–8/1132–4, and the event must have taken place during the time when he sojourned in Arrān (the present day Soviet Azarbayjan) under the tutorship of his atabek Kün-toghdi.

The promise of the Seljuk Tughril ibn Muhammad to take part in the raid gives some interesting correspondences. When his brother Maḥmūd ascended

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, “Tiflis” in *EI*. The Georgian chronicle, Brosset, i/1, 367, is only approximate in saying that in 1122 David occupied “la ville de Tiflis qui avait été 400 ans au pouvoir des Persans”.

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, “Transcaucasica,” *JA*., juillet 1930, pp. 57–62 (where the detailed passage of Ṭabari, iii, 1414–16, is translated).

<sup>3</sup> Under 429/1037–8, I. Athir, ix, 311, says only that the Abkhaz king besieged Tiflis but had to abandon the siege for fear of the Ghuz.

<sup>4</sup> Brosset, loc. cit., i/1, 334.



the throne in 511/1118 Tughril was but a child. His first atabek was Shīr-gīr, lord of Zanjān and Abhar, but Kūn-toghdī got hold of his fief and took over his charge (I.A., x, 414; Bundari, 123). After Sanjar's visit to Rayy, Tughril received a fief consisting of Sāva, Qazvīn, Zanjān, Daylam, and Gilān (Bundari, 134). In 514 Tughril (or rather his atabek) revolted against Maḥmūd, moved into Azarbaijan and occupied Ganja. Kūn-toghdī died in Shawwal 515/Dec. 1121 and, although Tughril was supported by Shīrgīr and the lord of Marāgha, Aḥmadīl,<sup>1</sup> the revolt soon petered out. Consequently the reference of Ibn al-Azraq to Tughril as lord of Ganja and Arrān, is fully within the limits of the year A.D. 1121. The impossibility for Tughril to arrive before Tiflis must find an explanation in the fact that his plans were frustrated by the troops sent against him by Sultan Maḥmūd from Baghdad.<sup>2</sup> In Muharram 516 (March 1122) Tughril submitted to Maḥmūd (I.A., x, 421).

Our text suggests that after having sought protection from Tughril, the people of Tiflis admitted a "protector" sent by the king of Georgia. Against the latter they appealed to the Artuqid El-Ghāzī—with the result described in the passage quoted below.

On the reign of King Dimitri, both the official Georgian Annals (Brosset, i/1, 381) and the Armenian historians (Brosset, i/2, 244–8) give only very scanty information.<sup>3</sup> The distinguished numismatist Professor E. A. Pakhomov writes: "It is known that he succeeded in ousting the Seljuk garrisons from some fortresses in Georgia (Dmanisi, etc.) and in raiding some eastern marches. The trophy of his expedition to Ganja was the iron gate of that town still kept in the Gelathi monastery. On the other hand Dimitri lost Ani, temporarily conquered by his father. The Georgian chronicle is silent on his relations with the Seljuks, but the coins bear incontrovertible evidence of the fact that he

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, "Marāgha" in *EI*.

<sup>2</sup> I. Athir's account of the events (x, 398 and 434) is brief and in details differs from Ibn al-Azraq's. He first records Georgian raids against Muslims. The rulers interested, and among them Tughril, master of Arrān and Nakhichevan, and his atabek Kūn-toghdī, made a concerted plan for an expedition. A feigned surrender of some Qipchaqs provoked confusion in the ranks of the Muslims. Tughril is mentioned among those who escaped from the battle in 514/1120–1. After it David's siege of Tiflis lasted till 515. In 516 refugees, especially from Derbend in Shirvan, implored Sultan Maḥmūd to take the field against the Georgians. Mahmud marched from Hamadan to Shamākhī. His vazīr Shams al-mulk 'Othmān (son of Nizām al-mulk) was against further action, but the Georgians quarrelled with the Qipchaqs and after a time the sultan (in Jamādi ii 517/August 1123) returned to Hamadan. Cf. also Ibn Qalānisi, 205.

<sup>3</sup> A newly found "History of the kings Demetrius I, George III, Tamar, and George IV" was published in Georgian by Professor Javakhishvili, Tiflis, 1927. See Prince C. Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature" in *Traditio*, i, 1943, pp. 139–182 (especially p. 157), and v, 1947, p. 342. [*Additional Note*.—Prince Toumanoff has kindly sent me the translation of a passage on Dimitri I's reign from Queen Ann's Chronicle (discovered in 1927, and published by the Georgian Academy in 1942), pp. 237–9. The new text only says that still in the reign of David his son Dimitri was sent to "Sharvan" where "he waged battles which filled the eye-witnesses with wonder". In A.D. 1130 (A.H. 624) he put to flight the men of Sukhman (Suqmān) and slaughtered the heads of the whole "Persiandom" (*sparset'obisa*). At that time "Persian" was synonymous with Muslim. The new source adds nothing to Ibn al-Azraq's account.]

had to recognize his dependence upon the Muslims, as symbolized by the names of the caliph and the Seljuks of Iraq which appear on his coins."

In general, after the capture of Tiflis in 1122 and the transfer to that town of the capital, and apparently of the Mint, too, the influence of the Muslims increases considerably. Relations with the neighbouring countries become very lively; Arabic begins to play the rôle of the diplomatic language, as suggested by Ibn al-Azraq's engagement as the king's secretary. Arabic legends appear on Georgian coins, which lose their links with the Byzantine type of coins and take on a Muslim appearance. The Byzantine titles of the kings disappear altogether.

One of Dimitri's coins bears on the obverse *malik al-mulūk* (in Arabic) *D.* (in Georgian), and on the reverse *Mahmūd ibn Muḥammad* [1118-1131]. Another coin bears: *malik al-mulūk Ḥisām al-Masīḥ Dimitri* (in Arabic) with a Georgian *D* in the middle, and on the reverse *al-Muqtafi li-amri 'Ulāhi amīr al-mu'minīn* [1136-1160] and (probably): *Mas'ūd* [1133-1152].<sup>1</sup>

Such a situation explains the extreme cautiousness of Dimitri in his treatment of his Muslim subjects.

A very curious echo of Dimitri's diplomatic relations is found at an unexpected place, in the chronicle of the town of Bayhaq in Khorasan.<sup>2</sup> "In Safar 543/June-July 1148, the king of Abkhāz Dīmītriyūs, son of Dāvūd, son of Ya'qūb (?), surnamed the Sword of Messiah (*Ḥisām al-Masīḥ*), through his personal envoy, sent some questions to the supreme sultan Sanjar ibn Malikshāh, may God hallow his spirit. I was ordered to write an answer in Arabic and Syrian, for they had written those questions in these two languages. Copies of those questions and of my answers have travelled to the remote parts of the world and caravans carried them (*wa sāra bihā al-rakb*)." The Arabic letter must have been written by a predecessor of Ibn al-Azraq (who reached Georgia only in 1153).

For my translation I follow the more complete Or. 5803, but in doubtful places I prefer the readings of Or. 6310, which invariably make better sense.<sup>3</sup>

(Or. 5803, f. 160b) *Record of the administration of Najm al-dīn El-Ghāzī* (500-516) *and his reign in Mīfarqīn*. . . .<sup>4</sup>

(Or. 5803, f. 161a, line 21 = Or. 6310, f. 102a, line 7) It is reported that in the year 515 (A.D. 1121-2) the people of Tiflis sent to Najm al-dīn El-Ghāzī inviting him (to come) that they might surrender to him Tiflis. For forty years the latter had been in the hands of the population (*kāna lāha biyadi ahlihā*). Its possessors (*mullāk*) had been a family (*qaum*) of local people called Banū-Ja'far for about 200 years, after which the senior members among them became ruined and (their affairs) got into confusion and the administration of Tiflis reverted to the population (f. 161b) of whom every month one administered

<sup>1</sup> Pakhomov, "Moneti Gruzii", *Zap. Numizm. Otd. Imp. Ross. Archeol. Obsch.*, i/4, 1910, 1-132, see pp. 81-6.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn Funduq, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Tehran, 1317/1938, p. 163.

<sup>3</sup> See the Arabic text reproduced in a footnote in Ibn al-Qalānīsī, ed. Amedroz, pp. 205-6.

<sup>4</sup> In Ibn al-Azraq's text this name is spelt mostly *Mīfarqīn*, side by side with the more formal *Mayyāfāriqīn*. Cf. in Syriac *Mīpherkē*.

its affairs. Thus they carried on for forty years. Malik Dāvūd, (who) was the king of the Gurj and the Abkhāz [1089–1125], brought the town to great straits and it got into confusion. So the people had already sent to Sultan Tughril, son of Sultan Muhammad, who was the king of Janzē and Arrān, and he sent them a protector (*shihna*),<sup>1</sup> but the oppression of the king of the Gurj continued.<sup>2</sup> Thus they carried on for a time and they agreed to pay him every year 10,000 dinars<sup>3</sup> on the express condition that (they should receive) a protector with ten horsemen. And thus (too) they carried on for a period. Then they sent an invitation to Najm al-dīn El-Ghāzī and he left with a large army. He was accompanied by Dubays b. Šadaqa,<sup>4</sup> king of the Arabs, who was Najm al-dīn's son-in-law, being married to the latter's daughter Guhār-khātūn,<sup>5</sup> and who had joined him during that year.<sup>6</sup> So he left with the army [and sent to Shams al-daula Tughan-Arslan, lord of Arzīn and Bidlis, to whom belonged the town \*Duwīn (spelt : *madīna Dawayn*), and ordered him to enter Tiflis from the eastern side].<sup>7</sup> Then he moved on and took with him the qāḍī 'Alam al-dīn, son of Nubāta—whose son, the qāḍī 'Alam al-dīn Abul-Faṭḥ al-Kabīr, is at present the qāḍī of Mārdīn<sup>8</sup>—and the vazir Abū Tammām ibn 'Abdūn, who also left with (the king). They arrived in Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerum) where the qāḍī and the vazir quarrelled. Najm al-dīn with his army entered through the province (*wilāya*) of al-Ghars (Kars),<sup>9</sup> and along the road of \*Tharyālīth (Thrialeti).<sup>10</sup> It was agreed that the whole army should meet at the gate of Tiflis. And Sultan Tughril-bek made preparations from the direction of Janzē (Ganja). Tughan-Arslan the Hunchback (*al-aḥḍab*) moved forth from \*Duwīn.

Najm al-dīn got so far that between him and Tiflis there (remained) only a mountain of half-a-day's journey. Then from the western side King Dāvūd sallied forth accompanied by his son Dīmītrī, with a great army. He rode down

<sup>1</sup> I think that the meaning "protector" is here fully attested for the term *shihna* (the origin of the latter is still obscure).

<sup>2</sup> The passage is not clear in Or. 5803 but Or. 6310, f. 102b, is unequivocal : *mā zālat*.

<sup>3</sup> In this case the king of Georgia must be meant. After a period of insufficient help from Tughril the people of Tiflis turned to the oppressor himself and, under the pretext of protection, paid him a considerable tribute.

<sup>4</sup> Or. 6310 adds : *al-Mazyadī*.

<sup>5</sup> *Guhār*, to render the Persian-Turkish pronunciation of the name *Gauhar*, with the stress on the last syllable.

<sup>6</sup> Dubays [1108–1135] intrigued against Sultan Maḥmūd. The latter marched on Ḥilla in Shawwāl 514/Dec. 1120–Jan. 1121, and Dubays fled to El-Ghāzī, see I. Athīr, x, 398.

<sup>7</sup> Or. 6310 omits this passage. Then it suddenly says that Tughril moved from Janzē and "*Fakhr al-dīn* Tughan Arslan al-Aḥḍab from the region (*nāhiya*) of Duvin". Their further participation in the campaign is not specified. Consequently in Or. 5803, I suspect some confusion between the Duvin belonging to Arzan (i.e. to the valley situated between the river of Bitlis and that of Mayyafarqin), see C. Cahen, loc. cit., 224, and the ancient Armenian capital Duwīn/Dvin, lying north of the Araxes, within the limits of Arrān, see Yāqūt sub verbo *Dabīl*. Either al-Aḥḍab had to cross the Araxes (no small operation!) to march in agreement with Tughril, or the original reference is not to al-Aḥḍab but to some "*Fakhr ad-dīn*" connected with the northern Dvin!

<sup>8</sup> Or. 6310, f. 102b, does not indicate that the son accompanied his father—as Or. 5803 suggests (*ma'ahu*)—but only that he was the qāḍī of Mārdīn at the author's time.

<sup>9</sup> Thus spelt also in Juvaynī, ii, 161.

<sup>10</sup> Thrialeti—a district to the south of the Kur, upstream from Gori. The invaders must have reached the Kur *via* Kars-Ardahan-Akhalkalaki. The Georgian annals mention also Manglis and Did-Gor(n)i, Brosset, loc. cit., i/1, 366.

upon (the Muslims) from the mountain, whereas they were standing at its foot and neither the army of Sultan Tughril nor Shams al-dīn the Hunchback with his troops had arrived. They fought a great fight. Najm al-dīn was taken prisoner and many of his people were killed. The infidels took from them an enormous booty. [Then ?] Najm al-dīn (and Dubays) escaped with a small troop, (but) down to the present time there have remained prisoners with (the Georgians).

{I saw <sup>1</sup> the battle-field when in the year 548/1153 I entered Tiflis and stayed in it. Then I joined the service of the king of the Abkhaz and remained with him.

I went forth with him and travelled together with him in his country (*wilāya*) for some 70 days. He went on to the al-Lān (Alan), to the side of Darband and to the country (*wilāya*) of the Abkhāz.<sup>2</sup> And after some days in the country of the Abkhaz we arrived at a spacious tower under a mountain, within a lofty fortress where the king alighted (Or. 6310 *fa-nazala al-malik hunāka*). Said to me the king of the Abkhāz: "O so-and-so, in this fortress there is a captive who has become estranged (*\*mustaghrib*) from his people (and El-Ghāzī).<sup>3</sup> So go up to-morrow to see him and ask him from where he is." And I made up my mind concerning this matter and said (to myself): "I shall ask the king to let him go his way". I spent that night, but when the morning came the trumpet (*f. 162a*) of departure was sounded because news had been brought to the king that some part of his kingdom had revolted against him. And when this news came he rode off and the people rode off and it became impossible for me to meet the man.} . . . <sup>4</sup>

And when Najm al-dīn was defeated and returned with his companions, the king of the Abkhaz departed with the booty and the prisoners and halted before Tiflis which he invested for some time. Then he breached the walls from the western side and entered the town (*f. 163a*) by the sword (*sayfan*). He burnt it and utterly destroyed it, but after three days granted *amān* to its people and soothed their hearts and left them alone, in all goodness. For that year he abrogated their taxes, services (*al-mu'an*), payments by instalments (*aqṣāt*) and the *kharāj*. He guaranteed to the Muslims everything they wished, according to the pact which is valid even to-day. In it (it is stipulated) that pigs <sup>5</sup> should not be brought over to the Muslim side nor to the town, and that they should not be slaughtered there or in the market. He struck dirhams for them, on one side of which stood the names of the sultan and the

<sup>1</sup> I put in { } brackets the personal experiences of the author under King Dimitri in 1153.

<sup>2</sup> *Abkhāz* (omitted in this place in Or. 6310) is the obvious reading in Or. 5803, but one must have in view the confusion found in Arab sources of *الإيجان* and *الايجان* *\*Lāyjan*, one of the districts of Shirvan, see *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 408. As King Dimitri was operating in the eastern part of the Caucasus, Lāyjan (with its famous fortress) might fit into the geographical pattern of his campaign. More important is the reference to Derbend and the Alan territory showing the large extent of Dimitri's operations. At this period Derbend had its own dynasty which was quarrelling with the Shirvānshāhs, Brosset, loc. cit., i/1, 364, and Pakhomov, *O Derbendskom kniazhestve*, Baku, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Or. 5803: *رجل اسير مستعرب (sic) من قومه فعارى (sic) واصعد اليه من الغد*; Or. 6310, *f. 103a*: *مستعرب وهو اسير عن قومه وايل غازی فاذا كان الغد اصعد اليه*

<sup>4</sup> After this Or. 5803 intercalates: "It was reported in the year 515/1121—(and the first ? is right)—that the king . . . *wān* in Aleppo."

<sup>5</sup> The passage is clearer in Or. 6310.

caliph,<sup>1</sup> and on the other side stood the names of God and the Prophet, on him be peace, (whereas) the king's own name stood on a side of the dirham. It was cried in the town (*al-balad*) that (the king) permitted (to shed) the blood (*ahdara damahu*) of him who harmed a Muslim. He granted to them the call to prayer, the prayers and the reading (of the Qor'ān) in public, and also guaranteed that on Fridays sermons and public prayers should be held and prayers be said from the pulpit for the caliph and the sultan, and for no one else. He also guaranteed that no Georgian or Armenian, or Jew should enter the baths of Ismā'il<sup>2</sup> in Tiflis. He assessed (*wazzafa khidmata*) a Georgian at a rate of 5 dinars per annum, a Jew at 4 dinars, and a Muslim at 3 dinars. He was extremely kind to the Muslims; he honoured the scholars and ṣūfīs by respecting their rank (?)<sup>3</sup> and (granting them) what they do not enjoy even among the Muslims.

{I witnessed all these privileges (*shurūt*) when I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153. And I saw how the king of the Abkhaz, Dīmītrī [1121–1156], in whose service I was, arrived in Tiflis and sojourned there some days. The same Friday he came to the cathedral mosque and sat on a platform (*dakka*) opposite the preacher and he remained at his place while the preacher preached and the people prayed and he listened to the *khutba*, all of it. Then he went out and granted for the mosque (*aṭlaqa bi-rasm al-jāmi'*) 200 gold dinars.

And I saw the scholars, the preachers, and the noblemen seek attendance on him, and the ṣūfīs offer prayers for him, and he gave them largesse and rewarded them, while he displayed unparalleled confidence in them. And I witnessed on his part such esteem towards the Muslims as they would not enjoy even if they were in Baghdad.}

It is reported that in the year 516/1155 there was an earthquake in the town of Janzē, which is Kanja (\*Ganja), and a part of it sank (*inkhasafa*) and the walls were destroyed, and the King Dāvūd with his suite, horsemen, and infantry went out to it and looted all the belongings (of the people) and whatever there was in it. He killed of them a great number and made prisoner such great number as cannot be counted and the prisoners (were brought) into Tiflis on carts (*'alā 'ijal*) because of their multitude (*f. 162b*). Muslim prisoners were driven like herds (*qut'ān*) of sheep.<sup>4</sup> With them the king entered into Tiflis and the people of Tiflis bought most of them and freed them. Some people of Tiflis said to me: "Our impoverishment began only from that time".

[It is reported that in the year 515/1121 Mamdūd (?) was killed in the cathedral mosque of Damascus and buried in the tower.<sup>5</sup> And it is said that in 515 Najm al-dīn returned to Mārdīn where he stayed the year 506 (\*516/1122)

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 30–31.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly, Ishaq's father, Ismā'il b. Shu'ayb, who settled in Georgia at the time of the caliph Amīn (A.D. 809–813), see Ya'qūbī, ii, 528.

<sup>3</sup> Or. 5803, f. 163b: *وجعل لاهل العلم... اكرام المنازل وما ليس لهم عند المسلمين* ; *واحسن الى المسلمين غاية الاحسان و (sic) لاهل الدين... من الحرمة والاکرام* : Or. 6310, f. 104a.

<sup>4</sup> In Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzī's version, Dimitri "batit des *ribāt* et hôtelleries pour les prédicateurs, les soufis at les poètes", see Defrémery, *JA.*, 1849, xii, 485.

<sup>5</sup> This earthquake in Ganja is different from that of 534/1139, at the time of the atabek Qara-Sunqur, see I. Athir, xi, 51, and Vardan, in Brosset, i/2, 416. The behaviour of King David would have been excessive in King Dimitri's time.

<sup>6</sup> Omitted in Or. 6310. Perhaps Amir Maudūd of Mossul? But he was murdered in Damascus in 507/1113, see Ibn Qalānisi, 187. The whole paragraph reflects the uncertainty of later intercalations.



and then left for Aushal al-Hayna belonging to Mifarqīn and stayed there with his wife al-Khātūn, daughter of Tugh-tegin, lord of Damascus. He became ill and died on Thursday, 27 Ramadan (29 Nov. 1122).]

## II

The short second passage completes Ibn al-Azraq's account of his travels in the suite of King Dimitri. It is important that he confirms again that the king operated as far east as the immediate neighbourhood of Derbend.

(Or. 5803, f. 176b = Or. 6310, f. 136a) [The late Ḥisām al-dīn Timur-tāsh (son of El-Ghāzi), God's mercy on him, used to respect the lords of the (noble) houses; he looked into their affairs and would not consider the punishment of (those) houses. . . . Whenever a representative of the turbaned people and scholars visited him he bade him dismount and honoured him and gave him largesse and supplied him with all he wanted. . . .]

{When he died<sup>1</sup> I was in the country (*wilāya*) of the Kurj (Georgians) in the service of the king of the Abkhaz Dīmītrī, son of Dāvūd, king of the whole of the country. I entered Tiflis in the year 548/1153 and joined the king's service, travelling with him to the country of the Alan and the Abkhaz and Derbend. One day we were in the neighbourhood of the town of Derbend, and this was the 4th of Muharram 549/21 March 1154, and the king summoned me and said: "Your lord Ḥisām al-dīn has died. The news has reached me to-day."}

[In his days there was in Mifarqīn a group of governors, of whom was the ḥājib Abū Bakr Bayram and 'Othman Khumartāsh al-Ḥājī, each of them (appointed) in turn (down to) the ḥājib Bayram.<sup>2</sup> (Then) he appointed the ḥājib Yūsuf Yināl. Then he dismissed him and granted fiefs in dependence on his own household (*tahta dārihi*?). The atābek Zangi took (them?) from him. And he (?) appointed to Mifarqīn a *mamlūk* who belonged to the amīr (?) and whose name was Qurughlī (*sic*, Qiz-oghli?). After a period of time he died.]

<sup>1</sup> He began to rule in 516 (Nov. 1122) and died "towards the end of 547/1152, or perhaps in 548/1153", see C. Cahen, loc. cit., 254.

<sup>2</sup> Or. 6310, f. 137a: "and he appointed to the governorship of Mifarqīn the ḥājib Abū Bakr and Bayram and 'Othman, sons of Khumar-tāsh al-Ḥājī, each of them for a (short) period, except the ḥājib Bayram who was appointed twice", etc.



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

Caucasica II

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 13, No. 4 (1951), pp. 868-877

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609021>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:52 UTC

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



*School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge University Press* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

## Caucasica II.<sup>1</sup>

By V. MINORSKY

### 1. The Georgian maliks of Ahar

§ 1. The maliks of Ahar.

§ 2. Their coins.

§ 3. The name *Bīshkīn* and those who bore it.

§ 4. An earlier member of the family.

§ 5. The dedicatees of Nizāmī's *Iskandar-nāma*.

§ 1. Muhammad Nasawī, the biographer of the Khwārazm-shah Jalāl al-dīn, several times refers to the story of Nuṣrat al-dīn Muhammad (\*Mahmūd) b. \*Bīshkīn.<sup>2</sup> When in 614/1217 the atabek of Azarbayjan, Özbek, was expelled from Isfahan by the Khwārazm-shāh Muhammed, Özbek's vassal Nuṣrat al-din led the army back to Azarbayjan and thus enabled his master to escape with a small detachment. In Miyāna Nuṣrat al-din was taken prisoner by the Khwarazmians and brought to Hamadan. Wishing to humiliate him and other distinguished prisoners, the Khwārazm-shāh ordered them to stand on their feet while he played polo on the hippodrome. One day the conqueror's interest was aroused by the pair of unusually large ear-rings which Nuṣrat was wearing. Nuṣrat explained (p. 18) that his grandfather was captured by Alp Arslan during his expedition into Georgia (possibly that of 456/1064).<sup>3</sup> Later, Alp Arslan liberated the prisoners but ordered them (as his slaves) to wear ear-rings with his name. Then the Seljukid dominion decayed and the former prisoners abandoned their obedience (and its outward sign), all except Nuṣrat's grandfather who became a Muslim (and continued to wear the ear-rings) as a token of the benefits of Islam and of (his) fidelity.<sup>4</sup> When this was explained to the Khwarazm-shah, he invited Nuṣrat to join him in his game and gave him a valuable reward. He restored to him his possessions, among which were the towns of Ahar and Varāvī, adding to them the neighbouring Sarāh (now Sarāb), which at that time was in the occupation of the atabek Özbek. Nuṣrat returned home but said nothing about Sarāh to his lord Özbek. Only when Jalāl al-din overthrew Özbek and occupied Tabriz did Nuṣrat produce the document. Without any formality Jalāl recognized his claim and treated Nuṣrat with particular sympathy and generosity (Nasawī, 18). Owing to the relations established during his captivity in Hamadan, Nuṣrat passed into the service of the conqueror, but his attitude towards his earlier colleagues was not ungracious. Thus we hear that an important dignitary of the atabeks sought refuge in his dominions,

<sup>1</sup> See *BSOAS.*, 1949, xiii/1, pp. 27–35.

<sup>2</sup> *Sīrat al-sultān Jalāl al-dīn*, ed. Houdas, 1891, pp. 3, 14, 16–8. The French translation (1895) teems with misunderstandings and needs a thorough revision. Nasawī several times writes *Muhammad* instead of *Mahmūd* attested on the coins.

<sup>3</sup> I. Athīr, x, 25–8; Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i/1, 327.

<sup>4</sup> The text as it stands, p. 18, makes no good sense and I have interpreted it according to my understanding, reading \**wa khala'ū ulā'ika ribqat al-tā'a* instead of *wa ja'alū ulā'ika ribqatan lil-tā'a*.

and it was only Jalal's lieutenant, the brutal Sharaf al-mulk, who arrested him (Nasawi, 106). When Boghdī, a former slave of the atabek Özbek, raised a revolt in favour of his deposed masters, Nuṣrat made efforts to bring about a reconciliation between him and Sharaf al-mulk. This is the last we hear of Nuṣrat al-din (Nasawi, 165).

The story of the ear-rings, in a less poetical form, is also found in Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi's *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*, 441: after Alp Arslan's campaign in Georgia a number of Georgian amirs were taken prisoner and some of them accepted Islam. "One of them was \*Bīshkīn. Instead of the ring of slavery (*ḥalqa-yi bandagī*), (the sultan) fixed in his ear a horse-shoe, and his progeny similarly have worn large ear-rings. As a fief (the sultan) gave him the town of Varāvī which is now known as Bīshkīn."

The position of Nuṣrat al-din's fief Varāvī is explained in the same author's *Nuzhat al-qulub*, pp. 82-3: "the *tuman*<sup>1</sup> of Bīshkīn comprises seven towns, namely Bīshkīn, Khiyāv, \*Alār, \*Arjāq (Arshaq?), Ahar, Tegala, and Kalaybar." Then speaking in particular of the town of Bīshkīn he adds: "originally it bore the name of Varāvī, but after Bīshkīn the Georgian had come to be governor in it, it was called after him." Ḥamdullāh adds that Mt. Sabalān lies to the south of Bīshkīn and this leaves no doubt about its location on the river Meshkin which joins the river of Ahar above its juncture with the river of Ardabil (Qara-su). Roughly Meshkin lies at 70 kms. west of Ardabil.

The name Meshkin is not found in ancient geographers and it represents only a variation of Bīshkīn.<sup>2</sup> The alternance of *b/m* at the beginning of the name may be attributable to Turkish influence. In fact from the Seljuk days large contingents of nomad Turkmans were established in the region between Mt. Savalān and the Araxes, and a special group of the Shāh-sevāns (i.e. the Shī'a Turkmans attached to the Safavid house) is still called the "Meshkin group."

The considerable area of the *tuman* of Bīshkīn probably corresponds to the original fief of the eponymous ruler. Nasawi, too, by referring to Ahar and Varāvī, indicates more or less the limits of the *tuman* of the Mongol time, but we know from the same author that Nuṣrat al-din claimed also Sarāh (Sarāb) on the Ardabil-Tabriz road, and, to the east of Varāvī, he possibly controlled some cantons along the Ardabil-Araxes road (such as Arshaq). The area, comprising part of the present-day governorships of Ardabil and Tabriz, formed a sizable principality which must have enjoyed some feudal autonomy within the territories controlled by the atabeks of Tabriz (the dynasty of Eldiguz).

§ 2. This is shown by the privilege the local rulers possessed to strike coins, although the existing collections suggest that this right was limited to copper

<sup>1</sup> A division of Mongol times.

<sup>2</sup> See Juvayni, ii, 184, *Bīshkīn*, younger copies *Mīshkīn*; Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 33: \*Bīshkīn.

*fels*-es. Of the two copper pieces of the British Museum<sup>1</sup> the one (No. 689) has on the obverse the formula of *lā ilāh* and the name of the caliph *Nāṣir lidīni- llāhi* (575–620), and on the reverse the name of the atabek Abū Bakr b. Muhammad Pahlavān b. Eldiguz (587–607) and that of the *malik al-umarā* \*Bīshkīn b. Muhammad followed by his caliphal title (illegible: *x* of the *amīr al-mu'minīn*). Of the date only “ninety” (*tis'in*) can be read, which can refer to any of the years between 590 and 599 (1194–1203). The other coin (No. 690) has a similar obverse, whereas its reverse gives two names, that of *al-malik al-a'zam* Uzbek b. Muhammad (607–22) and that of *malik al-umarā* Nuṣrat al-dīn Maḥmūd b. \*Bīshkīn b. Muhammad. Here we have the complete series of the Georgian rulers of Meshkin.

The collections of the Hermitage (Leningrad) contain 23 copper coins of the same maliks. Six coins were struck by \*Bīshkīn in Ahar, and one of them, mentioning the name of Abū Bakr, bears the date 594/1198. Eleven coins were struck by Maḥmūd b. \*Bīshkīn in the time of the Eldiguzid Ōzbek; one of them is dated 612/1215. Six coins belong to the same prince with the name of \*Māngburnī (i.e. the Khwārazm-shah Jalāl al-dīn) and the date \*623/1226.<sup>2</sup>

§ 3. Nasawi confirms that the first comer to Persia was Nuṣrat al-dīn's grandfather of whom no coins have come down to us. The actual founder of the principality, to which he gave his name, was Nuṣrat al-dīn Maḥmūd's father Bīshkīn. His name, which stuck in the memory of the contemporaries, is of Iranian origin and originally must have sounded *Bēshkēn* as attested by its Georgian form.<sup>3</sup> The emergence of this rare name between the father Muḥammad and the son Maḥmūd is noteworthy and it is our only guiding thread in the family connections of the maliks.

Nusrat al-din's grandfather must have belonged to a distinguished family for a mere conversion to Islam would hardly have secured for him (or his son) a high position in Muslim society. But even in Georgia this name is very uncommon. The only Beshken I could find in the *Georgian Chronicle* is the commander of Jaq who was killed by the Turks in 1118, see Brosset, i/1, 360. Apparently this “commander” belonged to the local family of the lords of Akhal-tsikhe.<sup>4</sup> However, our sources are silent on any contacts of the Jaqeli family with Persia.

Circa 1483 S. Orbelian quotes a scion of the Orbeli house called *Pelgene*, whose name Brosset, i/1, 351, has restored as \**Pešgēn*. The name may reflect

<sup>1</sup> Lane Poole, *Cat. of Orient. coins*, iii, 1877, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> See A. K. Markov, *Inventarniy Katalog*, 1896–8, p. 434. Markov still uses the wrong reading Pishtegin. See also F. Soret, in *Rev. numismatique*, 1860, v, pp. 71–6: one *fels* of Bīshkin, Ahar, 594, and two *fels*es of Nuṣrat, struck in Ahar, one with the name of Ōzbek (623), and another with the name of Jalāl al-dīn.

<sup>3</sup> In a late Armenian source (Thomas of Metsob, fifteenth century) the name appears as *Beshgēn*. [In Georgia *Beshken* is attested as a popular name, see Janashia, *Istoriya Gruzii*, 1946, p. 244; a silver-smith, Beshken Opizari, twelfth century.]

<sup>4</sup> See Vakhush, *Geography*, p. 31, 47. The Jaqeli family received its name from the river Jaqis-tsqali, one of the left affluents of the Kur, in Samtsxe, *ibid.*, 89.



some atavistic survival, though its occurrence within the versatile Orbeli family is too tardy and isolated. Another pointer in the same direction may be the village Beshkenashen ("built by Beshken") mentioned in Vakhusht's *Geography of Georgia*. The source is late (eighteenth century) but the fact that the village had given its name to the river (*Beshkenashenis-tsqali*) is in favour of its antiquity. The village lies in T'rialet'i, on one of the left affluents of the Ktsia.<sup>1</sup> This place may have been within the reach of the Orbeli family.<sup>2</sup> For the moment we cannot go beyond these guesses.

§ 4 (Additional). A closer examination of the texts shows that the period of time separating Alp Arslan's campaign in Georgia (1064) from the date of Bishkīn's coin (1198), i.e. at the minimum 134 years, exceeds the admissible interval between the maturity of a father and that of a son. In fact, in Nasawi's passage the term *jadd* used with regard to Alp Arslan's captive may be interpreted as "ancestor" and not as "grandfather". The coins suggest that Nuṣrat al-dīn's grandfather bore the name of Muhammad and there must have been some more links between the latter and the prisoner of 1064. The name Bishkīn must have occurred in the family genealogy at an earlier stage for otherwise it would not have been borne on Persian soil.

This is supported by an additional reference to an amir Bishkīn found in Bundārī's abridgment of 'Imād al-dīn's *History of the Seljuks* (ed. Houtsma, p. 165). While Sultan Tughril b. Muhammad (526-8/1132-3) was staying in Isfahan, with amir Qara-Sunqur acting as his representative in Azarbayjan, his brother Sultan Mas'ūd, accompanied by the atabek Aq-Sunqur Aḥmadilī (see Minorsky, *Marāgha*, in *E.I.*), moved from Baghdad on Azarbayjan. Local amirs fortified themselves in various places, and 'Ayn al-daula Khwārazm-shāh, together with the amirs Balāq (?) and Bīstakīn (read: \**Bīshkīn*) sought security in Ardabil. There they were besieged by Mas'ūd, who defeated Qara-Sunqur at the gate of the town, but some time after the besieged amirs succeeded in rejoining Tughril in Isfahan. No further reference to \**Bīshkīn* is found in Bundārī's text. The events just mentioned took place in 527/1132.<sup>3</sup> Our restoration of the impossible *Bīshkīn* as \**Bīshkīn* is corroborated by this amir's association with Ardabil, in the neighbourhood of which lay the later Bīshkīnīd fief. The question is to know whether the name Bishkin is used here as a personal name. The gap between the events of 1132 and the coin of Bishkīn b. Muhammad struck in 1198 (i.e. sixty-six years) seems too considerable for the identification of this "Bīshkīn" with the above-mentioned Muhammad, and we have to assume that we have here an *earlier* link in the pedigree of the amirs

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Brosset, p. 161, and map. On modern maps this place seems to be represented by *Beshtasheni* (?).

<sup>2</sup> One of the boroughs downstream on the Ktzia was called Liparitis-Ubani, Liparit being one of the typical names of the said family.

<sup>3</sup> The events are much more clear in I. Athir, x, 483, but he omits the names of the amirs besieged in Ardabil. The identity of 'Ayn al-daula is obscure, though in the previous year (526) the Khwārazm-shah Atsız commanded Sanjar's left flank in the so-called "battle of Dāymarj" (more exactly near \**Ghūlān*, in the neighbourhood of Daynavar), see I. Athir, x, 476.

of Ahar and Meshkin. The name of this amir would further indicate the persistence of this exotic name in the family.

§ 5. Another problem is the name Bīshkīn within the family of the atabeks of Azarbayjan (Eldiguzids). When queen Tamar moved her troops to Ganja to support the candidature of Amīr-Mīrān b. Pahlavān b. Eldiguz,<sup>1</sup> as against his brother Abū-Bakr b. Pahlavān, the atabek was defeated and the three camps looted, namely his own, that of his son Prince Beshken-the-Brave, and that of the amir Satmaz ed-din (read : \*Izz al-dīn Satmaz). The same prince is apparently referred to in the dedication of the second part of Nizami's *Iskandar-nāma*.

Like the first part of the poem, it was originally dedicated to Jahān-pahlavān Nuṣrat al-dīn, i.e. the atabek Abū-Bakr, son of Jahān Pahlavān Muhammad, son of Eldiguz (d. in 607/1210).<sup>2</sup> In the non-critical edition of Vahīd Dastgardī, p. 33, the preface seems to refer also to another (?) prince called *Pīshkīn* (\*Bīshkīn). The poet wonders why heaven had called him *Pīsh-kīn* "foremost in hatred" and not *Pīsh-mīhr* "foremost in love". By anagram his name is *Kay-Pīshīn*<sup>3</sup> because he has the signs of a Kayānīd (*kay-nīshān*) and lives in a Kayānian place (*kay-nīshūn*?). He has given a new life to *mulk-i dahr* (see below). The poet goes on describing the effect of a terrible earthquake by which Ganja was destroyed "on the eve of Saturday". Then, in a short time, "thanks to the royal *farr*" of the prince mentioned Ganja became "more flourishing than Rūm". The following *khiṭāb* (p. 34) refers to the victory (*nuṣrat*) of the royal banners and calls the king Jahān Pahlavān (p. 39). Unexpectedly the conclusion of the poem (p. 280) contains the eulogy of quite a different person, Malik 'Izz al-dīn Mas'ūd b. Arslan, also referred to as Abul-Faṭḥ Mas'ūd b. Nūr al-dīn and as Jahān Pahlavān. Nizāmī says that this prince reached the age of sixty (p. 290) and hopes that his fortune will be as happy (*mas'ūd*) as his name. Rieu, *Supplement*, 154, has recognized the third prince as the Zangid of Mausil Mas'ūd II b. Nūr al-dīn Arslan-shah who ruled in 607–15/1211–8 and this is a most likely suggestion.<sup>4</sup>

We have to assume that the second part of the *Iskandar-nama*<sup>5</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> The Chronicle (Brosset, i/1, 435–46) describes the campaign in great detail adding that Amir-Miran's mother (Inanch-khatun) was at that time married to Tughril-Sultan. In fact (by her third marriage) Inanch-khatun became the wife of Tughril, in Ramadan 589/Sept. 1193. The wedlock was of short duration and Tughril had his spouse strangled, see *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 367. This date is important for fixing the time of Tamar's expedition.

<sup>2</sup> *Jahān-Pahlavān* is usually taken for a distinctive title of Muhammad b. Eldiguz, but Nizāmī uses this term for his son Abū-Bakr and even for the atabek of Mossul 'Izz al-dīn. Cf. in Nasawī, p. 217, the name of one of Jalāl al-dīn's generals : Jahān Pahlavān Özbek Bāyan.

<sup>3</sup> The third son of Kay Qubād, see *Shāh-nāma*, Tehran, 1313, ii, 314 (Kay Qubād, verse 227).

<sup>4</sup> The difficulty is that this prince ascended the throne at the age of *seventeen*, which is in obvious contradiction with Nizami's *sixty*. Should the latter be correct, one has to revert to Dr. Bacher's theory that the reference is to 'Izz al-dīn Mas'ūd I b. Maudūd, who ruled in 572–89/1176–August 1193, and that it belongs to some earlier recension of the *Iskandar-nāma*. However, this involves a new difficulty. Al-Malik al-Qāhir was the title of 'Izz al-dīn II and we do not know whether it also belonged to Izz al-dīn I.

<sup>5</sup> Or some later copies of it. In my own MS. of the *Khamsa* (889/1484) both the dedication and the conclusion are in the name of 'Izz al-dīn.

re-dedicated, probably after the death of the first dedicatee, and this has created much confusion in the manuscripts to the embarrassment of the students of Persian literature.<sup>1</sup>

The original preface must have had in view two persons: the atabek Abū Bakr and his son *Pīshkīn* (the Persian pronunciation with *p* is certain in view of the anagram), references to the sons being usual in the dedications of Persian poems. This Pīshkīn must be the prince on whom the Georgian chronicle bestows the admiring qualification "*Beshken-the-Brave*".

Ganja, where Nizāmī lived, belonged to the possessions of the atabek Abū Bakr. The Georgian capture of Ganja (in 589/1193 ?) was a short-lived success. The Georgian candidate Amīr-Mirān died shortly afterwards and Abū Bakr re-occupied Ganja, see Brosset, i/1, 447.

Ibn al-Athīr, XII, 160, relates that the atabek Abū-Bakr, weak and addicted to wine, became conscious of his incapacity to cope with the continuous Georgian inroads. So he decided to change his tactics<sup>2</sup> and in 602/1205-6 married the daughter of the Georgian king, after which the Georgians stopped their raids. Brosset, i/1, 445, who knew this record through Abul-Fidā, iv, 219, avers that to his knowledge no lady of the royal family nor any young person of the great Georgian families did contract a similar marriage at the time of Queen Tamar. On the other hand, no marriage with an emigrée of the houses of Nuṣrat al-din of Ahar or Liparit (see below) would serve as a deterrent to Georgian attacks. Nor would a marriage contracted in 602/1205 account for the name of Beshken which crept into Abu Bakr's family at a much earlier date. Consequently, the most likely conclusion is that the name points to some previous matrimonial link between Abū Bakr and the family of his vassal, Nuṣrat al-din b. Pīshkīn.

The final decision on the origin of the Georgian "maliks of Ahar" belongs to the scholars who are in full possession of the Georgian sources.

It remains to us to elucidate the historical hints in the earlier draft of Nizāmī's dedication. Its confused state does not enable us to discriminate between the achievements of Abū Bakr and his son Pīshkīn. The two points in question are: the restoration of the *mulk-i dahr* (?) and the rebuilding of Ganja after an earthquake.

*Mulk-i dahr* (rhyming with *bahr*) does not make any good sense: "the kingdom of the time, of the epoch"? I am tempted, therefore, to restore *أهر* as *دهر* "Ahr", which is the archaic pronunciation of the present-day

<sup>1</sup> Rieu, "Catalogue of Persian manuscripts," pp. 568-70; *Supplement*, p. 154; G. H. Darab, *Makhzanol Asrār*, 1945, pp. 55-61 (reviewed by Minorsky, *BSOAS.*, 1948, xii/2, 441-5). Professor E. Berthels, in his recent book *Roman ob Alexandre i yego glavnīye versii na Vostoke*, Moscow, 1948, pp. 50-2, solves the difficulty by assuming that Bīshkīn was the name of Nuṣrat al-dīn himself. I do not know the authority for such a statement. The new interesting fact is that A. A. Alesker-zadeh is reported to have discovered the tomb-stone of Nizāmī giving the date of his death as 4 Ramadan 605/Thursday 12 March 1209, see *Voprosi istorii*, 1948, No. 9, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> The text is more expressive: *ghamada sayfahu wa salla ayrahu*.

*Ahar*, confirmed by Yāqūt, i, 409. The rhyme *dahr* — *Ahr* — *qahr* is found in the chronogram on the death of Shams al-din Juvayni, see Rashid al-din (ed. Jahn, Prague, 1941), p. 65. As Nuṣrat al-din for some time remained captive with the Khwārazmians, it is likely that Pīshkīn (especially if through his mother he was connected with Nuṣrat al-din) was in charge of the fief of Ahar-Mishkīn.<sup>1</sup>

Ganja is known to have suffered several times from earthquakes but the nearest in time seems to be that of Rabī' I 590/March, 1194. I.A., xii, 72, says that it affected "al-Jazīra, 'Irāq and many (other) lands". As the Georgian chronicle does not mention it in relating the re-establishment of Amīr-Mīrān in Ganja, we should assume that it occurred soon after the Georgian expedition and may have contributed to the re-occupation of Ganja by the representatives of Abū-Bakr.

Nothing is known on the Bīshkīn family after Nuṣrat al-dīn, but the above quotation from the *Tarīkh-i guzīda* (written in 1330) might be interpreted in a way that some descendants of the maliks exhibited their huge ear-rings even in Mongol times.

## 2. The Princes Orbeli in Persia

An interesting example of the Georgian-Muslim relations in the twelfth century is found in the adventures of some representatives of the Orbeli house during the rule of the atabeks of Azarbayjan. These princes belonged to a very ancient Georgian family, said to have come from China (sic) "one thousand years ago".<sup>2</sup> The name of their hereditary fief was Orbeth but it is difficult to say whether the place was called after them or vice versa. There is no doubt about the Georgian nationality of the Orbelis but later the branch established in Siunik' identified itself with the Armenian creed and the historian of the family wrote in Armenian.

The Orbeli house was one of the chief centres of feudal opposition to the rising power of the Bagratid kings of Georgia. Particularly disrupting was the role of the famous Liparit III in the reign of Bagrat IV (1027-72). After his removal from the political stage,<sup>3</sup> the kings patched up with his descendants and the latter rendered great services to the kingdom. During the reign of Giorgi III (1156-84) the historian of the family credits the generalissimo Ivane Orbeli with the capture of Ani (1161), with the victory over the Shah-Arman, and with another victory over Eldiguz.

According to Vardan it was this Ivane who, being desirous to receive Ani

<sup>1</sup> This may be the explanation of Nizami's term *kay-nishīn* "living in a Kayānid place". According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 83, one of the towns of Mishkīn (\*Alār) was founded by Qubād and, though this king was a Sasanian, poetically his name may have been taken for that of the legendary Kay-Qubād.

<sup>2</sup> See their history in S. Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie* (in Armenian), tr. by Brosset, St. Petersburg, 1864, i, ch. 66 (first published by St. Martin, *Mémoires*, ii, 15-300, see especially pp. 101-11 and commentary), and Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i/2, pp. 257-64, and 334-52.

<sup>3</sup> Said to have died in 1062, see Brosset, i/2, 350.

and to free the Christian prisoners, persuaded Giorgi to recapture Ani (1177)<sup>1</sup> but in the very same year a crisis broke out. Giorgi III was in the twenty-first year of his reign when his nephew Demna came of age. Demna was the son of David III who ruled for a short time (1154–6) before his brother Giorgi. It was alleged then that David III on his death-bed nominated Giorgi as his successor only temporarily during Demna's minority. According to S. Orbelian, the generalissimo Ivane was bound by an oath to that effect. So suddenly Ivane took up Demna's cause against Giorgi and 30,000 men joined him in Lori. But Giorgi was an energetic ruler who had been long in the saddle and had the support of his Qipchaq vassal Qubasar. Ivane took a risky decision in sending his brother Liparit, with the latter's sons Elikum and Ivane, to solicit the help of the atabek of Azarbayjan.<sup>2</sup> The prospect of a Muslim raid sobered the minds of Demna's supporters and they gradually left Ivane. He surrendered to Giorgi's mercy but Giorgi had him blinded, and all the family, men and women, exterminated. Those members who might return from abroad were outlawed.

Meanwhile, Ivane's brother Liparit V, seeing further resistance devoid of purpose, disbanded his Muslim auxiliaries (60,000 horsemen), went back to Persia, and died of grief. His son Elikum stayed on in Persia and his other son was honourably treated by the amir of Ganja until, in the reign of Tamar, he was induced to return to Georgia and recovered the hereditary fief of Orbeth.

In the apologia of his family, S. Orbelian writes (p. 222) that Elikum was treated kindly by Eldiguz and his sons Pahlavan and Qizil-Arslan. The atabek gave him the great town of Hamian,<sup>3</sup> called him his son, and confirmed him in his possessions by a document bearing his *tughra*. For twelve years he was amir and commander of Rey, Isfahan and Qazvin (*Khazmin*). The sultan tempted him by offering him his daughter, provided he became a Muslim, but Elikum despite his youthfulness was firm. He only asked to be transferred to Nakhchavan because it lay near to Georgia "and, said he, it will be sweet and easy for me to avenge the death of my father and brothers". The atabek gave him accordingly the cantons of Ernčak (Alinjak), Jahuk, and Kalasrah dependent from Nakhchavan. Eldiguz put Elikum's hand into that of his son Pahlavan and said to the latter: "be his father and let him be your son." Elikum summoned to Nakhchavan the bishop of Siunik, confessed his sins, and submitted to a penitence. He married the bishop's niece (whose mother was married to a man of Jahuk). Then Elikum fell ill and was visited by the "great atabek" who insisted on his accepting Islam. This time Elikum

<sup>1</sup> This is the date given in Brosset, i/2 (1851), p. 256. The Russian translation of Vardan by N. Emin, 1861, p. 158, gives Arm.623/1174, which allows more time for the subsequent events.

<sup>2</sup> S. Orbelian calls him Eldiguz, but it must be remembered that since 1176 Muhammad Pahlavan was ruling in Azarbayjan (see below).

<sup>3</sup> This name must correspond to Hamadan as it appears from S. Orbelian's statement, i, 235, that Abagha-khan died in *Hamian*, cf. Rashid al-din, ed. K. Jahn, Prague, 1941, p. 41: Abagha died in Hamadān.



succumbed to the temptation and the atabek, under his seal, gave him Jahuk, Kalasrah, and thirty shops in Nakhchavan in full property. When Elikum recovered he went to meet the sultan and the atabek and implored them for the permission to abide by his Christian faith. As he was an indispensable man he was let alone. With the son of the atabek he marched against Ganja and was killed there. His masters took away his widow with her infant son Liparit and married her to a Muslim. The boy was brought up by this step-father and for ten years heard nothing of Christianity.

At the instance of the Mxargrdzeli brothers<sup>1</sup> the bishop of Siunik<sup>2</sup> helped his niece and her son to escape from Nakhchavan and had them hidden in Vayo-dzor.<sup>3</sup> The Georgian king (Giorgi Lasha, 1213–22) assigned to Liparit villages in various places of Siunik<sup>4</sup> (in Vayo-dzor, Gelarkuni, etc.)—apparently with the intention that he should not put himself at the head of a large territorial unit.

The Georgian chronicle (Brosset, i/1, 545) contains more details on the adventures of Liparit. It confirms his reception by Eldiguz. When the latter saw Sembat<sup>5</sup> he gave him his daughter and two sons were born of this marriage: Elikum and Sembat. Eldiguz adopted the latter,<sup>4</sup> which shows that the Georgian refugees came at least one year before the death of the atabek.

The vicissitudes of the refugee branch of the Orbeli family are recorded in the interesting inscription hewn out on the walls of the monastery of Noravank (in Vayo-dzor) founded by Liparit.<sup>5</sup> It is dated 1221 and the founder, “Liparit, son of Elikum, and grandson of the great (Liparit) Orbelian,” says: “my father Elikum desirous to avenge himself on the king of Abkhaz (Georgia) went to the house of the Atabek Eltkuz and the latter gave him assistance and consideration and bestowed on him the great town of Hamian (Hamadan?). I, Liparit, his son, being still young, returned to the light of St. Gregory’s creed and presented myself before the great atabek Ivane (Mxargrdzeli) who, as a substitute for my patrimony, gave me Hrashkaberid with its emoluments and I have built this monastery” . . .

The son could hardly have confused the name of his father’s benefactor, and the inscription confirms that this branch of the Orbeli came to Persia *before* the

<sup>1</sup> Queen Tamar’s (1184–1213) famous generals Zakare and Ivane. Their family was of Kurdish extraction but was converted to Christianity by the Armenian princes under whom it had taken service. Finally, Ivane opted for the Georgian orthodoxy but Zakare remained faithful to the Armenian creed.

<sup>2</sup> Siunik<sup>2</sup> is the western part of the highlands separating the Araxes from the Kur, and stretches south of Lake Sevan (Gelarkuni district). Vayo-dzor is the long valley of the Lower Arpa-chay which flows into the Araxes through the district of Sharur.

<sup>3</sup> I could not check the position of this Sembat by the family tree drawn up by Brosset, i/2, 351. S. Orbelian refers only to two sons of Liparit namely Elikum and Ivane. Some details of the story of Elikum resemble what happened to Sembat.

<sup>4</sup> It was the grandson of this Sembat (also called Sembat) who gave shelter to David, son of Rusudan, when he fled from the Mongols.

<sup>5</sup> Brosset’s introduction to S. Orbelian, ii, 98 (quoting S. Jalalians’s description of the monastery).





CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

---

Caucasica III: The Alān Capital \*Magas and the Mongol Campaigns

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (1952), pp. 221-238

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608675>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:55 UTC

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



*School of Oriental and African Studies, Cambridge University Press* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

## Caucasica III

### The Alān Capital \*Magas and the Mongol Campaigns

By V. MINORSKY

- § 1. Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn.
- § 2. Juvaynī on Mongol campaigns in the West.
- § 3. Rashīd al-dīn on the same campaigns.
- § 4. Notes to Rashīd al-dīn.
- § 5. MKS not Moscow but a Caucasian town.
- § 6. Mas'ūdī and others on the Alān capital.
- § 7. Magas and Dzauji-qāu.
- § 8. Conclusions.

#### § 1. Introduction: Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn

THE object of the present article is to re-state two obscure problems and to show that their likely solution can be found only in treating them jointly. The two points are: the name of the ancient capital of the Ās (Alāns, now Ossets), as attested in the tenth century, and the identification of the town \*MKS conquered by the Mongols in the course of the campaign of 636/1239.

As the sources on the latter event are more numerous I shall deal with it first. On the Muslim side we have two accounts of Batu's campaign, that of Juvaynī who completed his work in 658/1260, and that of Rashīd al-dīn, who wrote about 710/1310.

The two nearly contemporary historians differ widely in their methods and views. Juvaynī is a true representative of the tradition elaborated in the Seljuk chanceries.<sup>1</sup> His text is full of recondite Arabic words and verses making appeal only to highly trained scholars. Important hints and reflections are hidden away in flowery periods. The chapters are interrupted by lengthy dissertations on the helplessness of human initiative, on the terror of Divine wrath, on the inevitability of Fate. Juvaynī's mental field is the Islamic world, and he ventures into Outer Darkness with some reluctance.

Rashīd al-dīn is primarily interested in *materia historica*, in solid facts, in men and tribes with their full names and characteristics. His style is greatly simplified, with no abstruse Arabisms in it but with a number of administrative technicalities and new Turco-Mongol terms. He wrote as he probably spoke, reverting unconsciously to the style of Nizām al-mulk who must have dictated his *Siyāsat-nāma*. In Rashīd al-dīn's days the early tragedies of the Mongol invasion culminating in the sacking of Baghdad were things of the past. The Islamic, and mostly Persian collaborators, had set the administration on a solid foundation and even succeeded in converting the new rulers to Islam. Instead of lamenting over man's sins and the retribution in the shape of "God's horsemen", it was more appropriate to criticize the defects of the existing machinery and to devise the means of improving it. The field of Islamic intro-

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the introduction to the collection of administrative documents of Mu'ayyad al-daula Muntakhab al-dīn Badī' Atābak al-Juvaynī, in '*Atabat al-kataba*', recently published by M. Qazvini and Abbas Eghbal, Tehran, 1329/1950, pp. 1-5. The said Mu'ayyad al-daula was the maternal uncle of Juvaynī's great-grandfather Bahā al-dīn.

version had been long broadened by new vistas and the historian had to make a great effort in order to grasp the vast congeries of new lands, peoples and customs comprised in, or bordering on, the far-flung Mongol Empire. In this respect Rashīd al-dīn's history is perhaps a truer reflection of *Pax Mongolica*, but both he and Juvaynī, whose work he used, are equally well informed statesmen and keen observers. Both have preserved for us the particular atmosphere of their days.

Although my object is to comment on the Ās (Osset) capital \*MKS, I cannot limit my task to quoting only the few lines in Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn bearing directly on the subject, for the brief episode cannot be understood without the proper background. Moreover, no English version of these important and difficult records of the Mongol campaigns in Russia and Eastern Europe exists in printed form. I hope that their complete text may prove useful to scholars of various specialities.

## § 2. Juvaynī on Mongol campaigns in the West

The following translation of the two short chapters of Juvaynī I, 224–6, is by my former pupil, Dr. J. A. Boyle, who has prepared a careful version of the whole of this great history now available in the painstaking edition of the late M. Qazvini. The translation is still unpublished and I quote it with Dr. Boyle's permission.

[224] “*Of the conquest of the Bulghār and the territory of the Ās and the Rūs* <sup>1</sup>

When Qā'ān (Ögedey) held the great *quriltay* for the second time, they deliberated together concerning the extirpation and subjugation of all the remaining rebels ; and it was decided to seize the lands of the Bulghār, the Ās, and the Rūs, which bordered on the camping grounds of Batu ; for they had not completely submitted being deluded by the size of their territory. He therefore deputed certain princes to aid and assist Batu, *viz.* Mangū Qā'ān and his brother Böček ; Qadaghān, the son of Güyük-khan ; of the other princes, Kūlkān, Böri and Bāydār ; Batu's brothers, Hordō and Tangūt ; and several other princes, as well as Subutāy Bahādur from amongst the chief commanders. The princes departed each to his own residence in order to organize their forces and armies ; and in the spring they each of them set forth from his own territory and hastened to carry out this undertaking. They came together in the territory of the Bulghār. The earth echoed and reverberated from the multitude of their armies, and at the size and tumult of their forces the very beasts stood amazed. First they took by storm the city of Bulghār, famous throughout the world for the strength of its position and its ample resources ; and as a warning to others they slew the people or led them captive. And from thence they proceeded to the land of the Rūs and conquered that country <sup>2</sup> as far as the city [225] of MKS, the inhabitants of which were as

<sup>1</sup> Juvaynī briefly alludes to these events in the previous chapter (I, 222) in which he says that, after the advent of Ögedey, Batu subjugated the neighbouring territories consisting “ of all that remained of Qipchaq, the Alān, the Ās, and the Rūs, and other lands, such as Bulghār and MKS ”. This reference is definitely vague and approximate (V. M.).

<sup>2</sup> It is at this place that I assume a great lacuna in the text provoked either by the desire to abridge the report or by a *ῥομιοτέλευτον* (V. M.).

numerous as ants or locusts, while its environs were entangled with woods and forests, such that even a serpent could not penetrate them. The princes all halted on the outskirts of the town, and on every side they built roads wide enough for three or four wagons to pass abreast. And they set up catapults opposite the walls, and after a space of several days left nothing of the city but its name,<sup>1</sup> and took great booty. And they gave orders to cut off the right ears of the people, and two thousand seven hundred ears were counted. And from thence the princes returned homewards."

" *Of the horsemen (khayl) of the Kilār and the Bashghird* <sup>2</sup>

When the Rūs, the Qipchaq and the Alān had been annihilated, Batu resolved to proceed to the destruction of the Kilār and the Bashghird, who are large nations professing the Christian faith and are said to border on the land of the Franks. With this object in mind he arrayed his armies and set out in the new year. And that people was rendered arrogant by the magnitude of their numbers, the greatness of their power, and the strength of their armies; and, when they heard the report of Batu's approach, they too set out to meet him with four hundred thousand horsemen, each of whom was famous in war and considered flight a disgrace. Batu sent his brother Shībaqān on in advance with ten thousand men to spy out their numbers and send word of the extent of their strength and might. Shībaqān set forth in obedience to his command and at the end of a [226] week came back and reported that they were double the size of the Mongol army, all men of war and battle. When the two armies drew close to each other, Batu went up on to a hilltop; and for one day and night he spoke to no one but prayed and lamented; and he bade the Moslems also to assemble together and offer up prayers. The next day they made ready for battle. A large river lay between the armies: Batu sent over a detachment by night and then his main army crossed. Batu's brother entered the battle in person and made attack after attack; but the enemy's army was strong and did not budge. Then the main army arrived from behind; and Shībaqān attacked at the same time with all his forces; and they bore down on their royal pavilions and cut the ropes with their swords.<sup>3</sup> And when the Mongols had overturned their pavilions the army of the Kilar lost heart and fled. And no more of that army escaped, and those lands were subjugated. This was one of their greatest deeds and their fiercest battles."

### § 3. Rashīd al-dīn on the Western Campaigns

The text of Rashīd al-dīn is much more complete, but the mixing of Juvaynī with other information has resulted in some confusion. It is clear from Rashīd's transcription of personal names that he depends much more on rough Mongol records.<sup>4</sup> My translation is based on the text established (rather unsatisfac-

<sup>1</sup> Read: "nothing but its namesakes" (V. M.).

<sup>2</sup> It is "the horsemen (who marched against) the Kilar and the Bashghird" (V. M.).

<sup>3</sup> In 1246 Pian de Carpine saw in Bati's camp on the lower Volga "tents made of linen. They are large and quite handsome, and used to belong to the king of Hungary". See Rockhill's trans. in *Hakluyt Society*, 2nd series, no. iv, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a very short enumeration of the "eleven nations" of the West in the so-called "Secret History of the Mongols", §§ 262, 270, 274 (I have used also the recent translations by S. A. Kozin, E. Haenisch, 1941, and K. Grønbech, 1945). The Far-Eastern texts, both Mongolian and Chinese, are very brief.

torily) by Blochet, *GMS*, 1911, 43–7, who did not use Berezin's valuable article "The first invasion of the Mongols in Russia" (in Russian) in *Zhurnal Min. Nar. Prosv.*, vol. 79, 1853, 223–250, and vol. 86, 1855, 79–114. At the same time I use the variants in d'Ohsson ii, 619–626 (summed up by Bretschneider i, 310–7, with additions from Chinese sources). Numerous suggestions on Rashīd al-dīn's account are found in Pelliot's posthumous *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 1950, especially pp. 109–162. The latest translation is found in Tiesenhausen's *Sbornik materialov . . . Zolotoy Ordī*, ii, 1941, thoroughly revised by A. A. Romaskevich and S. L. Volin who quote some important variants.<sup>1</sup>

[43] "Of the campaign of the princes and the Mongol army in Dasht-i Qipchāq, Bulghar, Urūs, MKS, Alān, Mājār (var. الاوجار), Pūlār, \*Bāshghurt, and of the conquest of those countries

The princes who were appointed for the conquest of Dasht-i Qipchaq and the neighbouring territories were: of the children of Tuluy-khan, his eldest son Mungkā (Möngkä)-qā'an and his brother Böjek; of the progeny of Ogtāy (Ögedey)-qā'an, his eldest son Güyük-khan and his brother Qadān; of the children of Chaghatay, Böri and Bāydār and the brother of the Qā'an, Kūlkān (Kūlkān); of the children of Jochi, Batu, Ūrda (Orda), Shībān and Tangqūt. Of the distinguished amirs, Sūbādāy (Sübedey)-bahādūr with several other amirs accompanied the princes. All of them together set forth in the beginning of the spring of Bichin-yīl, which is the year of the Monkey corresponding to (i.e. beginning in) Jumādā ii 633/Feb.–March 1236. During the summer and in the autumn they operated in the neighbourhood of Bulghar and reached the family domains (*ūrūq*) of Batu, Orda, Shībān and Tangqūt, who from that region were nominated (to take part in the campaign).

Thence (1\*) Batu, together with Shībān and Būrūldāy and the army, took the field against Pūlū and Bāshqurd (2\*) and in a short time and without much trouble took (those countries) and did much killing and looting. This happened like this: the Pūlū were a numerous people of Christian persuasion and their frontiers joined those of the Franks. On hearing the rumour that Batu and the amirs were on the march, they made preparations and set forth with 40 tumans of renowned troops. Shībān, who was in the van (*manqalay*) with 10,000 horsemen, [44] sent a report that they were several times more numerous than the Mongol army and all of them great fighters. When the two armies were drawn up in battle array, Batu, following the custom of Chinggis-khan, went on to the top of a hill and during one day and one night (addressed himself to) the Almighty with humility and lamentations, while he ordered the Muslims to pray in all sincerity. Between the armies there was a large river. Batu and Burulday crossed it at night and came to grips (with the enemy). Batu's brother Shiban personally took part in the fighting and Burulday at once attacked with all the troops. They approached the pavilion of the king (*k.l.r*) and with their swords cut down its ropes. The enemy's army lost heart and broke into flight. The Mongols like lions on a hunt went after them smiting and killing them until they had annihilated the best part of the enemy and took their country (3\*). This was one of the great deeds which they accomplished. Pūlū-and-Bāshqurd is a great area difficult (of access) and yet they

<sup>1</sup> The war prevented Pelliot from consulting this publication.

conquered it. But (Pülū and Bāshqurd) revolted again and their land still remains not entirely conquered. Their kings are called *\*kilar*.<sup>1</sup>

After that <sup>2</sup> in the winter the princes and the amirs came together on the river Jāmān and sent amir Sübedey with an army to the Ās country and to the frontiers of Bulghār. They (themselves) proceeded up to the town KZNK (4\*) and the other provinces of those parts. Having defeated the local armies they pacified (*il*) the (inhabitants). The amirs of that (country) Bāyān (?) and Chīqū (*Ch.nqū*, *Kh.nqū* ?) arrived to pay homage (*öljämishī*) to the princes and returned with honours (*suypurghamishī*) but revolted again. For the second time Sübedey-bahadur was sent (against them) and he captured them.

After this the princes held a council (*kängäch*) and each of them with an army went on *\*jerge* <sup>3</sup> and with fighting conquered the countries on their way. On the left wing Möngkă-qā'ān (5\*) followed the bank of the river (Volga) and (he and his troops) captured <sup>4</sup> the two (chiefs) : Pāchmān (Bachman ?), one of the great amirs of that country (belonging to ?) the Ūlirlık (Ūlarlang ?) tribe (*qaum*) of the Chīnchāq (*\*Khifchaq* ?) federation (*jamā'at*), and Qāchīr-Ūkūla of the people Ās.<sup>5</sup> This happened in the following way [45]. This Pāchmān with a band of other thieves had escaped from the sword (of the conquerors). A number of other fugitives gathered round him and wherever he went he carried away something and daily the unrest caused by him grew. He had no definite residence and the Mongol army could not get hold of him. By day he (hid) in the woods on the banks of the Ītīl (Volga). Möngkă-qā'ān gave orders to build 200 boats and load on each 100 fully armed Mongols, and with his brother marched along the banks of the river (as) at a *battue* (*yerge*, *nerge* ?). In one of the woods on the Ītīl they found some dung and other traces of a horsemen's bivouac which had been hastily abandoned. Here they found an old woman who told them that Pāchmān had moved to an island. As no boats were available it was impossible to cross the Ītīl but suddenly a strong wind arose and the waters were whipped up into waves and receded from the passage leading from the island to the other side (of the river). It was Möngkă's luck that the ground became visible and <sup>6</sup> [he ordered his army to push on. They captured Bachmān and annihilated his troops in an hour's time ; they threw some into the water and finished off the others. Their wives and children were carried off into captivity and much property was seized. Then they returned and the waters became agitated again and after the army had crossed back everything became normal and not a man suffered from the waters. When Pāchmān [*sic*] was brought into the presence of Möngkă-qā'ān he besought him] to kill him with his own hand but Möngkă ordered his brother Böjek to cut Pachmān [*sic*] in two. Qājir-Ūkūla of the Ās amirs [46] was also killed. That summer (Möngkă) stayed there.

<sup>1</sup> *\*Kiral*, which suits better Hung. *király* "king" than Polish *król*. For the metathesis see the name of the river in Mongolia *Kelüren/Kerülen*.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph is not in Juvaynī.

<sup>3</sup> *\*Ba-jerge* "in an encircling movement, like at a *battue*". Juvaynī III, 10, uses another form of the word : *nerge*. In Turkish *n* (in some dialects) corresponds to *y* (*j*).

<sup>4</sup> This episode corresponds to Juvaynī III, 10-11, who omits the names Ūlirlık and Qāchīr-Ūkūla.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. the Ossets, but the name of the prince has not been identified. In Mongol *khachir* means "a mule", but a Mongol name among the Ossets is unlikely.

<sup>6</sup> Here the editor supplies six lines of missing text from Juvaynī, see Qazvīnī's ed., iii, 10-11.



Then <sup>1</sup> in the Taqiqu-yīl, which is the year of the Hen coinciding with the months of the year 634,<sup>2</sup> the sons of Chūchī (Jochi)-khan, Batu, Orda and Berke, the sons of the Qā'ān: Qadān, Güyük-khan and Möngkă-qā'ān; the grandson of Chaghatay-khan, Bōri, and the son of Chingiz-khan, Külkän, set forth to fight the Būqshī and Burtās (6\*) whom they conquered in a short time.

In the autumn of this year (1237) all the princes who were in those parts held a *quriltay* and jointly marched on the Ūrūs. Batu, Orda, Güyük-khan, Möngkă-qā'ān, Külkän, Qadān and Bōri went together to lay siege to the town Riyazan (var. Arzān) (7\*) which they took in 3 days. After this they also took the town (on the) İka (8\*) where Külkän was wounded and died. One of the Russian amirs, Ūrmān by name (9\*) advanced with an army but was defeated and killed. Acting jointly (the princes also) took Moskvā (10\*) in 5 days and killed the amir of the town Ūlāy-Timūr (11\*) by name. They besieged the town of great Yürkī (12\*) and took it in 8 days while (the enemies ?) were fighting hard. Möngkă-qā'ān in person performed feats of valour until he defeated them. In five days the princes took the town Qyrnqlā (?), which is the original home of V.zīrlāv (13\*). The local amir Yeke-Yürkū ('great' Yuri) (14\*) fled into the forest but was caught and put to death. Then the princes went away and held a council (*kängäch*) and decided to march in *battue* columns (*\*jerge*) of 10,000 and to capture and destroy any province or fortress on their way. During that campaign Batu came to the town KSL-İSKA (15\*) which he besieged for 2 months but could not capture. [47] After this Qadān and Bōri arrived and the town was taken in 3 days. Then they went into houses and rested.

After this in the Nuqa-yīl, which is the year of the Dog, corresponding to the months of 635/1238, Qadān marched against the Cherkes and in winter their king, Būqān (Tūqān ?) by name, was killed. Shibān, Bōjek and Bōri went to the region (*vilāyat*) of M.rym (\*Qrīm ?) and of the territory of the Chīnjāq (\*Khifchaq) tribe captured up to the norm (?) (16\*). Berke marched in the direction of Qipchaq and, thanks to his good luck (?), they captured Mās and Qyrān, the leaders of the M.krūt (17\*).

After that in the Qaqa-yīl, which is the year of the Hog, corresponding to the months of 636/1239, Güyük-khan, Möngkă-qā'ān, Bōri and Qadān marched <sup>3</sup> against the town MNKS (or MYKS ?) <sup>4</sup> and in the winter took it after a siege which lasted a month and 15 days. They <sup>5</sup> were still on that campaign (*cherik*, *\*jerge* ?) when the year of the Mouse (637/1240) came. In the spring (of 1240) they appointed troops (*cherik* 'levy') and gave them to Qūqdāy and sent the latter to Timūr-qahulqa <sup>6</sup> (with the order) to take it and its region. In the autumn of the year of the Mouse (1240) Güyük-khan and Möngkă-qā'ān went back, in obedience to the *yarligh* (order) of the Qā'ān. In the year of the Ox, corresponding to the months of 638/1241, they reached their own camps."

<sup>1</sup> This record is not in Juvaynī. It opens the account of the campaign in the northern zone.

<sup>2</sup> The Muslim year 634 corresponds to 4th September, 1236–23rd August, 1237, but the Mongolian year (beginning in January–February) began in the later part of the Muslim year. Practically it corresponded to the Christian year 1237, as confirmed by the chronology of the events in Russian annals.

<sup>3</sup> Only here, after a great gap in Juvaynī's text, do we catch up with the final part of his report.

<sup>4</sup> Juvaynī's MKS.

<sup>5</sup> Not in Juvaynī.

<sup>6</sup> In Mongolian "Iron Gate", i.e. Darband.

In another chapter containing many obscure names (mostly in Mongolian forms) Rashīd al-dīn completes the account of the western campaigns of the Mongols.

[54] “ *The record of the princes of (in ?) Dasht-i Qipchaq*

In the autumn of the year of the Mouse, corresponding to the months of the year 637/1240, Güyük-khan and Möngkĕ-qā’ān, in obedience to the *yarliq* of the Qā’ān, returned from the Dasht-i Qipchaq. The princes Batu and his brothers Qadān, Böri and Böjek took the field against the country Ūrūs (Russia), the people of the Black-Caps (*kulāh-siyāh*, i.e. Qara-qalpaq) (18\*) and in nine days took the great Ūrūs town called \**Mankarmān* (i.e. Kiev) (19\*). After this in *battue* order, and in detachments of 10,000, they went to all the towns of Ūladmūr (Vladimir) taking all the castles [55] and provinces which they found on their road. Jointly they besieged the town “ Vladimir-of-the-three-sons ” (*Ūch-oghul Ulādmur*) (20\*) and took it in three days.

In the year of the Ox (638/1239) the Qā’ān (Ögedey) died <sup>1</sup> and in the middle of the spring month the princes crossed the mountain B.rāq-tān (*Yarāq-yān* ?) in the direction of Pülār and Bāshqurd (21\*).

On the right flank,<sup>2</sup> Orda marched through the territory of Īlāvut when BZRNBĀM (22\*) with an army appeared before him, and they killed him.

Qadān and Böri took the field against the Sāsān people (Saxons of Transylvania) and defeated them after three battles.

Böjek went by way of Qarā-Ūlagh (Black Vlachs) <sup>3</sup> across their mountains ; thence through the forests and the mountain of Yātāq-b.rq (see above) he reached the frontier (or the territory) of Mīsh-lāv (23\*) and smote the rebels who were standing there in readiness.

The princes who followed those five (?) <sup>4</sup> roads captured all the territories of the Bāshqurd, \*Mājār and Sāsān, and put to flight their king \*Kīlār (\**Király* ‘king’). They (spent) the summer on the river Tisza and TNHĀ (or T.HĀ, certainly *Tunā*, Danube).

Qadān with an army marched and took the territories Māqūt, Ūyraḡ (Aryarḡ ?), and Sarān (?) (24\*) and chased the Kīral [*sic*], the sovereign of those kingdoms up to the sea. When (the king) embarked on a ship in the town M.līkīn (25\*), which stands on the shore, and took to the sea, Qadān went back. After much fighting he (Qadān) captured QRQYN and QNBLA (??) in the town (*shahr*, country ?) of the Ūlāqūt (Wallachians) (26\*).

The news of the Qā’ān’s death (11 Dec. 1241) had not yet reached the princes and after that in the year of the Tiger (639/1242) many Qipchaqs (who) had arrived to fight Kūt.n (27\*) and Shīnqūr, son of \*Jūchī, offered battle but were defeated. In the autumn [56] (the Qipchaqs ?) returned again and passed to the frontiers of Timur-qahulqa (Darband) and the mountains of that region. They (the princes) gave an army to Īlāvdar <sup>5</sup> and sent him, and he

<sup>1</sup> This date is wrong. Further down Rashīd himself seems to admit that during the operations of 1241 the princes had not yet heard of the death of the Qā’ān. According to Juvaynī I, 159, Ögedey died on 5 Jumādā II, 639/11th December, 1241.

<sup>2</sup> This is a second and much more detailed version of what Rashīd had copied from Juvaynī (see above).

<sup>3</sup> According to Pelliot, *La Horde d’Or*, p. 153 : Moldavians.

<sup>4</sup> The Chinese *Yuan-shi* also speaks of five roads followed by the Mongols, see Bretschneider, I, 331

<sup>5</sup> Different from Qūqdāy mentioned under A.D. 1240.

went and captured the Qipchaqs who had fled to those parts. They (the princes ?) subjugated the territory of (the ?) Ūrüngqūt (and ?) Bādāch (28\*) and brought their envoys. That year they remained in those parts.

In the beginning of the year of the Hare, corresponding to the months of the year 640/1243, on completion of the task of conquest (the princes) returned. The summer and the winter were spent on the road, and in the year of the Snake, corresponding to the months of the year 641/1244, they reached their homeland and halted at their own encampments. And God alone knows the truth."

#### § 4. Notes on Rashīd al-dīn's Text

(1\*) This part of Rashīd al-dīn's report, borrowed from Juvaynī and left undated, has got into the wrong place. Batu operated in the Carpathians and Hungary in 637/1240, and Rashīd himself devoted to this campaign a *special* chapter, ed. Blochet, 54–6 (see above, p. 227).

(2\*) In his *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 1950, p. 130, Pelliot admits that Juvaynī's "Kalar and Bashghird" and Rashīd al-dīn's "\*Bōlar (Būlū) and Bāshghird" have practically the same meaning and designate Hungary. Meanwhile, he thinks that originally *Bolar* referred to the Volga Bulgars. However, there is still some likelihood for the variant *Pālū* (restored by d'Ohsson and Berezin as *Polo*) reflecting some memory of Poland which was invaded before Hungary. As shown by K. Jahn in his edition of Rashīd's history of the Franks, 1951, pp. 8–9, Rashīd's source on European history was a book written by a Polish monk, Martinus Polonus (Opaviensis), and he must have heard the name of Poland.

(3\*) The battle against the Hungarians was won at Mohi, on the right bank of the river Sayó, above its junction with the Tisza, on 11th April, 1241. On this occasion quarrels arose between Batu and Sübedey, see the translation of the latter's Chinese biography in Pelliot, 131. The Mongols spent the summer of 1241 on the Hungarian plain and on 25th December, 1241, crossed the Danube on the ice.

(4\*) This paragraph, lacking in Juvaynī, presents great difficulties. Is the winter in question the winter of 1241? If so, one might identify the river Jāmān (\*Yāmān, in Turkish "evil, mischievous") with the Danube and locate KZNK/KRNK at Gran, which Batu captured after the crossing, and "the other provinces" in Croatia, etc., through which Qadan pursued king Béla. This, however, is very unlikely. Berezin apparently assumed that the events took place while the Mongol princes were returning from Hungary, for he located KZNK/KRNK at Kremenchug at a crossing of the Dnieper. In itself this identification is not conclusive and the chronology is again highly doubtful.

Rashīd al-dīn must introduce here some new source and we seem to go back to an earlier period of operations in Qipchaq (about 1237?), as suggested by the names Bāyān and Chīqū, which sound Turkish. After the episode of Bāyān and Chīqū comes the story of Bāchmān, who belonged to a Qipchaq tribe. According to the Chinese sources (Yüan-shi), the capture of this chief by Möngka took place in 1237, see Marquart, *Komanen*, 115, and Pelliot's correction "A propos des Comans", *J.As.*, April, 1920, 766. Only after this did Möngka take part in Batu's expedition. It is an interesting point that Möngka, as he followed the bank of the Volga downstream, was on the left wing. This shows that the front was turned southwards (towards the Caucasus) and the operation

was directed against the Qipchaqs. If so, *Jāmān* must refer to one of the Russian rivers. In the *Secret History of the Mongols* the large rivers "Adil and Jayakh" are several times mentioned together. In § 270 it is said that beyond them lie Meket (\*Magas) and Man-karman-Keyiba (Kiev). In § 274 the princes are said to have destroyed "the towns of Ējil (Edil?), Jayakh and Meget. Our *Jāmān* (جامان) might be restored as \*Jayakh (جاياخ). The latter is usually taken for the Yaiq (Ural), though in the order of enumeration it should be located between the Volga (Adil) and the Caucasus (Meget, see below). But between the Volga and the Caucasus there is only one great river, the Terek (in Georgian *Lomeki*, in Old Armenian *Arm*). The Kuma flowing north of the Terek is much less important, but on it stood an important centre called Majar (see below, p. 236). Could not جامان *Jāmān* be only a metathesis of \*ماجار *Mājār*?

(5\*) This report on Bājmān is borrowed from Juvaynī III, 9–11, where, without any chronological reference, it is quoted as an introduction to the election of Möngke in 649/1251. On the real date (1237) see note (4\*).

(6\*) Already Berezin in his article "The first Mongol invasion", p. 91, identified *Tūqshi* (\**Būqshi*) with the Mordvan tribe Moksha. Burtās seems to be a general Islamic name for the Mordvans, see *Hudūd*, § 52, though possibly derived from some particular Mordvan tribe.

(7\*) Riazan, which was defended by Prince Yuri, son of Igor, was taken on 21st December, 1237. The Chinese transcription *Ye-lie-tsan*, Pelliot, l.c., 166, shows that the spelling must be ارزان, probably \**Irazan* (to avoid an initial *r*).

(8\*) Kolomna on the Oka (\*اوکه).

(9\*) Yuri's brother Roman, defender of Kolomna.

(10\*) Var. *Makār*, *Makārd*. At that time Moscow was still a secondary town of the Suzdal principality.

(11\*) Vladimir, son of the Grand Duke Yuri.

(12\*) The town of Vladimir, capital of the Grand Duke Yuri, was taken after a siege lasting seven days (2nd–8th February, 1238).

(13\*) Name mutilated. The town of Suzdal was raided simultaneously with Vladimir, and Suzdal was the original fief of the grand-dukes. Reading at the end of *V.zīrlāv lād* (لاد) instead of *lav* (لاو) one might think of \*Vsevolod, the reference being not to the earliest fief-holder of Suzdal, Vsevolod, son of Yaroslav, but to the Grand Duke Yuri's father Vsevolod III, "the Great Nest" (1176–1212), under whom Suzdal became the leading principality. Vsevolod's residence was Vladimir (founded in 1108) but in any case the principality was called after the town of Suzdal. Should we consider only the graphic form of قيرنقلا or قيرقلا it might be restored as فيرزلاو\* *Pereyaslavl*, which was also taken in the Suzdal area, but then the qualification "original home" would remain without explanation. Instead of Berezin's \**Pereyaslavl*, Pelliot, l.c., 115, on the basis of the Chinese biography of Sübütäy, would suggest Torzhok, but this is too far from the pattern found in the MSS.

(14\*) The Grand Duke Yuri, son of Vsevolod, was killed on 4th March, 1238 (old style) in the battle on the Sit, north of the Volga.

(15\*) Undoubtedly Kozelsk, which resisted for seven weeks. Blochet's reading *Kiev-matushka* (!) and further explanation, Appendix, p. 26, are pure fantasy, see Pelliot, *La Horde d'Or*, 114. Rashīd al-dīn himself speaks separately

of the campaign of 1240 during which Kiev (\*Män-kärmän) was taken (see below). کسل ایسکه stands in the best MS. of Tashkent (instead of Blochet's کیلانیکه).

(16\*) *M.rym* looks very much like *Q.rīm* (and the best MS. gives *Qrīm*). Elsewhere the Crimea is mentioned only in the course of the raid of 1223. *Tā ba-qarār* "up to the norm, or agreement" does not make sense. Very probably instead of *qarār* one should insert some place name.

(17\*) These three names are unknown. K. V. Kudryashov's recent work, *Polovetskaya step*, Moscow, 1948, is inaccessible to me.

(18\*) The Russians called *Chornīye klobuki* "Black caps" those Turks whom they established as their frontier-guards on the middle Dnieper, and especially on its right tributary, Ros', see D. Rasovsky, "Pechenegi, Torki i Berendei," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Praha, 1933, vii, p. 54.

(19\*) Man-karmän (kärmän) is one of the various names of Kiev: in Norse, Kœnugarðr, in Arabic, *Kūyāba*, in Greek, *Κιοάβα* and *Σαμβαράς* (the latter perhaps of Khazar origin: cf. *Sam-karsh* in I. Faqih, 271, for I. Rusta's *Karkh*, read \*Karj, i.e. Kerch). Nizām al-dīn Shāmī, in his *Zafar-nāma*, ed. Tauer, 161, says that in the course of his campaign in Qipchaq (797/1395) Timur reached the river (of) Mankarmän "in the direction of the river Ūzī (Dnieper)"; better in Sharaf al-dīn's *Zafar-nāma*, i, 759 ("the river Ūzī and the place called Mankarmän). Contarini, in *Hakluyt Society*, 49, 1873, p. 112, also confirms that in his time (1474) Chio (Kiev) was still called *Magraman*. The element *Man* is obscure (but see the name of the peninsula *Man-qishlaq* on the Caspian). The word *karmän* (\**kärmän*) in the sense of "town, fortress" is attested in many southern Russian place names: Aq-kerman (in Russian Бѣлгород, Phrantzes, 308, *Ἀσπρόκαστρον*), Kremenchug (Kermen-chuk, with a diminutive Turkish suffix). The word is of Uralo-Altaic origin and is found in Turkish dialects, see Radloff, ii, 1108, with reference to *Codex Cumanicus* (ed. Copenhagen, 1936, p. 141, 6). Cf. *OLZ*, 1942, pp. 146-7.

(20\*) The name definitely refers to Vladimir-in-Volynia to which the Mongols proceeded after the capture of Kiev. It is true that in 1117 Volynia was occupied by Vladimir Monomach, grandson of Yaroslav, but the town Vladimir is known since 988. It is likely that "Three-sons" is only a qualification contemporary with the campaign. After the death of Roman of Galicia (1205) his energetic widow Anna (of whose activities there seems to have existed a special record) temporarily withdrew to Vladimir with her sons Daniel (four years old) and Vasilkó (two years old). After numerous adventures the sons of Roman recovered their fief and the town of Vladimir was reoccupied about 1217. See V. T. Pashuto, *Ocherki . . . Galitsko-Volīnskoy Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 19, 63, 194, 201. It would be tempting to connect the name of the town (*üch-oghul Ūlādmūr*) with the adventures of Roman's sons. But our sources speak only of his three daughters, supposed (?) to have been born of his first wife Predslava, and of his two sons, Daniel and Vasilkó, born of Anna, see Baumgarten, "Généalogies . . . des Rurikides russes," in *Orientalia Christiana*, May, 1927, ix/1, No. 35, tables v and xi. We should have to postulate the existence of a third son, or more likely, to admit that a daughter was considered as a third *oghul*. In fact this Turkish term can eventually cover children of both sexes. In 1228 Daniel married off his sister Salome to the prince of Pomorye (German: "Pommern"). At the death of her father she must have

been very young and therefore must have been born of Anna. Thus in the eyes of the Qipchaq and the Mongols the three *oghul* may have been Daniel, Vasilkó and Salome.

(21\*) Blochet himself doubted his restoration *\*Yapraq-tagh*. Pelliot, 130, using Chinese transcriptions (*Ha-tsa-li*) suggests *Qazaq-tagh*, or *Qashqa-tagh* "the bald mountain" (?). All we can say is that the name refers to the Carpathians. The variants are مانق راق (مانق راق), مانق راق (مانق راق)

(22\*) Strakosch-Grassmann, *Der Einfall der Mongolen in Mitteleuropa*, 1893, p. 97, opposes Rumanian etymologies for BZRNĀM, and the fact is that Orda's northern column marched through Poland. Pelliot, o.c., 159, explains *Īlāvut* as a Mongolian plural of *Lah* "Poles", and on p. 145 contests Strakosch's surmise, p. 43, that BZRNĀM was a Lithuanian prince. For BZRNĀM Pelliot suggests, p. 160, the reading *\*Pakoslav* or *\*Boleslav*. Only the last name, *\*Būlazlāv* بولزلارو, would have some remote likeness to BZRNĀM بزرنام and, in fact, the prince Boleslav-the-Pudic of Sandomir tried unsuccessfully to stop the Mongols near Opolye, though he did not die till 1279.

(23\*) *Mish-lāv* is a puzzle. Strakosch, 97, denies the existence of any contemporary Rumanian records. On his Map, *on the way* of Böjek (west of Herrmanstadt and Mühlbach) he shows the town Saxvár (or Sásvár, south of the southern bend of the Marosh). In Arabic script *Mish-lāv* ميشلارو might be restored as *\*Saks-vár* سكسوار (?).

(24\*) For the first of these names Strakosch, p. 166, suggests Makhov on the Sava; the second is entirely obscure; the third might be restored as "Serbians" (?); cf. Strakosch, 169, on the devastation of a part of Serbia. The fact, however, is that in this chapter most of the tribal names (with the exception of *Sāsān* "Saxons") have the form of Mongolian plurals in *-ut*. One of the mutilated names might correspond to Zagreb (Agram).

(25\*) It was in Trau (in Serbian: Trogir), on a peninsula west of Spalato that the king embarked his family on a ship (in March, 1242), Strakosch, p. 168. *Milikin* is probably سبليت Split (the Serbian name of Spalato).

(26\*) The only possible translation is to take *Q.rqīn* (Qūqīn) and *\*Q.nb.la* (Qabil) for personal names of some Turks (Qipchaqs?) captured in the town (chief-town?) of the *Ūlāqūt* (Vlaq, Wallachians).

(27\*) The text seems to be out of order. *Kūtan* (in Russian Котян) is the name of a well-known Qipchaq prince, son-in-law of Mstislav of Halich, who after the Mongol advance fled to Hungary and became a Christian. In the exasperation caused by the Mongol invasion the Hungarians put *Kūtan* (Kuthen) to death and his men moved across the Danube to Bulgaria, see Strakosch, pp. 72-5. The *Kūtan* mentioned in our text may be a different person, but by transposing *ba-jang* and reading *\*ba-jang-i Shīngqūr* one might suggest that "the Qipchaqs of *Kūtan*", who had come to fight *Shīngqūr*, son of Jochi, were defeated. *Shīngqūr* was the ninth son of Jochi, see Rashīd, ed. Blochet, p. 124.

(28\*) Neither of these names can be identified. As a guess one can assume that all these operations were directed against the remnants of the Qipchaq (Quman, Polovtsi) tribes. *Bādāch* might be restored as *Bārāch*.

### § 5. Magas a Caucasian Town

Rashīd al-dīn's text, though partly based on Juvaynī, or on the same sources as Juvaynī's, is more detailed<sup>1</sup>: it expands the account of the Mongol campaigns in Eastern Europe and gives a fair enumeration of Russian towns.

In Juvaynī, 222, the name MKS follows immediately on Rūs, and this circumstance became the cause of much confusion.<sup>2</sup> In Rashīd al-dīn MNKS (MYKS) is separated from the Rūs both in space and in time. At least one of the participants in the expedition (Bōri) seems to have marched to MNKS after the conquest of *مريم* *M.rym*, which I am inclined to restore as *\*قریم* *Qrīm* (Crimea).

In Juvaynī's short reference to the Russian campaign the details have been omitted, either intentionally or through a misunderstanding, such as a confusion of the name of Moscow with that of the Caucasian \*Magas. As already pointed out, in the thirteenth century Moscow was still an insignificant place in comparison with Riazan, Vladimir, and other towns of the Suzdal principality enumerated in Rashīd al-dīn.

Our comparison of Juvaynī and Rashīd confirms the view that Juvaynī's MKS (MNKS) can refer only to the Caucasian \*Magas. In Persian *magas* means "a fly", and Juvaynī's metaphors relating to the world of insects and reptiles are all based on this meaning. It also helps to explain the baffling pun about the Mongols who left in \*Magas nothing "except its namesakes" (i.e. flies).<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese history of the Mongol dynasty also mentions the Caucasian town conquered in 1239 ("after a three months' siege"). Its name is differently transcribed but the variants<sup>4</sup> suggest a foreign \*Makas. Its association with the Caucasus is clear from the name A-su which precedes it: "the Makas of the Ās."<sup>5</sup>

Even the so-called "Secret history of the Mongols" (§§ 270, 274, 275) several times refers to the same place under the name *Meget*, in which *t* apparently represents some Mongol morphological development of *Meget*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same remark applies to some other passages. See the exposition of the Ismā'īlī doctrines in Juvaynī, iii, and in Rashīd al-dīn, quoted by R. Levy, *JRAS.*, 1930, 509-536.

<sup>2</sup> Recently: Minorsky, *Hudūd*, 1937, p. 446: "*M.k.s* mentioned [in Juvaynī, 222] together with Bulghār seems to refer to the Moksha (a Mordvan tribe)"; Pelliot, *La Horde d'Or*, 124, distinguishes between the two towns bearing similar names but finally takes Juvaynī's \**Makas* for Moscow (in some contradiction with his former and correct statement in *Jour. As.*, Avril, 1920, pp. 168-9).

<sup>3</sup> The text can be read only as "*juz ham-nām-i ān naguzāshand*", *ham-nām* being "namesake".

<sup>4</sup> *Yüan-shi*, 2, 7a, and 122, 13b: *Miä-khiä-si*; 128, 14b: *Mai-khiä-si*; 132, 9a: *Mai-ko-si*. The variants of the first syllable also occur in the transcription of *Ma-* in *Märkit*, see Pelliot-Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis khan*, 1951, i, 217. (This note is by my lamented friend, Professor G. Haloun (d. 23rd December, 1951), who was ever ready to help me with his advice on Far Eastern matters.)

<sup>5</sup> Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, i, 309-317.

<sup>6</sup> In his translation E. Haenisch, p. 188, wrongly explains *Meget*, *Meket* = *Mekes*, as "*die Hauptstadt Georgiens, Mzchet bei Tiflis*". In 1239 the Mongols did not cross the Caucasus and Mtskheta has nothing to do with the Ās.

### § 6. Mas'ūdī and others on the Alān Capital

In the highly important description of the Caucasus by Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab*, ii, 42, the capital of the Alāns<sup>1</sup> is called مَنَعِس \**M.γ.s.*, in which *s* might have the value of *š*, but it is likely that Mas'ūdī's transcription is due to his desire to render foreign sounds in an unequivocal way rather than to any phonetical peculiarities of the name. Had he written كَك it would give *k* instead of *g*, whereas س *s* might be mistaken for ش *š*. Besides, مَكِس would be read *maks* "a non-Islamic tax". For the transcription of a Persian *s* by م see مصَنَعَان \**Maṣ-Mughān*, Tabari, i, 2656.

Mas'ūdī gives his own interpretation of the name as دِيَانَة (ed. Paris) or دِمَانَة (ed. Cairo). The first can only mean "piety", and its variant "mildness". Following on our previous statements we can now restore the name (simply by moving the dots) as ذِبَابَة *dhībāba*, or ذِبَانَة *dhībāna*, both meaning in Arabic "a fly". Thus a puzzle is removed from Mas'ūdī's text and it is brought into line with the other sources.

There is still another text which can be understood only in the light of the above interpretation. Mas'ūdī, ii, 42, confirms that the kingdom of "the Master of the throne" (*Sāhib al-Sarīr*) lay in the mountains and bordered on the kingdom of the Alāns. It is now an accepted fact that the "Master of the throne" ruled over the Caucasian Avars,<sup>2</sup> who even in our days continue to occupy the valley of the main branch of the Qoy-su (Sulaq). This king, who was paramount in northern Daghestan,<sup>3</sup> professed Christianity.<sup>4</sup> The king of the Alāns was married to the sister of the king of the Sarīr, and the latter to the sister of the former, but Mas'ūdī restrictively adds "at this time", as if leaving the door open to the supposition that at other times the relations between the neighbours were not necessarily cloudless.

The Persian geography *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, compiled in 372/982, gives a short description of the Sarīr country (§ 49), which runs on parallel lines with I. Rusta and Gardīzī but adds a curious detail. "It is reported that in the mountains (of the Sarīr) live flies (*magas*), each as big as a partridge. Every now and then the king sends to the place where the flies dwell large quantities of carrion of slaughtered or dead cattle and of game. It is thrown there for the nourishment (of the flies), for if they grow hungry they come and devour every man and animal whom they happen to meet."

This story has all the appearance of a superstructure on the name of the

<sup>1</sup> Both Alān and Ās refer to the same people, the ancestors of the present-day Ossets (*Ous-et'i* in Georgian, "the country of the Ous," i.e. Ās). *Alān* seems to be the north-Iranian form of "Aryan" (*ry > l*). The reason of the double appellation *Alān/Ās* is not clear. It is possibly due to the existence of two cognate tribes which formed the Osset people, which even now speaks three different dialects.

<sup>2</sup> And most probably over some neighbouring tribes of the Northern Caucasus, such as the Chechens.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I. Rusta, p. 147, and Gardīzī in Barthold, *Otchet*, p. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Mas'ūdī's statement to this effect is confirmed by such names of the rulers as Bukht-Yishō' found in the old history of Bāb al-abwāb (compiled before 500/1106) which I am publishing.



Alān capital, and possibly echoes some unpleasant obligation of the king of Sarīr to placate his turbulent neighbours.

Mas'ūdī clearly distinguishes between the Alān capital (*dār mamlakat al-Lān*), called \**Maghaṣ*, and the "Alānian castle" (*qal'at al-Lān*) situated "between the Alān kingdom and Mt. \*Qabkh (Caucasian range)", i.e. the castle situated in the Darial gorge. In Mas'ūdī's time the latter was occupied by the descendants of the Arab garrison posted there in the time of Maslama ibn 'Abd al-Malik.

According to Juvaynī \*Magas lay among dense woods and it must have been a very strong place for its siege lasted 45 days (Rashīd al-dīn), or even three months (Yüan-shi). It is not quite clear whether this expedition was connected with any misdeeds of the Ās leader called Qāchīr-Ūkūla, who (in 1237) was associated with the Qipchaq leader Bāchmān.

I am told by Professor H. W. Bailey that in the present-day Ossetic there is no word for "fly" corresponding to Persian *magas* (or Avestan *makhshi*). Some ancient or local word may have been equated by the Muslims to Persian *magas*. Even if Mas'ūdī's مَغَص (M.γ.ṣ, or \*M.γ.č) points to some peculiarities of pronunciation, the fact is that both in Arabic and Persian the name was definitely interpreted as "a fly", and in Mongol times transcribed *Makas*/*\*Magas* both by the Chinese and the Muslims.

The location of the Alān capital depends chiefly on archæological exploration on the spot. The name is surely an important pointer, but a mere comparison of \**Magas* with the present-day place-names is insufficient. D'Ohsson<sup>1</sup> once compared "Magas" with "Mokhatschla", situated on the Cherek (a left tributary of the Terek rising in Balkaria). The north-western limit of the Osset settlements nowadays is along the more easterly Urukh (Iruf) but, as shown by V. F. Miller, the toponymy of Balkaria is Osset. The Turks have ousted the Ossets from the valleys situated between the Elbrus and Urukh, and the Ossets themselves have transferred on these late-comers their own name Asi (Islamic Ās). The name "Mokhatschla" seems to have disappeared from the maps but the name still existing in the Osset territory is *Makhchesk*. This place lies near the Caucasian range in Digoria, i.e. in the south-west corner of the present-day Osset autonomous republic. It is situated on the upper course of the Urukh.<sup>2</sup> This valley formed the fief of the princes Abisal, and close to Makhchesk stands the family fortress of the former princes Tughan. A traveller who visited it towards the end of the nineteenth century described it as "a fortress of a truly great size".<sup>3</sup>

One further possibility should be considered. Early Muslim sources, dealing

<sup>1</sup> *Les peuples du Caucase*, 1828, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Urukh is a left tributary of the Terek. On the Urukh too lies a place called *Moska* (apparently insignificant).

<sup>3</sup> K. D. Gan (Hahn), *Sborn. opisaniya mest. i plemen Kavkaza*, quoted in Countess Uvarov's *Materiali archeologii Kavkaza*, 1900, viii, 254. On the other hand, according to Pfaff (see Miller, l.c., p. 36), the capital of the ancient Alān kingdom should be looked for on the Fiag-don, which flows between the Urukh and the Terek.

as they do with the larger political divisions, are silent regarding the smaller tribes of the Northern Caucasus. They say nothing about the considerable group of the Chechen-Ingush tribes which separate Daghestan proper from the Ossets. It is likely that these warlike tribes, occupying a mountainous and highly wooded country, formed a bone of contention between the rulers of the Sarīr and the kings of the Ās (Alān, Osset). The legend in the *Hudūd* would suggest that the pernicious “flies” remained outside the direct control of the Sarīr and formed some special enclave. Archæologists will have to consider whether Mayas/Magas should not be sought within the Chechen-Ingush territory loosely connected with the Alān kingdom.

Curiously enough the local Turks give the Chechens a nickname which has some outward likeness to \*Magas. It is differently spelt in various sources : Muhammad Rafī (in Kazem-beg, *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, 1851, p. 217) : *M.ġ.x.j*, possibly \**Michijikh* ; Klaproth, *Tableau . . . du Caucase*, 1827, p. 63 : “Mitzdjegh” ; Budagov, *Sravnit. Slovar*, 1869, ii, 272 : میچغیز *Michighiz* ; other Russian sources : *Misjeg*, *Mizjeg*.

### § 7. Magas and Dzauji-qāu

It looks as if Magas did not survive its destruction by the Mongol princes in 1239 (?). The later mentions of its name are surely simple reminiscences of Juvaynī’s statement. Thus Wassāf, who compiled his history between 1312 and 1328, copied the passage of Juvaynī, with its entomological hints, but the Bombay edition, p. 569, mis-spells the name of the town : R.L.SH and computes the number of the ears cut off by the Mongols as 1270. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī, in the Preface to his *Tarīkh-i guzāda* (730/1330), also refers to the conquest of M.K.S., see Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik . . . Zolotoy ordi*, ii, 1941, p. 248.

The name M.K.S emerges even in the history of Timur, *Zafar-nāma*, compiled by Sharaf al-din Yazdī in 828/1424. In his Introduction (*muqaddima*) he quotes the name of Magas in telling the story of the Chingizids who had ruled in Dasht-i Qipchaq. This episode is obviously *borrowed* from Juvaynī (trees which had to be felled for the passage of four carts abreast, 270,000 [*sic*] ears cut off), see Tiesenhausen, *Sbornik*, ii, 145. On the other hand when under 790/1388 Sharaf al-dīn (ed. Bombay, i, 461) enumerates the provinces from which Toqtamish drew his army the reference to Magas is surely anachronistic.

“From Rus, Cherkes, Bulghar and Qipchaq ;

“From Qrīm with its Kaffa (Theodosia), Alān and Azāq (Azov),

“As well as from Bashqird and *Magas*

“A mighty army was collected.”

The only interest of this poetry is that its metre supports the reading Magas (—). Magas is also mentioned (i, 776) in the enumeration of the parts of Dasht-i Qipchaq conquered by Timur in 798/1396 : “Ükak, Mājar, Rūs, Cherkes, Bāshqird, M.K.S, Balchīmkīn (?), Qrīm (Crimea), Azāq (Azov), Qūbān (Kuban), and Alān.” As, however, Magas is not referred to in the actual report on the course of the campaign, we can safely take the reference to it for a mere stylistic embellishment inherited from the earlier authors.

In fact, already in the latter part of the thirteenth century we find in Russian sources an entirely different name. In 1277 the khan of the Golden Horde "Mangu-Temir" led some Russian princes against the Ās. The princes captured and sacked "the town of the As (Ясский городъ), famous Dyetyakov (Детяковъ)". In February, 1318, prince Michael of Tver was murdered in the Horde when the latter (having travelled from the Azov sea) was "beyond the Terek on the river Sevents (Sunja),<sup>1</sup> near the town Tyetyakov, beyond the high mountains of the Ās and Cherkes (apparently the Besh-tau Mountains), near the Iron Gate".<sup>2</sup> The Nikon Codex adds: "near the copper statue (болванъ),<sup>3</sup> near (its ?) golden head, near the tomb of Temir-bogatir (*bahādur*)". Michael's body was taken across the river Аджъ to Majar, thence to the Ās town Бездежъ (?), and finally to Moscow. Of the river it is said that it is "called sorrow (bitterness ?)", which leaves no doubt about the original Turkish name \*Aji "bitter".<sup>4</sup> Majar (strangely spelt Моджжъчары) was a town on the left bank of the Kuma, downstream from its confluence with the Buyvola. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa visited the town under the same khan Ūzbek.<sup>5</sup> *Bezdež* was identified

<sup>1</sup> In the Troitsk Chronicle, as restored by Priselkov (published in 1950), p. 356: "Tsar Ozbek" killed Michael "on the river" Naya, near the town Dyedyakov. Here НАИ can be only a bad reading of the last letters of Сечеицѣ.

<sup>2</sup> The "Iron Gate" is a classical name for Darband, but (a) here it may be used only to indicate the *approximate* direction, and (b) we have instances in the Russian Chronicles when the *Iron Gate* refers indifferently to the Caucasian chain. In the life of Daniel of Galicia it is said that "he chased khan Otrok (Atraq ?) into the Obez land (Abkhazia) beyond the Iron Gate". Abkhazia lies at the westernmost end of the Caucasus, some 600 kilometres from Darband, as the crow flies.

<sup>3</sup> The "statue, image" (though said to be of *copper*) is likely to be a Turkish *balbal* (from which Russian *bolvan* and *baba* (каменная баба) are derived), i.e. a stone image of an enemy placed at the funerary mound of a Turkish hero. Niẓāmī (who died in 605/1209) in his *Iskandar-nāma* (composed in 591/1200), Tehran, 1316/1937, 427–8, says that when Alexander marching against the Russians penetrated into the steppe of Qifchaq, he was shocked by the freedom of the Qipchaq women going about unveiled. His sage made out of black stone a talisman in the shape of a veiled maiden, and the women took example from her. "That talisman still stands there": the Qifchaqs approaching it bow before it; a horseman deposits an arrow in its honour (*dar kish-i ū*) and a herdsman offers a sheep to it which is devoured by the eagles hovering over it. Some vague memory of the image may have survived even in the *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517) of the learned Polish doctor Maciej z Miechova, who (Part II, ch. iv) states that beyond Viatka [*sic*], in Scythia, there exists a great idol called Zlotababa ("Golden woman") worshipped by local tribes who make offerings to it, be it of a hide or even of a hair, after which the visitor "inclinando se cum reverentia pertransit". This latter report may have been influenced, however, by the report of the Russian chronicle of Khlinov on the capture by Novgorodians (in 1174) of a town on the Viatka, called Bolvansky, because of a heathen statue (болван) found in it.

<sup>4</sup> The identity of this river is not clear. According to Karamzin, ed. 1842, iv, note 237, this is "the Gorkaya which flows into the Caspian". On the recent maps a Gorkaya ("Bitter") river belongs to the basin of the Manich, to the north-west of the Kuma basin. This seems to be the \*Aji mentioned in the Chronicle.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Defrémery, ii, 375. It is tempting to identify Ūzbek's wife Bayalshi (?), who according to the Chronicle saved Michael's followers, with Ūzbek's wife Bayalūn, a Byzantine princess whom Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa accompanied to Constantinople where she was going for her confinement. This journey is supposed to have taken place towards 1334 (?), and in this case Bayalun must have been very young in 1318. [Correction. Pelliot, l.c., 84–5, avers that the name Bayalun was borne by Ūzbek's mother, and possibly by two of his wives, of whom the first died in 1323.]

by Karamzin with Vezedevo on the Volga (downstream from Yenotayevsk), which is not at all conclusive. Briefly the description of the funerary train does not throw any additional light on the position of the starting point, Dyetyakov. It may have lain on the Sunja,<sup>1</sup> but the use of the word "near", or "by", in the Chronicle is only approximate, as shown by the reference to the Iron Gate.

V. F. Miller, *Osset. etyudi*, iii (1887), 69–70, compared the final element of Dyetya-kov with Osset *qāu* "settlement", and hinted at its identity with Vladikavkaz which the Ossets call Dzauji-qāu (from the personal name Dzawag). Vladikavkaz lies "beyond the Terek, several (geographical) miles to the west of the Sunja and north of Darial", and thus seems to fulfil the conditions of Dyetyakov, but the sites of homonymous settlements often do not coincide exactly.<sup>2</sup>

What interests us here is that there is no argument known in favour of the identity of Dyetyakov with the earlier Magas. In support of this view one might additionally quote the record of the Georgian Chronicle (transl. Brosset, i, 412) on the first marriage of Queen T'amar, towards 1185–6, i.e. at a period *before* the Mongol invasion. The Chronicle reports that T'amar's *fiancé*, the Russian prince George, said to be a son of Andrew Bogolubsky,<sup>3</sup> expelled by his uncle Savalt' (Vsevolod), was staying with the king of the Qipchaq "in the town of Svinj". This latter name obviously refers to the right tributary of the Terek, which the *Zafar-nāma*, i, 743, calls سونج,—in old Russian *Sevents*, and now *Sunj(a)*. This detail suggests that the residence of the Qipchaq ruler was *not* on the Terek where Vladikavkaz (the present-day Dzauji-qāu) stands, but lay to the east of it, on the Sunja. The Golden Horde must have inherited this residence.

### § 8. Conclusions

As a result of our investigations we can state that :—

1. A comparison of the reports on the western campaigns of the Mongols in Juvaynī and Rashīd al-dīn has brought to light the lacunæ in the former and the composite character of the latter text. Some improvements in the interpretation of Rashīd al-dīn's text have been suggested.

2. Juvaynī, by drastically abridging the report on the Mongol campaigns, left out the account of operations in Russia. His text contains no reference to Moscow and the latter is referred to only in Rashīd al-dīn.

3. MNKS/MKS of these two authors refers to a Caucasian town, capital of the Alāns (Ossets), destroyed in 1239.

<sup>1</sup> Which at the latitude of Vladikavkaz flows nearly parallel to the Terek, but then swings to the N.E. and only past Grozny joins this major stream.

<sup>2</sup> Karamzin, iv, note 157 (p. 59), says that Dyedyakov probably corresponds to the "Diven, or Dedukh". These names are not on the present-day maps. A *Datikh* is shown in the Chechen country on the Fortanga flowing to the east of the Assa, see J. Baddeley, *The rugged flanks of Caucasus*, 1940, ii, map v.

<sup>3</sup> On him see now the Georgian novel by Shalva Dadiani, *Yuri Bogolubsky* (Russ. trans., Tbilisi, 1951).

4. The reading of MKS as \*MAGAS is supported by the allusions in the text and clears up several mysterious references in Islamic sources.

5. The location of the Alān capital (not identical with the Darial castle) can be ascertained only by archæological investigation on the spot. Etymologies and assonances are insufficient in such matters; they can point either to Digoria, or even to the Chechen-Ingush territory.

6. The Osset settlement Dzauji-qāu (in old Russian *Dyetyakov*), now identified with the site of the later Vladikavkaz, seems to be different from Magas.

PS.—This article is dedicated to the Scientific Research Institutes of Dzauji-qau and Ulaan-Baatar, with apologies for my shortcomings. 28. iv. 1952.



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Caucasica IV

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (1953), pp. 504-529

Published by: Cambridge University Press on behalf of School of Oriental and African Studies

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608652>

Accessed: 12-09-2016 04:51 UTC

---

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://about.jstor.org/terms>



Cambridge University Press, School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*

## Caucasica IV

By V. MINORSKY

THE territory of the present-day Soviet republic of Azarbayjan roughly corresponds to the ancient Caucasian Albania (in Armenian *Ałovan-k'*, or *Alvan-k'*, in Arabic *Arrān* > *al-Rān*). Twenty-six languages were spoken in Albania and it had its own kings (Strabo, xi, 4). However, during the seven centuries between Pompey's expedition in 66–5 B.C., to which we owe most of our information on the ancient life of the country, and the Arab invasion in the 7th century A.D., great changes had taken place in the area, under the influence of the Persian expansion up to the Caucasian passes, the Khazar and Alān inroads from the north, and the Armenian cultural activities which resulted in the conversion of the surviving Albanians to the Armenian form of Christianity. The Arab geographers refer to the Arrānian language as still spoken in the neighbourhood of Barda'a (Persian: *Pērōz-ābādh*, Armenian *Partav*), but now only the two villages inhabited by the Udi<sup>1</sup> are considered as the direct continuators of the Albanian linguistic tradition.

Our object being the study of the conditions in the 9th–10th centuries, we are not concerned with the further great changes brought about by the invasion of the Turkish Oghuz in the 11th century and the subsequent Turkicization of the area.

Both the Armenian and the Arabic sources show that the Arab occupation did not do away with the old Arrānian and Armenian dynasties, which continued their existence as vassals of the conquerors. Profiting by every occasion to assert their hereditary rights, they succeeded in 'tiding over' the Arabs, the Seljuks, and the Mongols, and even now the so-called 'Qarabagh highlands' form an autonomous area within the Soviet Republic of Azarbayjan.<sup>2</sup>

The period of decline of the semi-independent principalities presents great difficulties for study. Both in Arabic<sup>3</sup> and Armenian<sup>4</sup> sources the light is turned on to special episodes and we are left to conjecture as to the connecting links. The work of the indigenous historian of 'Albania', Moses Kałankatvats'i, who wrote in Armenian (10th century), contains many important data, but his obscure hints and sudden breaks in the main thread are often exasperating.<sup>5</sup> A particular complication results from the contemporary Armenian fashion of assuming Arabic patronymics (*kunya*) (such as Abū-Mūsā, Abul-Asad, etc.),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Plinius, N.H., 6, 13, 16: *Otene*; *Arm. Geography*: *Uti*. This ancient province extended probably on both banks of the Kur, whereas the surviving villages lie in the Shakkī district near to the passes leading into southern Daghestan.

<sup>2</sup> To say nothing of the numerous Armenian villages in the whole of Eastern Transcaucasia.

<sup>3</sup> Balādhuri (d. 279/892), Ya'qūbī (d. 284/897), Ṭabarī (d. 311/923).

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Artsruni (before A.D. 1000), Asolīk (soon after A.D. 1000) and some later historians, like Stephannos Orbelian (about A.D. 1300).

<sup>5</sup> I am using his *History of Albania* in the Russian translation of K. Patkanian, St. Petersburg, 1861; for a number of clarifications I am obliged to Mr. C. Dowsett, who is preparing a new edition of the Armenian text.

without any connexion with the original Armenian names. These latter too often recur in otherwise unrelated families, and it becomes difficult to discriminate between several Sahl's, Vasaks, and Smbats living at the same time.

On the Islamic side, we have chiefly to profit by the moments when some violent events cut across the local divisions. Such were : the revolt of Bābak (822–837) and its repression ; the overthrow of the independent Arab amir of Tiflis (852) ; the severe measures which the caliph's general Bugha took against his earlier allies, ending in the deportation to Mesopotamia of nearly all the Armenian princes (854 ?) ; and finally (in the early 10th century) the great movement of Iranian tribes leading to the short-lived rise of the Daylamite chief Marzubān ibn Muḥammad ibn Musāfir, whose sway in Azarbayjan spread across the Araxes and even the Kur up to the foot of the Caucasian range.

Of the two studies which follow, one is devoted to the sudden elevation of Sahl, son of Sunbāt, at the period of Bābak's revolt, and the second to the list of Marzubān's tributaries preserved in the text of the geographer Ibn Ḥauqal (A.D. 977).

## I. Sahl ibn-Sunbāt of Shakkī and Arrān

- § 1. General situation on the Araxes and the Kur.
- § 2. Elevation of Sahl.
- § 3. His successors.
- § 4. 'Isā ibn-Iṣṭifānūs.

### § 1. *General Situation*

Before introducing Sahl, son of Sunbāt, it will be useful to enumerate the protagonists among the Arab vassals about the year A.D. 820. On the southern bank of the Araxes, in the mountainous region now called Qaraja-dagh<sup>1</sup> and extending north of the line uniting Ardabīl and Tabrīz, we are soon to hear of the great rebellion of Bābak against the caliph's representatives and troops. Opposite Qaraja-dagh, on the northern bank of the Araxes and up to the course of the Kur, there lies another hilly tract which, at the time in question, was studded with small principalities. In its north-eastern corner (on the Terter) lay the dominions of the descendants of ancient Albanian kings issued from one Mihran (of Sasanian times). In the south-eastern corner of Albania, along the banks of the Araxes, we hear of several princes (of Xtiš, of Varthān) whose origin is not quite clear. In the west<sup>2</sup> stretched the country called Siunia (in Armenian Siunik') whose rulers belonged to a special Armenian family of descendants of Sisak.<sup>3</sup>

The southern bank of the Kur seems to have depended on the Mihranids, but the situation here was unstable. Beyond the Kur we find the considerable Muslim principality of Sharvān, a survival from Sasanian times, but now ruled by

<sup>1</sup> I am inclined to think that Turkish *Qaraja*- stands here, as a popular etymology, for some ancient name, cf. the second element of *B.lwān-karaj* (?), quoted in *E.I.* under *Urm*.

<sup>2</sup> Chiefly to the west of the Akera.

<sup>3</sup> Though mixed with other elements, see Stephannos Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, ch. 14, transl. Brosset, 1864, i, 32. Cf. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, pp. 67–74.



the family of the Yazīdids of the Shaybānī tribe. West of Sharvān was situated Qabala, with a mixed population (including even some Khazars) but ruled by a Christian prince. In the west it bordered on Shakkī, also with a Christian dynasty. The origins of the princes of Qabala and Shakkī are little known, but in view of constant intermarriage we have to assume their manifold links with the princes of the right bank.<sup>1</sup> The special 'Albanian' patriarchate of the Armenian church formed the link between the two banks. Still more to the west, in the basin of the Alazan, the situation is obscure, and there seems to have existed there a special fief called in Georgian Heret'i. Still further to the west lies the present-day Kakhetia, now inhabited by Georgians; at the time in question it was ruled by a *korikoz* (χωρεπίσκοπος),<sup>2</sup> possibly of the Armenian faith, and the leadership there belonged to a tribal group called Ts'anar, in Arabic al-Ṣanāriya.<sup>3</sup>

## § 2. *Elevation of Sahl*

The energetic Sahl ibn Sunbāt, who in the beginning of the 9th century played an important rôle in the affairs of Arrān, is mentioned both in the Armenian and Arabic sources, and though the records are patchy, they throw a vivid light on the march of events in Arrān.

The exact origin of Sahl<sup>4</sup> is not explicitly stated. Thomas Artsruni, iii, § 11, calls him ruler of Shak'ē,<sup>5</sup> and we must remember that the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, after having spoken of Shakkī, refers (§ 36, 32) to 'Sunbātmān, a town at the farther end of Shakkī, with a strong fortress'. The name *Sunbāt-mān* means 'Sunbāt's house' and is likely to refer to the home of Sahl's ancestors.

According to the Georgian Chronicle (Brosset, i, 249–250), during the reign of king Archil II (668–718) three brothers, who had deprived of sight their uncle Adarnase-the-Blind, 'came from Taron to the country of Šakix . . . because all that country of the Caucasus in the neighbourhood of Ran (i.e. Arrān) had no masters. Heret' and Kakhet' had only a few inhabitants who had fled to the woods and the three brothers occupied the country down to Gulgula'.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> It is quite possible that the Mihranids at times controlled the left bank of the Kur. Of one of their descendants Hamam (Grigor), son of Adernerseh (a contemporary of Muḥammad Afshīn, 889–901), Moses, iii, ch. 22 (trans. 278) says that he spread his sway 'on to the other side', i.e. apparently to the left bank of the Kur.

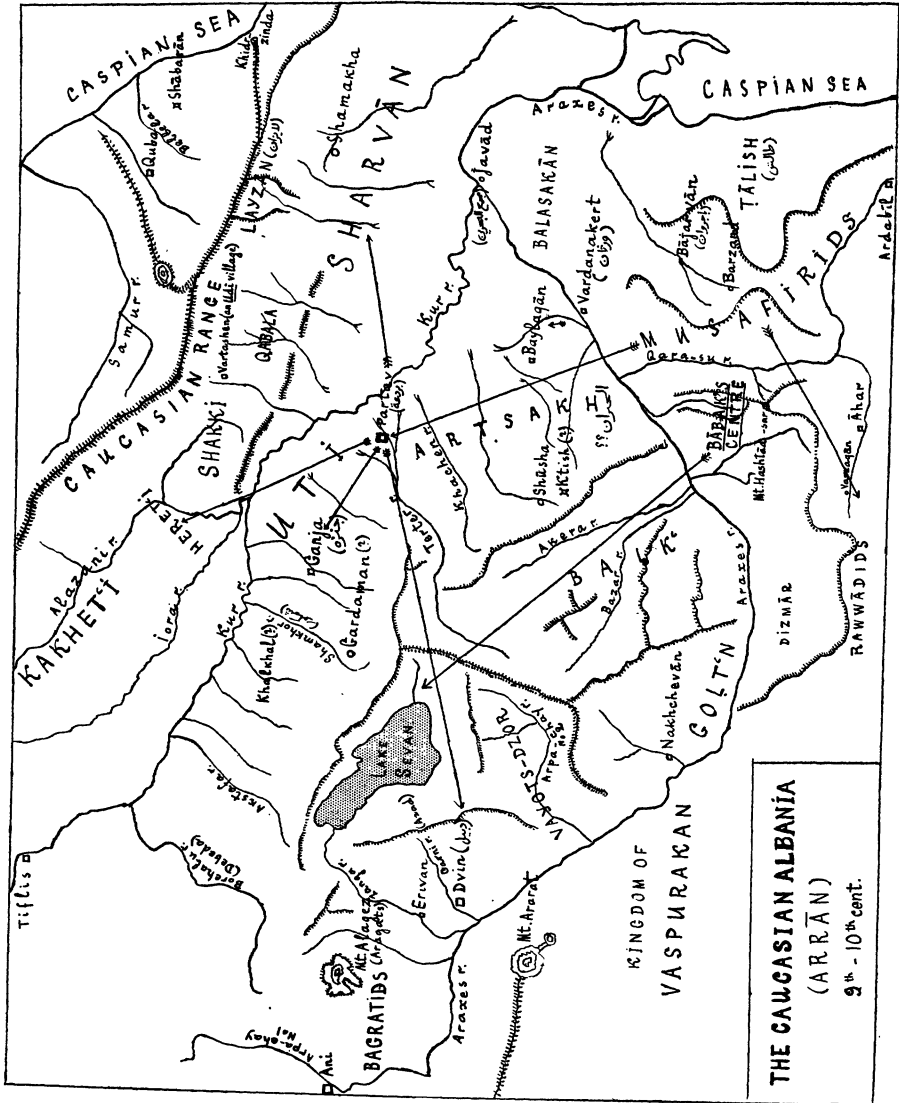
<sup>2</sup> The title has hardly any ecclesiastic connotation in this case.

<sup>3</sup> This people is already mentioned by Ptolemy, viii, ch. 8, § 13, *Σαπαρίοι*. According to the ancient Armenian geography, the Darial pass was situated in their country, see *Hudūd*, pp. 400–2, but in the 9th and 10th centuries the centres of the Ts'anar/Ṣanār must have moved eastward to the region of the passes connecting Kakhetia with Daghestan, i.e. nearer to Shakkī.

<sup>4</sup> His real Christian name is doubtful. *Sahl* seems to be an Arabic 'mask'.

<sup>5</sup> See Minorsky, *Shakki* in *E.I.* (1926), and A. E. Krīmsky, *Sheki*, in the memorial volume *Pamyati N. Y. Marra*, 1938, 369–384. My teacher Krīmsky's article is very valuable for the number of sources consulted, but contains quite a few risky identifications.

<sup>6</sup> In the Armenian version *Galgal*, possibly *Khalkhal*, on the right bank of the Kur, now Khilkhina, on the Dzegam river, some 60 km. west of Ganja. Cf. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, 272. Also Brosset, I/2., 49.



exact filiation of the brothers presents considerable difficulties<sup>1</sup> but, as between 700 and 800 we hear of no changes in Shakkī, we might assume *ex silentio* that Sahl sprang from this house. In fact, his designation as *ibn Sunbāt* (Moses Kalan. : *Smbatean*) may be his family name rather than a direct patronymic and point to the name of one of the three brothers (Smbat ?), or even to that of their father.<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps the earliest reference to Sahl is found in the 'History of Albania (Arrān)' of Moses Kaḷankatvats'i. In his enumeration of Albanian patriarchs (iii, ch. 23), he says that Ter-David (822-850; according to C. Dowsett, 821-849) blessed the unlawful marriage of the prince of Shak'ē and was cursed by his (own) brother. *Shak'ē* is definitely *Shakkī*, and the reference may be to Sahl at the early period of his life when he lived in his original fief.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Arabic *History of Sharvān* (§ 2), some time after 205/820, a revolt broke out in Shakkī, whose people killed the 'āmīl appointed by Khālid b. Yazīd.<sup>4</sup> Ya'qūbī, ii, 579, writes that when Afshīn entered Azarbayjan (in 220/835, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1171) he appointed to Armenia Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Azdi al-Samarqandi. By that time Sahl b. Sunbāt had already revolted and seized Arrān (*qad khālafa . . . wa taghallaba*). He ambushed Muhammad at night and defeated him, cf. Balādhuri, 211. On the Armenian side, Moses Kaḷankatvats'i, iii, ch. 9, adds that towards the end of the Armenian year 270 (822-3) some Arabs from Partav (Barda'a) destroyed Amaras,<sup>5</sup> took 1,000 prisoners, and fortified themselves in Mets-Arank' (on the Terter, upstream from Barda'a). 'Then the manly and handsome prince Sahl-i Smbatean<sup>6</sup> Eranshahik, with his strong brothers and their troops, attacked them at dawn, scattered them and saved the prisoners' (tr. Patkanian, p. 266). To accomplish this feat, Sahl must have crossed over to the right bank of the Araxes and, if Khalkhal (see above, p. 506, n. 6) did form a dependency of his dominions, his task was rendered much easier.

The title *Eranshahik*,<sup>7</sup> under which the historian of Albania presents him in

<sup>1</sup> Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 396, 416, *Südarmerien*, 292, thought that they were descendants of Grigor Mamikonean, who in 748 blinded the 'patrician' Ashot Bagratuni. J. Laurent, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam*, 1919, p. 110, sees in them cousins of Ashot-the-Blind, who between 750 and 772 were expelled by Ashot's son and went to Georgia. Under the same reign the Georgian Chronicle speaks of a further immigration into Kakhetia and Šakix of some princes from Klarjet' (south-western Georgia).

<sup>2</sup> According to Vakhusht, the widow of a prince of some mountaineer tribes (T'ush, Khundz) was given by Archil to a prince of Šakix called Adarnase, see Brosset, i, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Šakix is only an alternative form of Šak'ē. The reference to *Shako* (\*Šak'ē) has been pointed out by A. E. Krīmsky, but he confuses Sahl b. Sunbāt with the Siunian Sahl (see below, p. 509, n. 2).

<sup>4</sup> Apparently during the first term of office of Khālid, cf. Ya'qūbī, 566. I am quoting the 11th-century *History of Sharvān* according to the edition which I have prepared, cf. my *Studies*, 1953, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> The ancient residence of the catholicos of Albania, near the sources of the Khachen river, see Alishan in S. Orbelian, ii, 152.

<sup>6</sup> Note the Persian construction with the patronymic *idāfat*.

<sup>7</sup> Which must be understood only as a sublimation of the more modest local title *Aran-shahik*.

this passage, is probably given him in anticipation, for immediately after, and under the same year, Moses speaks of the murder of the last Mihranid Varaz-Trdad by a certain Ter-Nerseh P'ilippean.<sup>1</sup> We do not know whether the latter acted on behalf of Sahl, but Sahl surely profited by the crime, as he assumed the title of the victim. As Varaz-Trdad is called the *last* Mihranid,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that Sahl did not belong to that house.

About that time the Arab Sawāda (b. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Jahhāfī) raided Siunia and the local ruler Vasak appealed for help to Bābak. The famous rebel responded to this call and married Vasak's daughter,<sup>3</sup> but himself committed all kinds of excesses in Balk' and Geḷam (in 828), where he destroyed the great convent of Mak'enots'.

These names<sup>4</sup> indicate how far his sway expanded between the Araxes and the Kur. The Muslim sources only indirectly hint at the facts which Moses Kalankatvats'i has recorded in great detail, and which throw a lurid light on Bābak's activities.

Bābak himself came to live in Amaras, but the Armenians continued the struggle and even defeated his lieutenant Rostom. In the course of these events Sahl's name is not mentioned, but under Mu'tašim (218-227/833-842) he is definitely said to have revolted in *Arrān* (see above, Ya'qūbī, 579) and it appears that for a time the interests of Sahl and Bābak coincided. When in 222/837 Afshīn defeated Bābak and, across the dominions of the Armenian

<sup>1</sup> S. Orbelian (tr. Brosset, i, 95) calls him 'Ter-Nerseh, the *Siunian* (?)', son of P'ilippe', though Moses who is Orbelian's source, says nothing about the origin of Nerseh. According to Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 457, he was one of the (Arrānian ?) *batrīgs* whom Ya'qūbī, 562, mentions among the supporters of the governor appointed by Amīn, and who were opposing the new governor appointed by Ma'mūn (circa 198/813). cf. Brosset in Orbelian, i, 96, ii, 25.

<sup>2</sup> His widow fled to Khach'en (south of the Terter) and there married her daughter Spram to Atrnerseh, son of Sahl [\*Sahak] 'head of the Siunians', see Moses Kalankatvats'i, iii, ch. 22 (see below, p. 522).

<sup>3</sup> Ṭabarī, iii, 1221, refers to Bābak's wife who accompanied him on his flight as *ibnat al-Kalandāniya* (?). If an Armenian, she might have been useful to him in his dealings with her countrymen north of the Araxes, but it is difficult to identify her with Vasak's daughter, in view of Bābak's polygamous habits described by Ṭabarī himself, iii, 1223 (see below, p. 510).

<sup>4</sup> But *not* 'Tavusin', as in Patkanian's translation, p. 268. C. Dowsett tells me that *Tavusin/Tosin* in some MSS. of M. Kalan. must stand for \*Tōsi. In fact Ṭabarī, iii/2, 1099, says that in 211/826 Ma'mūn appointed Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī to fight Bābak, and further, p. 1101, that on 26 (?) Rabī' I 214/3 June 829 Bābak killed him near Mt. Hashtād-sar and scattered his troops. After \*Ṭūsī's defeat, Moses records another success of Bābak over *Abrahīm, son of Let'* (Dowsett). This man is surely Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth b. al-Faḍl الحسنى (the editor suggests \**al-Tajībī* ?) whom Ma'mūn appointed to Azarbayjan in 209/824, see Ṭabarī, iii, 1072, and who later is referred to in the enumeration of the generals killed by Bābak. See Ṭabarī, iii, 1233 (year 223/837) where his name comes at the last place, after Zurayq b. 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa and Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd al-Ṭūsī, cf. I. Athir, vi, 275, 338. Among the coins which Khālīd b. Yazīd struck in Armenia about 212-217/827-832 his name is associated with that of a certain *Ibrāhīm*, whose father's name cannot be read clearly. R. Vasmer, *Chronologie der arabischen Statthalter*, Wien, 1931, p. 72, suggested that on the coin of 213 the name should be read: *Ibrāhīm b. Zayd*, and on those of 215 and 217: *Ibrāhīm b. 'Attāb*, whereas, in Tiesenhausen's idea, *ibn-Ghiyāth* or *ibn-'Ayān* should be read on all the coins. The absence of *al-* before these names stands in the way of their identification with Ibrāhīm b. al-Layth.

princes, Bābak tried to escape to the protection of the emperor Theophile, he sent a message to Sahl b. Sunbāt and the latter came out to meet him.

Ṭabari's report on Bābak's flight (iii, 1223, year 222/837) contains interesting details but does not indicate the exact route which he followed before reaching the mountains (*jibāl*) of Sahl b. Sunbāt. 'On meeting him Sahl recognized him, kissed his hand and said: "O Lord (*ya sayyidāh*) . . . there is no one worthier to receive you than myself. You know my place. I have nothing to do with the government (*sulṭān*) . . . You know what has happened to me and you know my country. All the *batrīqs* who are here are related to you, and children have been born to you from their (houses),"—(and this because, whenever Bābak heard of a pretty daughter or sister of a *batrīq*, he sent to him a request for her, and should he not send her, he visited him and took the girl together with the *batrīq*'s other belongings).' All this suggests that Sahl was established south of the Kur and had had personal relations with Bābak. While accepting the invitation to Sahl's castle (*ḥiṣn*), Bābak took the precaution of sending his brother 'Abdullāh to stay at a different place, namely with Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs.<sup>1</sup>

Both the chiefs, who probably had sufficient grievances against their guests, surrendered them to Afshīn. For the signal service rendered, Sahl was highly honoured by the Arabs,<sup>2</sup> who forgot his previous misdeeds. In the additional passage inserted in some MSS. of Moses Kalan., iii, ch. 20, these facts are confirmed and it is said (with obvious exaggerations) that Sahl 'obtained sovereignty over Armenia, Georgia, and Albania, to rule authoritatively and royally over all'.<sup>3</sup> He must have enjoyed his new position for some fifteen years for, according to Thomas Artsruni, iii, ch. 11 (tr. Brosset, 153): 'Sahl, son of Smbat, lord of Shak'ē, who captured Baban (Bābak),' was included in the great deportation of Armenian princes carried out by the general Bugha (in 854 ?), though in Ṭabari's list, iii, 1416, his name is replaced by that of his son Mu'āwiya b. Sahl b. Sunbāt (who once escorted the captive Bābak to Afshīn's camp).

### § 3. *Sahl's Successors*

After this there is a considerable gap in the history of the successors of Sahl until, in the beginning of the 10th century, we hear of the lord of Shakkī called Adarnasē (Ādharnarsē). To render the situation comprehensible we must survey very briefly the changed, but still chaotic, state of the country.

In the beginning of the 9th century a new dynasty, the Bagratids, became prominent in the affairs of Georgia (Kart'li). Bagrat, son of Ashot (826–876) joined Muḥammad b. Khālīd in the early operations against the amir of Tiflis, Ishaq b. Ismā'īl, and, at this price, survived the period when Bugha, having

<sup>1</sup> On him see below, p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> Ṭabari, iii, 1272: Sahl's son (Mu'āwiya) received 100,000 dirhams and he himself 1,000,000 dirhams, a gem-studded belt, and the title of *batrīq* with a tiara appertaining to it. Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs was possibly confirmed in his fief, see below, p. 512.

<sup>3</sup> I owe this quotation to C. Dowsett (12th August, 1952).

occupied Tiflis (in 852), wrought havoc among the Christian (chiefly Armenian) princes suspected of opposition. The new and energetic dynasty of rulers appointed from Baghdad, the Sājids, subjected the Christian Caucasus to new trials. Between 902 and 914 Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj devastated both Armenia and Georgia, took Tiflis, and invaded upper Kakhetia. The Georgian Chronicle, with its typical legitimism, narrates the events under the phantom reigns of the main branch of the Bagratids of Kart'li. Thus under the reign of Adarnasē II (881–923), grandson of the above-mentioned Bagrat, it gives an account of the happenings in Kakhetia, see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 273–9. Some time after the execution of the Armenian king Smbat by Yūsuf (in A.D. 914),<sup>1</sup> the local king Kuirike invited the king of western Georgia ('Abkhaz') Constantine (then in occupation of Kart'li)<sup>2</sup> to take part in operations in Lower Kakhetia (Heret'i). The allies were besieging the fortress of Vejin, when 'the patrician Adarnasē' suddenly arrived on the spot, and by ceding to them three fortresses secured peace. Though according to Brosset, loc. cit., 277, note 3, 'the genealogy of this personage is unknown', it is very tempting to follow A. E. Krimsky in identifying him with that Ādharnarsē b. Hammām<sup>3</sup> whom Mas'ūdī mentions in Shakkī, for there was no other neighbour who might have encroached on Heret'i. The latter place has been specially mentioned in connexion with the domains of the 'three brothers' and it seems probable that this Adarnarsē was a direct, or lateral, descendant of Sahl b. Sunbāt. Mas'ūdī wrote in 332/943 but, as in some other cases, he possibly used previous records, and this would settle the difficulty, if the period between *circa* 914 and 943 appeared too long for one reign.

The Georgian Chronicle (op. cit., 279) ends the chapter by saying that until the reign of Ishkhanik (an Armenian diminutive of *išxan* 'prince') all the inhabitants of Heret'i were heretics (apparently of Armenian creed), but this son of the Georgian princess Dinar converted them to (Greek) orthodoxy. The source is again silent on the relation of this new prince to the above-mentioned 'patrician Adarnasē' but it gives a precious synchronism by adding that his contemporaries in Barda'a and Azarbayjan were the 'salars', i.e. the Musāfirids. In fact in the list of feudatories of the Musāfirid Marzubān b. Muḥammad (dated 344/955), preserved in Ibn-Hauqal, 254, there is an 'Ishkhānīq, known as Abū 'Abd al-Malik, lord of Shakkī'.<sup>4</sup> With Ishkhānīq

<sup>1</sup> i.e. *Smbat Nahatak*, Smbat-the-Martyr (890–914), killed by Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj; see Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 1947, 397–441.

<sup>2</sup> The dynasty of 'Abkhazia' was of local origin, with some Khazar parentage. Its family tree is given in the document called *Divan*, discovered by Taqaishvili, see *Jour. As.*, 1927, ccx, 357–368. The 'Abkhazian' dynasty ruled over the territories including Western Georgia, and even expanded into Eastern Georgia. In 978 the Georgian Bagratid Bagrat II, whose mother was an Abkhazian princess, succeeded to the throne of her ancestors, and thus united the state.

<sup>3</sup> Vakhusht's witness, see above, p. 508, note 2, if true, might be taken as an indication of the persistence of the name Ādhar-Narsē in the family. The fact must still be borne in mind that there were *two* streams of immigrants into Kakhetia and Shakkī: from Taron and from Klarjet', see above, p. 508, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 521.

we reach the time of the events recorded in the *History of Sharvān*. The conversion of Ishkhāniq to orthodoxy was apparently a symptom of the growing influence of the Georgian neighbours, and it looks as if a radical change had taken place in the relations between Shakkī and Kakhetia. The latter seems to have absorbed the former, for in the *History of Sharvān* (under A.D. 1068) the title 'ruler of Shakkī' refers definitely to Aghsartan, ruler of Kakhetia.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4. 'Īsā ibn-Iṣṭifānūs

It remains to say a few words about Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, whom we mentioned in the story of Bābak's extradition to Afshīn (year 837).<sup>2</sup> In the passage on his capture by Bugha (year 852), Ṭabarī calls him more explicitly 'Īsā b. Yūsuf b. ukht-Iṣṭifānūs, which apparently means a *nephew* of Iṣṭifānūs, born to Yūsuf of a sister of Iṣṭifānūs (less accurately *ibid.*, iii, 1228: 'Īsā b. Yūsuf b. Iṣṭifānūs). In fact, Moses Kalankatvats'i, ii, ch. 19, mentions 'Step'annos called Ablasad', who brought in Bābak against the 'Balakanians' (the people of Baylaqān?) and was killed in 828. The murderers, Davon and Shapuh, fortified themselves in Horoz and fought Bābak. For twelve years they ruled over a combination of districts of Arts'akh,<sup>3</sup> until the dependants of Step'annos (?) murdered them and the 'peacefully minded' *nephew* of Step'annos, 'Isay, called Abu-Musē' recaptured the districts which Davon and Shapuh had seized and 'ruled over them all'. This is the man whom Ṭabarī calls 'Īsā ibn Iṣṭifānūs'. Step'annos brought in Bābak in 828; two years later Bābak defeated Ṭūsī and in the year after 'Abrahim, son of Let', see p. 509, note 4. In the same year Step'annos was murdered and for twelve years his murderers held his districts. According to these indications, 'Īsā's succession took place about 841, i.e. after the liquidation of Bābak, and he must have remained in power for another thirteen years.

Thomas Artsruni (iii, § 10, tr. pp. 145–150) relates how, after a disastrous campaign against the Ts'anar, Bugha marched to Albania, 'the major part of which was ruled by Abu-Musē, known as the priest's son'.<sup>4</sup> Then he describes the heroic resistance of Abu-Musē and his 'Albanians' to the caliph's troops (reinforced by some Armenian princes). Abu-Musē was victorious in 28 skirmishes and the siege of his fortress Xtiš (Ṭabarī: كتيش *K.thīsh*) lasted a year. Abu-Musē wrote to the caliph protesting against the attack (and, probably, referring to his own services in 837) and the caliph sent him a safe-conduct. He then went to Bugha's camp and was sent to Mesopotamia. The

<sup>1</sup> See my *Studies*, p. 30, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Brosset did not know his filiation. Grousset, p. 364, note 2, wrongly calls him 'son of Aternarseh of Western Siunia'.

<sup>3</sup> Verin-Vaykunik', Berdзор, (Lesser) Sisakan, Haband, Amarar, Pazkank', Mxank', and Tri, of which the latter belongs to the province of Uti, and the others to Arts'ax—all of them situated in the basin of the Kur (and not of the Araxes).

<sup>4</sup> Brosset suspects this qualification of being a tentative translation of Arabic Abū-Mūsā, which is hardly possible.

pivotal rôle of Abu-Musē is shown by the fact that his surrender was followed by the deportation of eight other princes.

Abul-Asad Step'annos's origin is unknown, though the fact is interesting that he invoked Bābak's help against those of Balak (or Balakan). I am tempted to connect this name with Arabic *Baylaqān*, i.e. the town which lay in the present-day Mil steppe<sup>1</sup> on the road from Varthān (now Altan, on the southern bank of the Araxes) to Barda'a (Partav). It had a very mixed population, known for its turbulence.<sup>2</sup> I feel the strength of C. Dowsett's objection when he writes to me that 'it is rather unexpected to find an Arabic form of the name in Armenian, when they have their own P'aytakaran'. However, I am not quite convinced of the philological identity of *P'aytakaran* with *Baylaqān* (*Bēlākān*), of which the former is the name of the province and the latter primarily the name of the town (though occasionally referring to its district). A later source (Orbelian, ch. 33, tr. i, 96) presents the events in a slightly different form: 'the people of the district of Balasakan [*sic*] refused to obey Baban (i.e. Bābak) and, with the assistance of the Albanian (Aḷovan) Aplasad, he mercilessly devastated the district and massacred even women and innocent children.' Orbelian's *Balasakan* (?) is probably a mistake, though it points to the same direction. In fact Balāsajān must have lain in the Mūqān steppe and the *Armenian Geography* quotes it under P'aytakaran, see Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, p. 120.

Coming now to Abū Mūsā 'Īsā himself, we have to admit that he was rather remote from any princely house. Though his mother was a sister of Step'annos, his father, whom Ṭabarī calls Yūsuf, seems to have been a priest (see above, Thomas, p. 145). As the point of his resistance to Bugha was Xtiš, it is interesting to quote Ṭabarī's parallel indication, iii, 1416 (year 238/852), that 'Īsā b. Yūsuf was 'in the castle of K.thīsh, belonging to the *kūra* of Baylaqān and standing at a distance of 10 farsakhs from Baylaqān and of 15 farsakhs from Barda'a. Bugha fought him and conquered (his) castle, and carried him off, together with his father and his son'. The distances given by Ṭabarī point definitely to the region of the present-day Shusha (Shushi). It is characteristic that the castle is placed in the district of Baylaqān. Finally, according to Mas'ūdī, ii, 75, the Araxes flows between the country of Bābak (namely the region of Badhdhayn, on the southern bank) and 'the mountain of Abū-Mūsā', who can be only our 'Īsā. Mas'ūdī's text seems to indicate that this mountain (*jabal*) bordered on the river.

These details suggest that the nucleus of Abul-Asad's and Abū-Mūsā's possessions<sup>3</sup> was particularly connected with the south-eastern corner of Albania, namely with the region of the left bank of the Araxes, where this river debouches from its gorges into the plains.

<sup>1</sup> Its ruins are known as Mil-i Baylaqan.

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky and Cl. Cahen in *Jour. As.*, 1949, No. 1, pp. 286-336.

<sup>3</sup> The original fief of Ibn-Īstifānūs might correspond to the still mysterious fief of *Khayzān*/*Jaydhān*, etc., referred to in I. Ḥauqal (see below, p. 525).



One further observation can be made. The tenor of Ṭabarī's narration might suggest that the castle of Sahl where Bābak went himself, and the dominions of Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, where he sent his brother, were contiguous. In his list of the deported notables, Ṭabarī, iii, 1416, quotes in the same breath Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs; Sunbāt b. Ashot called Abul-'Abbās al-Wāthī (?); Mu'āwiya b. Sahl b. Sunbāt, *batrīq* of Arrān; and Adhar-Narsē b. Ishaq al-Khāshini (\*of Khachen).<sup>1</sup> Consequently, we should assume that Khachen<sup>2</sup> formed a special enclave, though perhaps under the influence of Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs. If the latter possessed all the territories enumerated in Moses Kalankatvats'i, the dominions of Sahl must have lain nearer to the basin of the Kur.

## II. The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān in 344/955

- § 1. The Musāfirid Marzubān and the 'Iranian interlude'.
- § 2. The vazir 'Alī b. Ja'far.
- § 3. I. Haūqal's passages on the Caucasus.
- § 4. Commentary.
- § 5. Conclusions.

### § 1. *Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir* (A.D. 941–957)

Bābak's revolt in northern Azarbayjan (820–837) was one of the fore-runners of a whole series of opposition movements which very soon, and especially in the following century, were to come to light on the Iranian plateau and its periphery.

For a long time, the attention of the historians (van Vloten, Wellhausen, Barthold) was attracted chiefly to 'Khorasan', until the publication of Miskawayh's *Tajārib al-Umam* projected a new light on the more westerly areas, whose destinies had remained somewhat hazy in Ibn al-Athīr's conscientious epitome. The title given by Amedroz and Margoliouth to their excellent edition of Miskawayh, namely 'The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate', still reflects the traditional engrossment with the centre of the Islamic theocracy, whereas, with a more generous allowance for ethnology, economics, and human nature, an historian should give more attention to the awakening of more ancient traditions and to the emergence of entirely new elements which sapped the fabric of the caliphate.

The Būyid period looks now considerably more clear<sup>3</sup> and, in its wake, we distinguish a growth of other political formations which sprang up in Kurdistan,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thomas Artsruni, p. 133: Atrnerseh, prince of Aļvank' > Arran.

<sup>2</sup> The river Khachen flows south of, and parallel to, the Terter on which stands Barda'a (Partav).

<sup>3</sup> See now the 'Eclipse' with its annexes; Sayyid A. Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, 3 vols., 1928, 1929, 1930; Minorsky, *La domination des Dāilamites*, 1932; A. A. Dūri, *Studies in the economic life of Mesopotamia in the 10th century* (London University thesis, 1942) and its Arabic version *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq al-iqtisādī fil-qarn al-rābi' al-hijrī*, Baghdad, 1367/1948; A. Ateş, *Deylem in Islam Ansiklopedisi*, iii, 567–573; B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, 1952, pp. 100–6 (with a still insufficient appreciation of the 'Iranian interlude'). See also H. Bowen, *The last Buwayhids*, in *JRAS.*, April, 1929, 226–245, and M. Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad* (356–447/967–1055) (London University thesis, 1953).

Azərbayjan, and Transcaucasia. Among them the minor star of the Musāfirids shone brightly for a short period. I have recently followed in the footsteps of my predecessors<sup>1</sup> to explore the further repercussions of the rise of this independent Daylamite dynasty<sup>2</sup> and, in the present instance, I wish to comment on an important document which has survived in the geographical work of Ibn Ḥauqal.<sup>3</sup>

It is a list of the tributaries of Marzubān ibn Muḥammad, with the amount of tribute they agreed to pay to Marzubān's treasury.

When, *circa* 330/941, Marzubān and his brother Vahsūdān imprisoned their father in the castle of Shīṣajān (Sīsakān ?), Vahsūdān remained in the hereditary fief of Ṭarm (Tārom, on the middle course of the Safid-rūd), whereas Marzubān moved north and west into the area then controlled by the khārijite Kurd Daysam. Ardabīl (in eastern Azarbayjan) became Marzubān's capital but he crossed the Araxes and penetrated deep into Transcaucasia. We know that the great centre of the former Muslim administration Barda'a (Partav) was in his hands, for here he sustained in 332/943 a prolonged attack by the Russians, so dramatically described in Miskawayh, ii, 62–7. We now know also that his Daylamite garrison was in occupation of the other great centre, Dvin (before 337/948), and that up to 360/971 Ganja (*Janza*) was administered by his representative al-Tāzī.<sup>4</sup>

Ibn Ḥauqal's list reveals the far-flung system of border principalities reduced to the position of tribute-payers. Thus, for a time, the ephemeral Musāfirid organization acquired the proportions of a very sizable body politic.

## § 2. *The vazir 'Alī ibn-Ja'far*

No doubt the preparation of numerous arrangements for the payment of tribute required a long series of diplomatic and financial negotiations, and the credit for this achievement is attributed by Ibn Ḥauqal to Abul-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ja'far, on whose career we possess some information.

According to I. Ḥauqal, he was first employed by the Sājīd Yūsuf. Then (Miskawayh, ii, 31) he passed into the service of the khārijite Daysam b. Ibrāhīm, one of Yūsuf's generals, who succeeded the Sājīds and occupied the stage of Azarbayjan between 326/937 and 344/955 (with considerable interruptions).<sup>5</sup> Miskawayh reveals the interesting fact that 'Alī b. Ja'far

<sup>1</sup> See Huart, 'Les Musāfirides', in *A Volume to E. G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 228–256; Sayyid A. Kasrawī, loc. cit., i, 1307/1928; Minorsky, 'Musāfirids', in *E.I.*

<sup>2</sup> See my *Studies*, 1953, pp. 158–166.

<sup>3</sup> His work was completed in 367/977. The chronology of his peregrinations, as indicated by himself, is desultory: see Barthold, in his Introduction to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 20; cf. also Barthold's repeated references to the fact that in 358/969 Ibn Ḥauqal (p. 282, less clear on pp. 14 and 281) was in Gurgān.

<sup>4</sup> See my *Studies*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> The father of Daysam was an associate of the well-known Khārijite rebel Hārūn al-Shāri and, after his death, fled to Azarbayjan, where he married the daughter of a Kurdish chief. See Miskawayh, ii, 32. The said Hārūn (whom I. Mu'tazz surnamed 'the caliph of the Bedouins and Kurds') was active between 272/885 and 283/896, when he was captured by the caliph Mu'taqid, see Ṭabarī, iii, 2109, 2141, 2149–2151. cf. M. Canard, *Histoire des Ḥamdānides*, i, 1951, pp. 308–311.

was a *bāṭinī* preacher, and this circumstance may explain the intrigues of his enemies while he was serving his khārijite lord. In fear of Daysam, 'Alī b. Ja'far fled to Tārom, under the protection of Muḥammad b. Musāfir. But he arrived at the moment when Muḥammad's sons, Marzubān and Vahsūdān, revolted against him and occupied his capital Samīrān. Miskawayh has recorded these events under 330/941–2. 'Alī b. Ja'far incited Marzubān to conquer Azarbayjan, and Marzubān followed the advice of the crafty refugee the more readily as he himself was a *bāṭinī*. He allowed his new vazir to preach his doctrines openly. 'Alī wrote letters to those of Daysam's supporters whom he knew to be disaffected and, when the ground was sufficiently prepared, Marzubān marched against Daysam. Daysam's army went over to Marzubān, or fled, and Daysam himself escaped under the protection of the Armenian (Artsruni) princes of Vaspurakan (near Lake Van).

Marzubān seized Azarbayjan, but his relations with his vazir were soon poisoned by intriguers who pointed particularly to 'Alī's wealth. To thwart their designs, 'Alī played on Marzubān's greed by promises to subdue the great city of Tabrīz<sup>1</sup>, and Marzubān sent him there together with some of his generals. Once established in Tabrīz, 'Alī hastened to patch things up with his old master Daysam. At his request he incited the townsmen to exterminate the Daylamites whom Marzubān had sent with him, and when this plan succeeded, he went over to Daysam. Now Marzubān regretted his discord with his co-religionist 'Alī. He besieged Tabrīz and, in the meantime, began secret negotiations with 'Alī, invoking the community of their creed and offering him the post of vazir. 'Alī modestly asked for a guarantee of his life and property alone. Having obtained it, he escaped from Tabrīz, and Marzubān kept his word. Miskawayh reports on all these events (ii, 31–5) under the year 330/941–2 but does not subsequently mention 'Alī b. Ja'far.

Many events happened during the following fourteen years, and great disturbances followed on Marzubān's unsuccessful march on Rayy and his captivity (Miskawayh, ii, 115, under 337/948). During his imprisonment, Daysam reappeared in Azarbayjan and several other chiefs became independent. The Būyid of Rayy, Rukn al-daula, intervened in the affairs of Azarbayjan and in 339/951 sent there the well-known *dihqān* of Tūs, Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Razzāq, who 'grew weary of Azarbayjan' and returned to Rayy in 342/953.<sup>2</sup>

Only in 342/953–4 did Marzubān escape from his prison (Miskawayh, ii, 149) and restore his position. Before he died in Ramadan 346/Dec. 957 (Miskawayh, ii, 166) we hear of his operations against some rebels in the neighbourhood of Bāb al-abwāb (Darband). 'He settled his affairs and conquered his enemy,' and then returned to Azarbayjan to deal with Daysam. The khārijite chief fled again to his Armenian friends of Vaspurakan, but the latter

<sup>1</sup> Which probably depended on the Rawwādī family, see my *Studies*, 158.

<sup>2</sup> Miskawayh, ii, 119, 132, 135–6, 148 (omitted in Margoliouth's index). This is the famous *dihqān* of Tūs for whom the *Book of Kings* was translated from the Pahlavi. Firdausi's *Shāh-nāma* is based on this translation.

broke faith and surrendered him to Marzubān who is said to have put him to death. All these events are related by Miskawayh (ii, 161) under 344/955-6, and this is precisely the year quoted in I. Ḥauqal's text. I. Ḥauqal refers even to Daysam's extradition.

It looks then likely that, after Marzubān's escape, 'Alī b. Ja'far was restored in his position as vazir, and that the settlement with the tributaries was connected with Marzubān's expedition towards al-Bāb and the liquidation of Daysam.

### § 3. *Passages on Armenia and the Caucasus from Ibn Ḥauqal's Kitāb al-masālik wal-mamālik*

Ibn Ḥauqal's text is full of difficulties and on some points of the first passage which I quote (A.) I consulted the greatest living authority on Arabic, M. William Marçais, who most kindly has sent me its full translation into French. I have decided to incorporate it in my text, mindless of the disadvantages of such neighbourhood for my own translation of the passages which follow.

A. (Kramers, p. 343; de Goeje, p. 245): 'La ville (et région) de Dvin appartenait autrefois à Sembat b. Achot, roi de toute l'Arménie, comme elle avait appartenu à ses ancêtres. Elle ne cessa pas d'être au pouvoir des chefs de cette famille jusqu'à ce que Abul-Qāsim Yūsuf le Šājide la leur enleva et l'arracha à leur domination, alors qu'ils avaient par devers eux des pactes remontant au premier siècle de l'hégire, consacrant leur maintien dans l'état (où les avait trouvés la conquête arabe), et l'obligation de payer la *jizya* conformément aux clauses du covenant par eux contracté (*muqāta'āt*). Omayyades et Abbasides les avaient maintenus dans leurs résidences, et percevaient d'eux les diverses catégories de contributions (*rusūm*) qui leur étaient imposées (*jibāyāt*). Yūsuf s'attaqua à eux et fit d'eux l'objet de ses entreprises.<sup>1</sup> Depuis lors, leur bonne fortune<sup>2</sup> d'autrefois cessa et nul redressement d'étendard n'est intervenu pour elle (له = لعذرهم) jusqu'à l'heure présente. C'est la religion chrétienne qui domine en Arménie. Sur les deux parties de ce pays,<sup>3</sup> l'état suzerain (*sultān*) perçoit annuellement ce qui peut être assimilé au *kharāj*. Les Arméniens aujourd'hui encore seraient donc<sup>4</sup> sous le régime d'un pacte (*ahd*) comme ils l'étaient antérieurement; mais d'un pacte, dont en réalité,

<sup>1</sup> Comp. I. Ḥauqal, p. 61, ll. 14-15: وقصدهم العدو.

<sup>2</sup> I thought that *wa lā yuflīh ba'du 'udhruhum* (عُذْرُهُم) could be improved as \**ba'da ghadrihim* غَدْرِهِم with the meaning: 'and he (Yūsuf) did not prosper after his treachery towards them and no banner was raised to help him (*īlayhi*) until to-day' (Yūsuf died in 315/927). However, M. Marçais writes: 'Je crois que le mot *عذر* est à conserver. Il n'a pas ici le sens de "excuse" mais celui de "réussite, bonne fortune", les lexicographes le glossent par le mot *nujh*.'

<sup>3</sup> See the next paragraph.

<sup>4</sup> كَانِهِم théoriquement, du point de vue juridique.

les effets sont nuls, car les états voisins (*salātīn*) les attaquent,<sup>1</sup> font parmi eux des captifs, les maltraitent, et foulent aux pieds le devoir de les protéger. Les captifs faits parmi eux ne pouvaient être mis en vente comme esclaves à Bagdad et j'ai connu cet état de choses jusqu'à l'année 325/936, personne n'admettant le trafic comme licite en raison de leur qualité bien établie de protégés et de la pluralité des pactes (*غير عهد*) dont ils étaient détenteurs.'

'There are two Armenias, one called Inner, and the other Outer. In some parts of the Outer Armenia Muslims have towns which are in their hands, and the Muslims have ruled over them without interruption, (though sometimes ?) the Armenians have been holding leases. (Such towns) belong to the kings of Islam, as is the case in Arjīsh, Manāzjird, and Khilāt.<sup>2</sup> The frontiers of the Outer Armenia are clear, the frontier in the east reaching Bardha'a; in the west, the Jazīra; in the south, Azarbayjan; and in the north, the districts of the Rūm on the side of Qālīqalā. This latter used to be a great march in the middle of the Rūm country, (as against) the people of Azarbayjan, the Jibāl (Media) and Rayy etc. And this is the city (capital) of the Inner (Armenia). It has (already) been stated that there are two Armenias, and the Inner Armenia consists of Dabil (Dvin), Nashawā (Nakhchavan), Qālīqalā and what follows it in the north, whereas the Outer Armenia consists of Bergri, Khilāt, Arjīsh, Waṣṭān, al-Zawazān (Andzavatsik'), and the places, fortresses, districts, and provinces lying between them. (P. 344) And their access to the sea is at Trebizond . . .'

B. (K., 348, G., 250): 'There used to be imposed on most of these kings some sort of tribute (*darā'ib*) and additional (contributions), which every year were carried to the king of Azarbayjan—regularly (*sahlatan*), without interruption or hindrance—all of them (i.e. the Armenian kings) obeying him who was ruling (over Azarbayjan) and securing its prosperity.<sup>3</sup>

'Ibn Abil-Sāj contented himself now with a little, and now with a minimum by way of presents (*hadiya*) from them.<sup>4</sup> But when this region (*mamlaka*) fell to the lot of Marzubān b. Muḥammad b. Musāfir, known as Sallār, he instituted in it revenue offices (*dīwān*), surveys (*qānūn*), and the additional levies (*lawāzim*), while he discussed (*yukhātīb*) (the details of) "douceurs" (*marāfiq*), supplementary sums (*tawābi'*) and arrears.

'1. And the greatest of the kings (*malik*) of the region, so far as I could ascertain,<sup>5</sup> is the sharvānshāh MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ.

'2. After him (geographically ?) comes the king of LĀYZĀN, whose kingdom is adjacent to some part of Mt. Qabq, and his districts are known as Layzān-shāh [*sic*].

<sup>1</sup> J'ai eu un instant l'idée de lire تُطَرِّفُهُم (avec ف): 'leur font des invasions sur les bords de leur territoire' (de même تَحْيِفُ originairement a le sens de 'ronger sur les bords') mais *taṭarraqa* 'attaquer, envahir' est connu; et quant à *tataṭarraqu* > *taṭarraqu* 'attaquer, envahir' il est courant: *fīrāran min ta'āqub al-mithlayn*, c'est à dire 'par dissimulation'.

<sup>2</sup> On the Arab families settled north of Lake Van and belonging to the Qays tribe (with the exception of Bergri, which was originally held by the family of a certain 'Othmān), see Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 299–304, 501–8.

<sup>3</sup> De Goeje, 250, adds 'the lords of these districts, who were kings of the marches (*atrāf*), were obeying the king (*malik*) of Azarbayjan, Armenia, and the two Arrāns'.

<sup>4</sup> This is strange in comparison with the earlier passage, p. 517.

<sup>5</sup> De Goeje omits this limitation, which might suggest that I. Ḥauqal did not visit the region.

‘ 3. After him follows <sup>1</sup> the ṢANĀRIAN, known as Sanḥārīb, who is a Christian by religion, similarly to

4. IBN AL-DAYRĀNĪ, the lord of al-Zawazān (Andzavatsik‘), Van, and Waṣṭān.

‘ I shall explain the rank of each of these (kings or kingdoms), while mentioning what his obligations are and what is (additionally) imposed on him, by way of taxes in money (*māl*), tribute (*darība*), and presents—when (the time comes to explain) the revenue (*irtifā*) of the (whole) region, and when I have finished with the distances and (general) conditions.’

C. (K. 350, G. 252) . . . ‘ The road from Bardha‘a (de Goeje : *Barzanj*) to Dabīl crosses Armenia,<sup>2</sup> and all the villages and towns on this stretch belong to the kingdom of the Armenian Sunbāt b. Ašōt, which was taken away from him by Yūsuf ibn Abil-Sāj (de Goeje : *Ibn Dīvdād*) by treachery and oppression, and contrary to the (commands) of God and his prophet which say . . . [Kramers’ edition quotes here the traditions concerning the strict duty of the Muslims to protect the *dhimmīs*].’

D. (K. 354, G. 254) : ‘ As regards the situation obtaining (in Armenia)—so far as I could ascertain—its contributions (*jibāyāt*) and the tributes imposed on the (vassal) kings of the marches (*mulūk al-aṭrāf*), clearly explain the position of the region and point to the correctness of its description. Although at times (the tribute) increased or decreased, the average of what was contributed and the highest standard of what was levied from (the region) in the year 344/955, by virtue of the agreements (*muwāqafāt*) which Abul-Qāsim ‘Alī b. Ja‘far, (a former) steward (*ṣāhib al-zimām*) of Abul-Qāsim Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj—effected on behalf of Marzubān b. Muḥammad, whose vazir he (later) was, were as follows :—

‘ 1. He (Marzubān) agreed with MUḤAMMAD b. AḤMAD AL-AZDĪ, lord of SHARVĀN-SHĀH [*sic*] and its king, for a payment of 1,000,000 dirhams.

‘ 2. \*ISHKHĀNĪQ,<sup>3</sup> lord of SHAKKĪ, known as Abū ‘Abd al-Malik, also entered (*dakhala*) into an agreement with him.

‘ 3. He agreed with SANḤĀRĪB, known as IBN-SAWĀDA, lord of AL-RUB‘ (?), for a sum of 300,000 dirhams, *plus* some additional offerings (*altāf*).

‘ 4. (Similarly) the lord of Jurz (?), VASHAQĀN (Vach‘agan ?) B. MŪSĀ—200,000 dirhams.

‘ 5. He agreed with ABUL-QĀSIM AL-WAYZŪRĪ, lord of Wayzūr (\*Vayots‘-dzor) for 50,000 dinārs *plus* offerings.

‘ 6. (Similarly) ABUL-HAYJĀ B. RAWWĀD, from his districts in Ahr and Varzuqān—50,000 dinārs *plus* offerings.

‘ 7. (Similarly) ABUL-QĀSIM AL-JYDHĀNĪ from his districts and (on account of) the arrears (*baqāyā*) due from them—400,000 dirhams, but he wanted (this sum) to be diminished and was importunate in (his) begging ; therefore, in spiteful reaction (*tabarrum*) to his behaviour, the sum was increased by another 300,000 dirhams *plus* 100 cuts of Rūmī brocade.

<sup>1</sup> Instead of إليه I read \*يليه .

<sup>2</sup> In fact, Muqaddasi, 382, describes the road from Barda‘a to Dabīl across the Arrānian highlands (via Qalqāṭūs—i.e. Kaḷankatuk‘, the birthplace of the historian of Albania—M. tris, D. mis, and Kilkūni, i.e. Geḷak‘uni). On Smbat’s expansion, see Grousset, loc. cit., 401, 419, but I. H. exaggerates his power, for since 893 the kingdom of Albania was restored under Hamam (see Asolik (Macler), iii, ch. 3), and in Siunia Smbat met with resistance, see Grousset, loc. cit., 421.

<sup>3</sup> Spelt : *ishjānīq* ; already de Goeje suggested *Ishkhānīq*.

‘ 8. He (Marzubān) bound over (*alzama*) the sons of AL-DAYRĀNĪ to pay according to the (previously) agreed (sum), 100,000 dirhams yearly, but exempted them from the payment for four years, in recompense for their having surrendered to him Daysam b. Shādhliya, who had sought their protection but whom they betrayed.

‘ 9. He agreed with the sons of SUNBĀṬ, with regard to their districts in INNER ARMENIA, for 2,000,000 dirhams (p. 355) but afterwards remitted 200,000 dirhams.

‘ 10. He agreed with SANHĀRĪB, lord of KHACHEN, for 100,000 dirhams, *plus* offerings and horses (to the value of) 50,000 dirhams.

‘ The tributes in gold and silver, with supplements (*tawābi‘*) and offerings consisting of mules, horses, and ornaments (*huliyiy*) amounted to 10,000,000 dirhams.

‘ And the *kharāj* of the whole of Azarbayjan, Armenia and the two Arrāns, with their environs (*hawālī*),<sup>1</sup> together with the amounts of their taxes (reading *wa wujūh amwālīhā*) and the “douceurs”, amounted to 500,000 dinars.

‘ This is all that I have learned concerning the situation, and on which I had reports and statements, as much as my opportunities admitted and my understanding encompassed.’

#### § 4. Commentary

As is known, Ibn Ḥauqal had undertaken to revise Iṣṭakhri’s book, but in his chapter on Armenia, Arrān, and Azarbayjan only the details on the towns and distances follow those of his predecessor. For the rest, the chapter is brought up to date and is based on entirely new material.<sup>2</sup>

It is doubtful whether Ibn Ḥauqal himself penetrated deep to the north of the Araxes.<sup>3</sup> At the end of his chapter he refers to the *akhbār* ‘reports’ which he used. There is no doubt that these reports were of different dates and reflected different situations. In his description of the great market-centre Kūrsara (between Marāgha and Miyāna) he refers (K. 352) to what he heard from the ‘master of the merchants of Azarbayjan Abū-Aḥmad b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān of Shīz and Marāgha’ on the days of Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj. The curious pro-Armenian leanings noticeable in I. Ḥauqal’s text may be due to this source of his information. However, the severity of Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj towards the Armenians in passages **A.** and **C.** (which may date back to Yūsuf’s time) is in contradiction with his financial clemency described in passage **B.** The names of the principal Transcaucasian rulers (passage **B.**) do not tally with those in the list of Marzubān’s vassals (passage **D.**).<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps \**jawālī*, a term which I.H., 216, substitutes to *jizya* used by Iṣṭakhri, 156, in the corresponding passage on Fars.

<sup>2</sup> For comparison with the first passage of our translation I shall quote Iṣṭakhri, 188: ‘(In Armenia there ruled) Sunbāt b. Ashōt, and (Armenia) never ceased to remain in the hands of the seniors (*kubarā*) from among the Christians and these prevail (*ghālib*) over (among ?) the inhabitants of Armenia.’ Only isolated words of Iṣṭakhri have survived in Ibn Ḥauqal’s expanded and original report (cf. K. 343).

<sup>3</sup> He certainly visited the environs of Mt. Sabalan (near Ardabīl), p. 249 (347).

<sup>4</sup> In (**B.**) *Sharvān-shāh* is the prince and in (**D.**) his principality. Lāyzān is the present-day Lāhījān (west of Sharvān proper). According to the *History of Sharvān*, the Lāyzān branch of the Yazidi family had dispossessed the branch of Sharvān by 304/916; cf. Mas’ūdī, ii, 5, and it is characteristic that in (**D.**) (referring to 344/955) Lāyzān is no more mentioned. The Sanhārīb of Ṣanāriya also seems different from the two Sanhārībs in Marzubān’s list.

As regards the list of Marzubān's tributaries (**D.**), it cannot be taken for an original document from Marzubān's chancery; more probably someone versed in local affairs dictated the details of various financial agreements from memory. This would explain certain misunderstandings and omissions in our text, without detracting from the importance of this valuable estimate.

The list <sup>1</sup> presents numerous difficulties; the readings of some names are uncertain and the Christian tributaries are referred to with the current Arabic *kunya*, which disguise their identities and make it difficult to identify them with the persons known from Armenian sources.

1. The subjugation of SHARVĀN was a major achievement of Marzubān, by which his treasury secured a contribution second only to that promised by the Bagratids (see point 9.). *Sharvān* is the usual designation of the territory lying to the north of the Kur, which only in the 15th–16th century was renamed *Shīrvān*. The mistake (in **D.**) about *Sharvān-shāh* being the name of the kingdom and not of the king also occurs in Mas'ūdī, ii, 69. The prince who was ruling in Sharvān in 344/955 was Muḥammad b. Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad (337–345/948–956),<sup>2</sup> and he was succeeded by his son Aḥmad (345–370/956–981).

The ancient *History of Sharvān* (§ 9)<sup>3</sup> mentions the invasion of Sharvān by the Daylamites under Muḥammad's father Abū-Ṭāhir Yazīd b. Muḥammad, some time between 334/944 and 337/948, and he is said to have expelled them and made a peace and an alliance with them. Another invasion of Ibrāhīm b. Marzubān took place *circa* 357/968, when Aḥmad b. Muḥammad had to make peace with the attacker and offer him money. Consequently, the arrangement referred to by I. Ḥauqal *may* have been the result of the first invasion, but it seems to have been concluded under Muḥammad b. Yazīd, and possibly renewed under his son Aḥmad. The name in I. Ḥauqal (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad) does not fit into the detailed genealogy of the *sharvān-shāhs*, and more particularly the tribal appurtenance of the dynasty is wrong, for it should be *Shaybānī*, instead of *Azdī*. The latter may be a mistake for \**Yazīdī*, as the family was generally known.<sup>4</sup> This might be an instance of the mistakes resulting from dictation.

2. SHAKKĪ. Instead of the form اسحاس Ashās given in the first edition of I. Ḥauqal (de Goeje), the better manuscript used by Kramers in the second edition gives *Ishjānīq*, which can be easily restored as \**Ishkhānīq*—a good Armenian name. His Arabic *kunya* Abū 'Abd al-Malik is of no importance for his nationality, in view of the general onomastic fashion of the age. The name does not fit into Mas'ūdī's indication (ii, 18) that, practically at the same time, the ruler of Shakkī was called Ādhar-Narsē.

The text is somewhat misleading. As the words اشخانیق \* مواقفته ودخل فی

<sup>1</sup> Translated into modern Persian and partly commented upon by Kasrawī, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, i, 101. Cf. also Krimsky, *Sheki*, pp. 377–8.

<sup>2</sup> According to Mas'ūdī, ii, 5, Muḥammad b. Yazīd was ruling already in 332/943.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 508, n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Even their capital was called Yazīdiya.



follow immediately after the words *فواقف... صاحب شروان شاه*, one might be tempted to explain the passage as indicating that Ishkhānīq was a party to the agreement concluded with the *sharvānshāh*. This interpretation<sup>1</sup> is impossible for, as we now know from the *History of Sharvān*, Shakkī, separated from Sharvān by Qabala, was independent of Sharvān, and needed a special arrangement. Therefore the words *wa dakhala fī muwāqafatihi* are only a modified formula of *wa-wāqafa*, and the personal pronoun ('his agreement') must refer again to Marzubān. Consequently the sum of Ishkhānīq's contribution was left blank.

As shown by the *History of Sharvān*,<sup>2</sup> the contemporary use of the term *Shakkī* was vague. Following the vicissitudes of local struggles, it covered even some territories of Kakhetia. Moreover, the special territory of Heret'i, lying between Shakkī proper and Kakhetia, was not clearly distinguished by the Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

The name Ishkhānīq, as connected with Shakkī, evokes the memory of the prince Iṣṣanik of Heret'i, who was a contemporary of Marzubān (see above, p. 511).

3. The name of SANĤĀRĪB IBN SAWĀDA coincides with that of a Christian prince who must have lived about the middle of the 10th century.

The old pre-Islamic dynasty of Mihran which was ruling in Arrān (ancient Albania, Armenian *Alvanak'*) came to an end with prince Varaz-Trdat, who, together with his infant son, was assassinated in 822 by (his relative?) Nerseh P'ilippean. His widow took her daughter Spram to Khachen, where she married her to Atr-Narseh, son of Sahl (read: \**Sahak*, as suggested by Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 457). According to the local historian Moses Kalankatvats'i, the offspring of this couple took up the succession of the Mihranids. In the fifth generation, we meet Hovhannes, called Senek'erim, son of Iṣṣan-Savada, through whom, according to Moses, God wished to restore the long extinct kingship. 'The king of Persia conferred upon him great honours, gave him the crown of his own (?) father and his (?) steed. In the same year the Greek *magistros*, David, sent him the royal crown and a sumptuous purple . . .' The period of 131 years (from A.D. 822 to 953) is not too short for five generations, and it looks as if the 'king of Persia' who honoured Sanĥārīb was precisely Marzubān, who used favours in exchange for tribute.

If the coincidence of the names guarantees the identification of the prince, the name of his kingdom remains a puzzle. *الربع* (with the Arabic article) looks like \**Rub* 'a quarter', or \**Rab* 'a territory, a custom-house'<sup>4</sup> (see

<sup>1</sup> Accepted by A. E. Krīmsky, and apparently by Spuler, *Iran in früh-islam. Zeit*, 467.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Studies*, p. 32, and the chapter on Sharvān. Cf. my article 'Shakkī', in *E.I.*

<sup>3</sup> Except perhaps in an addition to Iṣṭakhri's text, 193a; see my commentary in *Ḥudūd*, p. 402.

<sup>4</sup> The term *rub* (plural *arbā'*), as a territorial unit, is used by Ibn Rusta, 171, who says that Nīshāpūr has thirteen *rustāqs* and four *arbā'*, as against Muqaddasī, 300, who counts twelve *rustāqs* and four *khānāt*; cf. *Ḥudūd*, § 23, 1, and p. 325. [However, *rub* can refer to the quarters of the town.]

de Goeje, iv, 224), but the bare skeleton of the name admits of manifold readings (*Rīgh*, *R.n.gh*, *Zīgh*, *Z.n.gh*). The same name occurs only in one other source, namely in Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar b. Muhalhil's 'Second *risāla*'.<sup>1</sup> This traveller (§ 15) reports that, on his way from Tiflis to Ardabil, he visited 'the mountains of Wayzūr, Qabān, Khājīn, حندان الرابع and the two Badhdh'. With the exception of the last name, all the other names seem to refer to the highlands of Arrān separating the Kur from the Araxes.

Abū-Dulaf must have travelled *circa* A.D. 950 and this increases the interest of his evidence.

My first idea was to compare الرابع with the name of the capital of Arrān برذعه (variant بردع, see Iṣṭakhri, 182, note *g*). Abū-Dulaf could have copied the name from the same source, but, in all probability, his *risāla* was written before I. Ḥauqal had completed his work (in 367/977). We know, however, that at the time of the Russian invasion, in 332/943–4, Barda'a was governed by Marzubān's representative (Miskawayh, ii, 62), and it is unlikely that Marzubān would have left this key-town in the hands of a rather insignificant prince like Senek'erim.<sup>2</sup>

According to the historian Moses, Spram married 'Atr-narseh, son of Sahl (read : \*Sahak ?), lord of Siunia, who had seized by force the canton of Geḷam',<sup>3</sup> and whose residence was Tohak. In the record of the deportation of Armenian princes to Mesopotamia, Ṭabarī (III/2, 1416 : under 238/852) mentions 'Ādhar-Narsē b. Ishaq [*sic*] al-Khāshinī', and thus connects Senek'erim's putative ancestor with Khachen (see below, 10), but Ādhar-Narsē (and his family) may have still retained the region of Geḷam (Lake Sevan). For Moses, too, the restoration of the kingdom under Senek'erim may have taken place in the *dynastic*, and not in the *geographical* sense, and this would leave us some latitude in identifying the territory of Senek'erim. Abū-Dulaf—if he can be trusted—refers to الرابع separately from Khājīn (Khachen), and, in this case, Senek'erim's fief might be looked for in Geḷam, though the final identification of \**al-Rub*' should be left to the Armenian scholars on the spot (see also below, under 10.).

4. In the first edition of I. Ḥauqal, 254, there stood وصاحب جرزان وسغان, and in my article 'Musāfirī' in *E.I.* I took \**Jurzān wa Saghīyān* for موسى, and in my article 'Musāfirī' in *E.I.* I took \**Jurzān wa Saghīyān* for

<sup>1</sup> Which at this moment I am publishing in Cairo after the unique MS. of the Mashhad sanctuary.

<sup>2</sup> Unless he was an entirely subjected ruler, with some independence in local and internal affairs. [Cf. *al-rab* 'a custom-house'.]

<sup>3</sup> Brosset, in his notes to Orbelian, ii, 24, contests his appurtenance to Siunia and prefers to take him for a scion of the Albanian house who encroached on the territory of Siunia ('profita de quelque bonne occasion pour se caser en Siounie'). Brosset's surmise suits well the illuminating identification of Ādhar-Narsē Khāshinī by Marquart. Moses himself is silent on the appurtenance of Khachen, but even if Spram's marriage was arranged with a prince *outside* Khachen, it is possible to imagine that, *after* the marriage, Khachen—undoubtedly friendly to the Mihranids—was included in the dominions of Spram and her husband.

the villages Gurzivān and Saghiyān (?), lying to the west of Shamākhi. However, the designation of the prince as 'Ibn-Mūsā', without his personal name, would be strange. The second edition gives وصاحب جرز وشقان بن موسى, which suggests the reading \*VASHAQĀN b. MŪSĀ, i.e. probably *Vač'agan*, a name popular among the princes of Arrān.<sup>1</sup> But what of *J.rz* (which de Goeje restored as \**J.rzān*)? Normally it would refer to Georgia (*Jurz*) but Marzubān never penetrated so far as Georgia, and \**Vač'agan* is a non-Georgian name. As a mere surmise, one might think in our case not of جرز but of \*خزر though not in its direct sense of the Khazar kingdom, but in the local use, as applied to the town of QABALA lying between Sharvān (*v.s.* 1.) and Shakkī (*v.s.* 2.). This was a place where Khazars were probably settled, for Balādhuri (194) says *wa madīna Qabala wa-hiya al-Khazar*.<sup>2</sup> This suggestion is purely tentative, but it would be strange if Qabala, mentioned by Mas'ūdī (ii, 68) as a separate principality, were unrepresented in I. Hauqal's document.

Mas'ūdī calls the prince of Qabala 'Anbasa-the-One-Eyed and the *History of Sharvān* refers to his son Ibn-'Anbasa. 'Anbasa ('the lion') is definitely only a nick-name, and the corollary of our surmise would be that his real name was \**Vač'agan*, son of Mūsā, and that in some way he was connected with the princes of Arrān.

5. With Wayzūr we are on firm ground, for it is a usual Arabic form for the basin of the 'Lower Arpa-chay', which in Armenian was called VAYOTS'-DZOR (Const. Porphyrogenitus *Βαυζώρ*: see Hübschmann, *Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen*, No. 111). About the middle of the 10th century its ruler was definitely connected with the Musāfirids (see my *Studies*, pp. 36, 69–70, where I suggest tentatively his identity with Vasak, son of Smbat, of the local Armenian dynasty of SIUNIA). For purposes of identification, the *kunya* Abul-Qāsim is worthless.

6. ABUL-HAYJĀ b. RAWWĀD is a well-known member of the originally Arab, and later Kurdicized, family, which, after the eclipse of the Musāfirids (*circa* 373/983), became the leading dynasty in Azarbayjan down to the Seljuk invasion.<sup>3</sup> The capital of the Rawwādids was Tabriz, but the early fief of the family comprised Ahr, and Ya'qūbī (*History*, pp. 446–7) avers that the governor Yazid al-Muhallabī (about the middle of the 8th century A.D.) allotted to Rawwād b. al-Muthannā al-Azdi a tract of territory stretching from Tabriz to al-Badhdh. The latter place, known as the residence of Bābak, lay in the

<sup>1</sup> This restoration was already proposed by Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, 1818, i, 231. He thought that this *Vač'agan* might be the son of the rebellious governor of Uti against whom Ashōt II, son of Smbat, led an expedition in 922. cf. Grousset, *Histoire de l'Arménie*, 451. St. Martin leaves, however, the name *Jurz/Khazar* in the air.

<sup>2</sup> According to the newly discovered Arabic text of Ibn A'tham, Jarrāh (appointed by Yazid II, 101–5/720–4) reduced the people of *M.rghūma* (Tarqi?) and moved its population to the village of Ghassāniya in the rustāq of Qabala (see A. N. Kurat, in *Ankara Univer. D.T.C. fakult. dergisi*, 1949, p. 269).

<sup>3</sup> See my *Studies*, p. 167.

neighbourhood of Mt. Hashtād-sar, on the eastern ridge of Qaraja-dagh, and Ahr (even now the capital of Qaraja-dagh) was certainly within this zone. The village of Varzaqān (Varzuqān) lies some 35 km. higher up on the river of Ahar.

7. The case of ABUL-QĀSIM JYDHĀNĪ (الجيداني) is similar to that recorded under 3. The other manuscript gives الجنداني (*J.ndānī*), which de Goeje restored as الخيزاني (\**Khayzānī*). Abū-Dulaf undoubtedly refers to the same place under the name of حندان *H.ndān*, though this part of his report is still subject to caution. In most of the early Islamic writers, خيزان (Balādhuri, 204, 206–7), جيدان (Mas'ūdī, ii, 7) and similar forms stand for خيداق *Khaydāq*, a Daghestanian people living immediately north of Darband. It is true that, under 344/955, Miskawayh (ii, 161) refers to some operations conducted by Marzubān 'in the region of al-Bāb (i.e. Darband)', but it is highly improbable that he could have reduced to vassalage a people beyond the 'gate' of Darband.

To the south of the Caucasian range, the existence of a *Khayzān* (Jidān, Jandān ?) is implied by I. Khurdādhbih (123–4), who tries to locate the story of Moses and the prophet Khidr (*Qor'ān*, xviii, 59–81) in Sharvān: 'that rock is the rock of Sharvān, that sea is the sea of Gilān; that village is the village of Bājarvān<sup>1</sup>; and when they met the young man and he (Khidr) killed him, it was in the village of *Khayzān* (var. حيران, Yāqūt, iii, 252, جيزان)'. (Cf. also *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 90: *Khayzān*, *Chandān*.) The rock in question is possibly Besh-barmaq (standing some 70 km. north-west of Baku in the coastal region), near which lies the village of Khidr-Zinda.<sup>2</sup> A short distance to the west lies a village called Khizi, and one might compare this name with \**Khayzān*, *Khizān*. Nothing, however, is known of a sizable principality having ever existed in that region in Islamic times.

On the other hand, in Abū-Dulaf's itinerary, حندان (which could easily be a mis-spelling of the name quoted by Ibn Ḥauqal) comes between Khachen and Bābak's capital al-Badhdhayn<sup>3</sup> and, provided the itinerary is not a fake, this place might be looked for on the left bank of the Araxes, somewhere in the present district of Jibrail.<sup>4</sup>

8. The 'sons of al-Dayrānī' are the rulers of VASPUKĀN (the region of

<sup>1</sup> Bājarvān 'the bazaar place' is a common name. The best known Bājarvān lay south of the Araxes on the way to Ardabil, but the legend may have in view some different place, nearer to Sharvān. The starting point for the strange location is the term *majma' al-baḥrayn* (*Qor'ān*, xviii, 59), 'the junction of the two seas, or rivers,' which the sages took to be the confluence of the Kur and Araxes, see I. Khurd., 175. Cf. Minorsky, *Mūkān* in *E.I.* (Supplement).

<sup>2</sup> This is a conspicuous landmark, and in 1948 a Latin inscription of Legio XII Fulminata was found in the same neighbourhood. See *Vestnik drevney istorii*, 1950, No. 1, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Which stood south of the Araxes, near Mt. Hashtād-sar (between the districts Hōrānd, Kalaybar, and Garmādūz).

<sup>4</sup> Circa A.D. 835 we hear of a Christian prince in this region called 'Īsā b. Yūsuf (or Ibn-Iṣṭifānūs, because his mother was a sister of Iṣṭifānūs). On him and his dominions see above, p. 512, but I have not been able to trace his succession.

Van) of the Artsruni family. In 344/955 the ruling prince was Abū-Sahl Hamazasp (953–972), who succeeded his brother Derenik Ashot (937–953). Both were grandsons of Grigor Derenik (in Arabic *al-Dayrānī*) (874–886). The reference to the circumstances in which Daysam was extradited is a welcome detail in favour of I. Ḥauqal's accuracy.

9. The 'sons of Sunbāt' are certainly the ARMENIAN BAGRATIDS of Ani. Ibn Ḥauqal himself (passages **A.** and **C.**) refers to Smbat-the-Martyr (890–914), whose grandson Ashot the Merciful (*Olormadz*) was ruler in 952–977. The sum which the Bagratids agreed to pay, and which was lowered by 10 per cent of the amount originally stipulated, was most probably only security money which the Bagratids paid to ward off Daylamite inroads. From the *History of Sharvān* (see my *Studies*, pp. 10–11) we know that Marzubān kept a Daylamite garrison in Dvin and that Ashot made an unsuccessful attempt to take the town.

10. *Khājīn* is a good transcription of KHACHEN (Arm. *Xač'enk'*), independent from Ṭabarī, who calls it *Khāshīn*.

Professor I. A. Orbeli<sup>1</sup> writes that the old principality of Siunik' collapsed in 1166. 'At this time begins the elevation of the small principality of Arts'ax, or *Xač'en*. This latter name was possibly derived from the name of a fortress. The centre of the principality, which was apparently a part of the ancient Albania (Alvank'), was the basin of the *Xač'ena-jur* (now Khachin-chay) and partly that of the T'art'ar (now Terter). This region belongs to the territory of the present-day district of Javanshir. In the present state of the historical geography of Armenia, it is almost impossible to indicate its frontiers, because, in the course of almost perpetual wars, the frontiers were moved very often.'

To this statement one has to add that the Islamic sources clearly hint at the existence of a special fief-holder of Khachen already in the 10th century.

Under 3. we have discussed the identity of Sanḥārīb, son of Sawāda, whose characteristic name is a strong clue to his identity. We know that the widow of the last Mihranid married her daughter Spram to the ancestor of Sanḥārīb in Khachen. He is said to have been of the branch of the Siunian (?) house and to have seized Geḷam, but Khachen apparently also belonged to him.<sup>2</sup> And yet in 10. we hear of another (?) Sanḥārīb of Khachen who paid a smaller sum of tribute to Marzubān. One is tempted to assume that I. Ḥauqal, in his hurriedly taken notes (cf. 1.), reported twice on the same prince. In view of the difference in the tribute, one might surmise that one single tributary was paying for two different fiefs (Geḷam (?) and Khachen).

The inclusion of horses in the tribute of Khachen must be connected with the excellence of the Qarabagh breed. In the 13th century the husband of Queen T'amar of Georgia, David Soslan, gave the fortress of Jarmanam and one village for a steed which he acquired from Vakhtang of Khachen (see Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, i, 441).

<sup>1</sup> In his article 'Hasan Jalal, knyaz Khachensky', in *Izvestiya Imper. Akad. nauk*, 1909, p. 405.

<sup>2</sup> Unless he happened to be there on a visit at the time of his bride's arrival. See above, p. 522.

§ 5. *Conclusions*(A) *Technical Terms.*

The technicalities of Islamic taxation are still insufficiently known and the translation of the financial terms used by I. Ḥauqal can be only tentative. I have quoted the original terms used by I. Ḥauqal and for their translation I have used the experience of the editors of similar texts (de Goeje's index to *B.G.A.*, iv; index to Ṭabari; the list of terms quoted by Amedroz in his edition of Hilāl al-Šābī's *Kitāb al-wuzarā*).

- (a) *alzama*—‘solvere coegit, solvendum imposuit’ (Ṭabari).
- (b) *amwāl*—‘revenue (probably in cash)’; de Goeje, iv, 357: ‘reditus’.
- (c) *altāf*—‘offerings, douceurs’.
- (d) *darība*—according to de Goeje, iv, 285, is not properly ‘revenue’ (reditus) but rather ‘tribute’, because it can be paid in various ways—for example, in customs duties (‘de variis rebus solvitur, speciatim portorium’).
- (e) *dirwān*—‘revenue office’.
- (f) *jibāyāt*—de Goeje, iv, 202, suggests ‘tributum non canonicum’, and Ṭabari: *jabā, ijtabā* ‘tributum exegit’. I translate the term by a less definite ‘contributions’.
- (g) *jizya* is the poll-tax paid by non-Muslims, and its amount was apparently fixed by special agreements expressed in leases (see below *muqāṭa’āt*).
- (h) *lawāzim*—‘additional levies’; de Goeje, *B.G.A.*, iii, 348: ‘varia alia tributa’.
- (i) *muqāṭa’a*—‘a lease’, by which the suzerain confirms someone in his principality, subject to the yearly payment of the poll-tax; de Goeje, iii, 329: ‘pactum cum aliquo iniit, quo concedit ei principatum suae regionis servare, conditione ut quotannis census capitis sive aliud tributum solveret’. I do not think that in our case the term is used in the strictly technical sense, as in I.H., 216 (K. 302): *al-qawānīn allātī hiya al-muqāṭa’āt*, meaning ‘a fixed sum of taxes evaluated according to a standard value (‘ibra) per lunar year’. Cf. Cl. Cahen, *L'évolution de l'iqṭā*, in *Annales* (L. Febvre), 1953, pp. 29 and 46, and A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 1953, p. 33.
- (j) *marāfiq*—‘douceurs’; de Goeje, iv, 349: ‘emolumenta, tributa diversa non canonica’.
- (k) *muwāqafāt*—(restored by Kramers, possibly following Dozy, instead of *muwāfaqāt*) has a meaning similar to *muqāṭa’āt*, though the latter seems to stress the element of investiture, whereas the former stresses the financial conditions established by the parties.
- (l) *rusūm* seems to be used in the sense of the sums usually collected, ‘dues’. De Goeje, iv, 246, equates it with ‘tribute’.
- (m) *qāmūn*—‘survey of landed property and revenue based on it’; de Goeje, vi, 333: ‘census soli si quotannis fixa pecuniae summa solvenda est’.
- (n) *tawābī*—‘supplements’. Ṭabari: *tawābī al-kharāj* ‘incrementa tributi, quod at tributum accedit’. Possibly also the percentage added for the benefit of the agents collecting the tribute (*mu’āmara*, Hilāl).

(B) *Amount of Payments.*

Only for Vaspurakan does I. Ḥauqal clearly explain that the tribute was paid every year but, as admitted by de Goeje, the payment of all the tributes

was also on an annual basis. Converting the dinars (quoted under Vayots-Dzor and Ahr) into dirhams (at the rate of 1 dinar = 15 dirhams, see Qudāma, 249)<sup>1</sup> we have :—

Sharvān <sup>2</sup>	.	.	.	1,000,000
Shakkī	.	.	.	?
al-Rub'	.	.	.	300,000
Qabala (?)	.	.	.	200,000
Vayots-Dzor	.	.	.	500,000
Ahr and Varzaqān	.	.	.	750,000
Jaydhān (Khayzān ?)	.	.	.	750,000
Vasपुरakan	.	.	.	100,000
Bagratids	.	.	.	2,000,000
Khachen	.	.	.	100,000
				<hr/>
				5,750,000 dirhams <sup>3</sup>

Even with the lacuna of Shakkī and the addition of the occasional offerings, we are very far from 10 m. dirhams, which I. Ḥauqal gives as the total of Marzubān's revenue. It is possible then that the list of the tributaries is not quite complete, or that it includes the *kharāj* paid by his direct subjects. My final impression is that the amount of 'tributes' should be separated from the amount of the *kharāj*.

As regards the '*kharāj* for Arrān, Armenia, and Azarbayjan', evaluated at 500,000 dinars (i.e. 7·5 m. dirhams), this item added at the end of passage D. seems to refer to the time when the three provinces were ruled by governors appointed directly from Baghdad.

According to Qudāma, the average revenue (*irtifā'*) of Azarbayjan<sup>4</sup> was 4·5 m. dirhams, and of Armenia (including Arrān)<sup>5</sup> 4 m. dirhams—totalling 8·5 m. dirhams, a sum approaching that of I. Ḥauqal. Qudāma is supposed to have composed his book shortly after 316/928 (see de Goeje's Preface, p. x) but, according to von Kremer, his data go back to a much earlier time (*circa* 204/819),<sup>6</sup> and the well-known later budget (of 306/918) gives an

<sup>1</sup> Also Miskawayh, ii, 34, for the year 332/943; I. Ḥauqal, 146 (K. 218), for the year 358/968. cf. A. Dūrī, *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, 222.

<sup>2</sup> Malik-shah (1072–1092) tried to obtain from the sharvan-shah Farīburz 70,000 dinars, but the contribution gradually dwindled to 40,000, see Bundārī, 140. According to Nasawī, 160, 175, the original sum was 100,000 dinars, but in 622/1225 the khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-dīn requested the sharvān-shāh to pay 50,000, and then further reduced this sum by 20,000 dinars. The real value of these nominal sums is difficult to ascertain in view of the silver crisis of the 12th century, see E. Pakhomov, *Monetī Gruzii*, 1910, pp. 79, 118.

<sup>3</sup> According to Barthold's estimate of 4 dirhams = 1 rouble, this would give 1,437,500 roubles, or over £140,000 (at the pre-1914 rates).

<sup>4</sup> Qudāma, 244, enumerates its provinces: Ardabil, Jābarvān (apparently the region to the south of Lake Urmīya) and Warthān (on the Araxes), adding that its capital is Bardha'a. Ya'qūbī, in his Geography, BGA., vii, 274, puts the *kharāj* of Azarbayjan at 4 m. dirhams.

<sup>5</sup> Qudāma, 246, enumerates its provinces: Jurzān (Georgia), Dabil (Dvin), Barzand, Sirāj-Ṭayr (Shirak and Taik'), Bājunays (Bznunik'), Arjish, Khilāt, Sisajān (Siunik'), Arān, Qālīqālā (Erzerum), Basfurrajān (Vasपुरakan)—with its capital at Nashawā (Nakhchavan).

<sup>6</sup> See Qudāma, 236, line 20. Cf. also the unusual indication concerning the administrative centres (*qasaba*) of Azarbayjan—at Bardha'a, and of Armenia—at Nakhchavan.

impression of considerable recession (*Verfall*) of income. In practice the revenue must have greatly depended on circumstances. When in 296/908 Yūsuf b. Abil-Sāj was confirmed in his governorship,<sup>1</sup> the sum of his farm was fixed at only 120,000 dinars (1·8 m. dirhams), and already towards 299/912 Yūsuf tried to evade even this reduced responsibility.

In any case, I. Ḥauqal's item on the general revenue must belong to a source entirely different from that of his data at the time of Marzubān.

(C) *General Interest of the Passages.*

1. Though admitting that the list is not the original document, but possibly a series of items communicated, or even dictated, to our geographer, one should consider it as a valuable picture of the political structure of a region on which we are insufficiently informed.

2. In view of the great scarcity of financial statistics for the 10th century, I. Ḥauqal's data merit attention both as an illustration of the politico-financial methods and as material for assessing the comparative importance of the principalities.<sup>2</sup>

3. It is hoped that our identifications will be of utility to local historians working on Christian sources. The figures of Ishkhānīq of Shakkī and of Sanḥārīb, son of Sawāda, seem to fit into the pattern of the Georgian and Armenian sources.

Incidentally, our analysis is a preparatory work for the publication of the 11th-century *History of Sharvan*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to Ṭabarī, iii, 2284: 'of Marāgha and Azarbayjan'; according to I. Athir, viii, 42, also 'of Armenia'. cf. von Kremer, *Das Einnahmebudget vom Jahre 306 H.*, 1887, 299.

<sup>2</sup> In his chapter on taxation Spuler, loc. cit., 467, has quoted I. Ḥauqal's table only for the tribute of Sharvān. Ghazarian's reference to I. H.'s passage is incomplete, see his 'Armenien unter d. arab. Herrschaft' in *Zeit. f. arm. Philologie*, 1903, ii/3, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 508, n. 4. The chapters on Sharvān and al-Bāb complete the chapter on the Shaddādids of Ganja published in my *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953.



# JOURNAL ASIATIQUE

RECUEIL TRIMESTRIEL  
DE MÉMOIRES ET DE NOTICES  
RELATIFS AUX ÉTUDES ORIENTALES  
PUBLIÉ PAR LA SOCIÉTÉ ASIATIQUE

---

TOME CCXVII



PARIS  
IMPRIMERIE NATIONALE  

---

LIBRAIRIE ORIENTALISTE PAUL GEUTHNER  
RUE JACOB, N° 13 (VI°)

---

MDCCCXXX

# TABLE DES MATIÈRES

## CONTENUES DANS LE TOME CCXVII.

---

### MÉMOIRES ET TRADUCTIONS.

	Pages.
La campagne du printemps de 1929 à Tello (M. H. de GENEVILLAS) ..	1
Transcaucasica (M. V. MINORSKY) .....	41
Quelques publications sémitiques récentes (M. F. NAB) .....	113
Le texte du <i>Draet Asurti</i> et la versification pehlevie (E. BENVENISTE) ..	193
Stratification des langues et des peuples dans le Proche-Orient préhistorique (R. FEENEY) .....	227
Les mots mongols dans le <i>Korye ed</i> (Paul PELLIOT) .....	253

### MÉLANGES.

Note sur une éclipse du temps d'Açoka (?) (M. R. FART) .....	135
Sur quelques images de nâgas à Sambôr Prei Kùk (M. V. GOLOSSEV) ..	137
Les stances d'introduction de l' <i>Abhidharmaśāstra</i> de Dharmatrāta (Paul PELLIOT) .....	267
S. A. R. le prince Dāmreng (Louis FINOT) .....	274
Un texte grec relatif à l' <i>Atanodha</i> (Roger GOCCO) .....	280
Le sort des trépassés dans un hymne à la déesse Nūn-gai contemporain de la dynastie d'Loi (Charles-F. JEAN) .....	286
Noms sogdiens dans un texte pehlevi de Turfan (E. BENVENISTE) .....	291
Note sur l' <i>Ālambanaparikā</i> (La VALLÉE POUSSIN) .....	296
Un élément mésopotamien dans l'art de l'Inde (Dr C. L. FARR) .....	298

# TRANSCAUCASICA<sup>(1)</sup>,

PAR

M. V. MINORSKY.

---

## LE NOM DE DVIN.

- § 1. Dvin dans les sources arméniennes.
- § 2. Les *duvin* d'Astarābād.
- § 3. Leur antiquité.
- § 4. A quelle langue appartient *duvin*?
- § 5. Sa transmission vers l'ouest.
- § 6. Ancienne population de Dvin.
- § 7. *Durin* au Kurdistan.
- § 8. Le nom Dvin dans les sources hétérogènes.

La capitale de la dynastie des Arsakides arméniens était à Vałarsapat. Lorsqu'en 426 le dernier Arsakide fut déposé par le Sasanide Bahrām Gōr, le marzpān de l'Arménie persane s'établit dans la ville de Dvin, laquelle, après la conquête musulmane, servit aussi de résidence aux wālis arabes. Après de nombreux désastres, qui au cours du x<sup>e</sup> siècle frappèrent Dvin du fait des invasions des princes musulmans venant du côté de l'Azarbaijan<sup>(2)</sup>, le Bagratide Ašot III (961-977)

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir *in fine* les cartes accompagnant cet article. Les clichés en ont été gracieusement prêtés par la *Revue des études arméniennes*.

<sup>(2)</sup> Les Sājides, les Rawwādides, les amirs de Gōltn. Voir l'histoire d'Asolik de Tarōn, livre III, ch. 4, 5, 13, 18, 19 etc.

fixa définitivement sa capitale à Ani. Le déplacement de la route de commerce reliant Trébizonde à la Perse qui en fut le résultat, paraît avoir porté le coup de grâce à la prospérité de Dvin.

Si l'emplacement de la ville de Dvin doit être cherché à l'intérieur du groupe des villages qui portent son nom et sont situés près de l'endroit où la rivière Garni sort dans la plaine<sup>(1)</sup>, l'origine du nom de Dvin était restée jusqu'ici énigmatique<sup>(2)</sup>.

§ 1. La première mention du lieu Dvin (ou Dəvin) se trouve dans Fauste de Byzance (v<sup>e</sup> siècle). L'arsakide Hosrov II (381-389) aurait fait planter dans la localité Ayrarat deux forêts dont l'une s'étendait « à partir du solide château royal Garni jusqu'à la plaine de Metsamaur, jusqu'à la colline qui s'appelle Dvin et est située au nord de la grande ville Artasat, en suivant le courant de la rivière jusqu'au palais Tiknuni ». Cette forêt reçut le nom de Taçar-mairi. L'autre forêt s'appelant Hosrova-kert fut plantée au sud de la première. Ici fut construit le palais royal<sup>(3)</sup>.

Selon la version de Moïse de Khorène (vi-vii<sup>e</sup> siècle?) Hosrov planta une forêt près de la rivière Azat (= Garni) et transféra sa cour sur un point élevé de la forêt : « il y bâtit un palais... »

(1) Les ruines Berd (« forteresse ») situées entre le hameau musulman Torpaḡkal'a et le village arménien Ardašar, à en juger d'après ce dernier nom, se rapportent plutôt à l'ancienne ville Artasat. Les sondages que M. Marr y fit en 1899 (jusqu'à une profondeur de 3,3 à 5 mètres) ont mis à jour quelques objets de l'époque musulmane. Seule une entaille représentant un lion et un bœuf (ailé) a un caractère plus ancien. *Otčet Imp. Archéol. Komissii* (pour 1899), SPb. 1902, p. 91-94.

(2) HÜBSCHMANN, *vide infra*; THOPDSCHIAN, *Zeit. f. Armen. Phil.*, II, 1903, p. 51, note 6; Streck, *Dvin*, dans l'*Encycl. de l'Islam*.

(3) Fauste, III, ch. 18. Voir la traduction de HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarmen. Ortsnamen, Indogerm. Forschungen*, XVI, Strasbourg 1904, p. 434, *sub verbo* Xosrovakert. Cf. les traductions de J. B. Emine dans *Fragm. hist. graec.*, éd. Müller, v/2, Paris 1872, p. 216 et de Lauer, Köln, 1879, p. 14.

qui en langue persane (*parskakan*) s'appelle Dvin ce qui se traduit par colline (*blur*) » <sup>(1)</sup>.

Hübschmann <sup>(2)</sup> qualifie d'erreur (*Irrtum*), l'explication de Moïse de Khorène, car d'une part il le croit inspiré directement de Fauste et d'autre part il invoque le témoignage de l'historien du x<sup>e</sup> siècle Thomas Artsruni, lequel aurait employé le mot *Blur* comme le nom propre de la localité où était située la ville Dvin <sup>(3)</sup>.

Pour sa part Hübschmann déclare l'étymologie de Dvin obscure et laisse sans commentaire l'allégation de Moïse de Khorène quant à la signification du mot *dvin* en persan.

Libre à nous d'accepter ou de rejeter les conjectures de l'historien arménien mais le fait est sûr qu'il a connu un mot « persan » *dvin*, jusqu'à présent ignoré aussi bien en iranien ancien qu'en persan moderne.

§ 2. Or le mot *duvin* « butte, colline » correspondant de très près à Dvin <sup>(4)</sup> nous a été conservé dans la toponymie de la province persane d'Astarābād au sud-est de la mer Caspienne, et plus exactement de la lisière des steppes qui s'étendent au nord de la chaîne d'Elborz. En allant de l'ouest à l'est on y trouve :

*Girā-duvin*, colline à l'ouest d'Astarābad, کرا دوین de la géographie persane moderne (1235/1859) citée par Dorn. Ce point est bien connu par le meurtre de Muḥammad Ḥasan-

<sup>(1)</sup> Moïse de Khorène, III, ch. 18, trad. russe de N. Emine, Moscou, 1893, p. 148, cf. la traduction française dans LANGLOIS, *Collection des historiens... de l'Arménie*, II, p. 137.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Op. laud.*, p. 422 : «ein Irrtum, der durch die Quelle des Moses, Faustus Byz. 18-21, veranlasst ist».

<sup>(3)</sup> Toutefois la traduction de BAOSSET, *Coll. d'hist. Arm.*, I, St-Petersbourg 1874, p. 184, porte : «ce qu'on appelle le blour-plateau sur lequel est assise Dovin du Chahastan».

<sup>(4)</sup> U bref, en dehors de la syllabe finale, devait disparaître en arménien, HÜBSCHMANN, *Arm. Gramm.*, I, p. 14.

hān Kājār, qui eut lieu dans ses environs en 1711/1788, et surtout par la tentative infructueuse des Russes d'y créer un point fortifié en 1782. Dans les relations contemporaines russes le nom de ce point a d'habitude la forme russifiée de Gradovin ou Gorodovin<sup>(1)</sup>. D'après Melgounov<sup>(2)</sup>, au-dessus de la colline 'Imārattāpā, près de la rivière Gālūga, est située la butte [en russe *bugor*] appelée Girey-dūgūn, où se trouvaient les restes du bastion (*batareya?*), construit en 1782 par le comte Voïnovitch. Ce Girey-dūgūn, en turk «la noce de Girey», n'est qu'une adaptation due aux Turks (dont une tribu au Māzandarān porte justement le nom de Gireyli), et il est curieux de noter que les ruines de l'ancien Dvin figurent sur les cartes (voir Lynch, *Armenia*) sous la même forme turquisée : Dūgūn. Si la première partie du nom Gira-duvin s'est obscurcie au cours du temps<sup>(3)</sup>, la finale -duvin est pleinement confirmée par les autres exemples.

*Lālā-duvin*, village sur le Kara-su, cf. Rabino, p. 80 et 125. Melgounov, p. 65, transcrit le nom Lāldabin mais en caractères arabes donne للدوين Lālduvin(?).

*Sultān-duvin*, butte entre les rivières Kara-su et Gurgān. Son nom est souvent mentionné dans l'histoire persane. Là fut tué en 754/1353 le khan mongol Tugā-Timur, dont c'était le quartier d'hiver<sup>(4)</sup>. Rabino, p. 128, mentionne Sultān-duvin dans la liste des buttes qu'on voit dans la steppe à l'est de la route Astarabād-Ak-kāl'a.

(1) Cf. *grad, gorod* «ville», БОГРОВ, *Materiali po novu istorii Kavkaza*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1869, II, 85. ДОН, *Kaspi*, 1875 (éd. russe), p. 26-27, donne en plus les formes Gradovind, Gerey-dūgūn.

(2) *O yūznom berege Kasp. mor'a*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1863, p. 47.

(3) RABINO, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, 1928, p. 128, écrit قرو دوين (?!) en turk «le Dvin Noir».

(4) Mon article *Tugha-Timūr* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

*Kāfir-duvin*, butte dans le canton Kātūl à l'est d'Astarābād<sup>(1)</sup>.

*Sāng-duvin* (actuellement Nuṣrat-ābād), village du Kātūl, Rabino, p. 128<sup>(2)</sup>.

Ainsi donc il est parfaitement établi que le terme *duvin* avec la signification « butte, colline » existe dans la toponymie d'une petite région clairement délimitée, tandis qu'il est inconnu ailleurs en Perse. La seule exception est le village Dawin que Yākut, II, 548, connaît au Khorasan dans les environs d'Ustuwā (= Kābūsān, actuellement Kučān). Mais à la rigueur ce \*Duvīn, très proche des steppes d'Astarābād, appartient à la même région des prolongements orientaux de l'Elborz. Le témoignage de Yākut montre qu'au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle la série des *duvin* s'étendait un peu plus vers l'est. D'autre part la présence de ce Duvīn près d'Ustuwā paraît confirmer l'hypothèse énoncée plus loin sur la voie de l'expansion de ce nom.

§ 3. D'après de Bode « la plaine turcomane... contient de 62 à 65 tépés similaires dont les dimensions varient et dont chacun porte un nom spécial »<sup>(3)</sup>. En 1841 une découverte très importante fut faite dans le Turanj-tāpā, situé à 12 milles anglais au nord-est d'Astarābād, sur un ruisseau qui se jette dans le Kara-su. Les ouvriers qui y creusaient un canal auraient remarqué une ouverture qui conduisait dans « une chambre

(1) HÄNTZSCH, *Topographie d. Pers. Turkomanie*, *Zeitschr. f. Allgem. Erdkunde*, 1862, XIII, p. 100 : « Tepe (Hügel) Kaferdwin ».

(2) Il est probable que ces deux derniers villages sont identiques à Kāfir-duvin et à Sāng-duvin [mentionnés dans un acte de 1581] que Rabino, p. 127, inventorie dans le rustāk d'Astarābād. Parmi les autres noms composés avec *duvin* on peut citer : 1. Tarduvini (تردوینی) sur la rivière Miyān-durud qui se jette dans la Caspienne à l'ouest du golfe d'Astarābād [mentionné dans Ibn-Isfandiyār (vers 1200), trad. Browne, p. 101]; 2. Šahr-duvin, endroit où se trouvait le fort Kal'a Valabun détruit par Šāh Ardašīr de Māzandarān (mort en 602/1205), cf. Zāhir al-dīn, p. 253.

(3) Voir également DE MORGAN, *Études géographiques*, I, 1894, p. 86, 110.

souterraine où plusieurs jarres de cuivre étaient attachées au mur par une chaîne». Des ossements humains et divers objets en or et en cuivre furent trouvés à l'intérieur de la chambre. Seulement une partie de ces objets fut dirigée vers le palais du Chah à Téhéran, où le baron de Bode eut la chance de les voir. Sa description et ses dessins sont les seuls documents dont on dispose actuellement sur cette trouvaille <sup>(1)</sup>. En 1900 M. S. Reinach, ayant retrouvé la planche oubliée de Bode, l'a reproduite <sup>(2)</sup> en attribuant l'ensemble des objets trouvés à la fin de l'âge de bronze et à l'époque mycénienne (vers 1500 avant J.-C.). En 1920, M. Rostovtsev a consacré au trésor d'Astarābād une étude plus détaillée <sup>(3)</sup> dans laquelle il recule la date du trésor à une époque encore plus ancienne en le rattachant aux antiquités sumériennes <sup>(4)</sup>, aux trouvailles de l'expédition américaine de Pumpelly à Annau (en Transcas-

<sup>(1)</sup> C. A. DE BODE, *On a recently opened tumulus in the neighbourhood of Asterabad, forming part of ancient Hyrcania, and the country of Parthians*, *Archeologia*... publ. by the Soc. of Antiquarians of London, 1844, XXX, p. 248-255. Bientôt après, de Bode visita la région d'Astarābād mais toute trace de la découverte et des hommes qui l'avaient faite avait déjà disparu! Voir DE BODE, *Očerki turkmenaskoy zemli, Otsčestv. zapiski*, 1856, n° 7, p. 152-160 (description du Turāng-tāpā).

<sup>(2)</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, 1900, II, p. 253.

<sup>(3)</sup> ROSTOVTSZEV, *The Sumerian treasure of Astrabad*, *Jour. of Egyptian Archeology*, 1919, VI, p. 4-27, résumé par M. S. Reinach dans la *Rev. Archéologique*, 1920, II, p. 382. M. Reinach ne mentionne que le nom du rédacteur de *Archeologia* et même M. Rostovtsev n'est pas renseigné sur l'identité de l'auteur de l'article originel. Or C. A. de Bode, premier secrétaire à la Légation de Russie à Téhéran vers 1837-1843, était un explorateur très éclairé. On lui doit de nombreux travaux en anglais, en français et en russe. Voir son remarquable *Travels in Arabistan and Luristan*, L., 1845, 2 vol., où dans les chap. XIV et XVII il donne la description des bas-reliefs proto-élamites de Tang-i Saulek et de Mālamir découverts par lui-même; *Aperçu géogr. et stat. de la province d'Asterabad*, *Nouv. Annales des Voyages*, 1852, I; *Les Turcomans à l'Orient de la mer Caspienne*, *ibid.*, 1852, II; une description du voyage aux sanctuaires de la secte 'Ali-Allāhī au Zohāb (en russe, 1854) etc.

<sup>(4)</sup> Ces rapprochements ont naturellement un caractère provisoire. M. Ros-



pienne) etc. Les problèmes préhistoriques dépassant le cadre de la présente étude, on ne retiendra ici que le fait de la haute antiquité des tertres de la région d'Astarābād.

On peut seulement ajouter que Dorn<sup>(1)</sup> avait déjà rapproché le nom de Tūrāng-tāpā de celui de la ville fortifiée de l'Hyrcanie Σύριξ<sup>(2)</sup> qu'Antiochus le Grand avait prise sur les Parthes en 209 avant J.-C., Polybe, X, 31. D'après cette hypothèse, qui n'a pas perdu de sa vraisemblance<sup>(3)</sup>, Tūrāng-tāpā ne serait qu'une étymologie populaire turco-persane<sup>(4)</sup>, où le dernier élément *tāpā* a facilement pu se substituer à l'ancien *duvīn* tombé en désuétude. Tūrāng-tāpā est encore entouré de tertres dont les noms sont composés avec *duvīn*.

Les événements historiques qui se rattachent à Sultān-duvīn et à Girā-duvīn attestent également l'importance ancienne de ces tells, au point de vue politique et militaire.

§ 4. On connaît maintenant assez bien les caractéristiques des deux dialectes différents du moyen persan : le *pahlavik*, langue du nord et plus particulièrement celle des Partes arsakides, et le *pārsik*, langue du sud et plus particulièrement celle des Sasanides. La transcription Lālā-dābin (?), citée dans Melgounov, pourrait représenter la forme méridionale, paral-

tovtzev lui-même, p. 16, admet que la rosette d'Astarābād ne se retrouve pas en Chaldée.

(1) Dorn, *Kaspia*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1875, p. 73, 207, 485 [éd. allem., p. 49, 134, 272]. D'autre part Marquart, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Iran*, II, 1905, p. 62, rapproche Syrix de Turunjē, *Istahri*, p. 216, Turunja, Ibn al-Fakih, p. 302, laquelle était située beaucoup plus à l'ouest d'Astarābād, entre Āmol et Sāri. Toutefois les leçons du nom choisies par Marquart ne sont pas du tout certaines. Dans les historiens du Māzandarān il a la forme *Twjj*, *Tryča*, etc. Cf. VASMER, *Die Eroberung Tarabistans*, *Islamica*, vol. III, fasc. 1, p. 131-132.

(2) Plus souvent cette ville a été identifiée à Sāri.

(3) Pour la correspondance de *s/t* voir le nom de la ville Σουσία, Arrien III, 25, 1, qui correspond à Tūs, voir mon article *Tūs* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

(4) *Tūrāng* en persan «faisant», *tāpā* en turk «collines».

lèle à la forme septentrionale *duvin*, mais en général le mot qui nous intéresse est assez incolore au point de vue dialectal. Du reste dès le début il pouvait avoir un caractère strictement local et provincial, indépendamment des nuances septentrionale ou méridionale de sa prononciation persane<sup>(1)</sup>. Dans le domaine de l'iranien, et même de l'indo-européen, le mot n'a pas de parallèle sûr<sup>(2)</sup>.

La localité où *duvin* a survécu jusqu'à nos jours appartient à l'ancienne Hyrcanie (Vōhrkāna), région voisine de la Parthie. Mais si géographiquement *duvin* est un mot hyrcanien, cette constatation ne nous avance pas beaucoup car nous ne sommes pas renseignés sur la langue ancienne de cette région. Dans la toponymie transmise par les Grecs<sup>(3)</sup> certains noms ont une tournure iranienne (Ἄδραψα, Ἀξαρθήνα, Βαράγγη, Κασάπη) mais, dans l'ensemble, il est difficile de juger à quel point, la province était iranisée. Dans le voisinage de l'Hyrcanie on connaît les peuples Μάρδοι (ou Ἀμαρδοί) et Τάπυροι (Τάπουροι). Les premiers<sup>(4)</sup> se groupaient d'abord autour d'Amol d'où le roi parthe Phradate I<sup>er</sup> (vers 176 avant J.-C.) les transplanta dans la région de Charax (خوار) près de Raiy. Les Tapyres<sup>(5)</sup> du temps d'Alexandre vivaient dans la montagne au nord de

(1) Par exemple, le nom de la ville Amol au Mazandarān, dans lequel Andreas, PAULY-WISSOWA, *Real-Encyclopädie*, I, 1, 1729-173, et MARQUART, *Ēraniahr*, p. 136, ont reconnu celui du peuple Ἀμαρδοί, a une forme méridionale (*l < rd*), sans que cela préjuge de l'origine du nom lui-même qui à la rigueur peut être non-iranien.

(2) Une note dans ce sens m'a été très aimablement communiquée par mon ami L.-H. Gray. [Note de correction.]

(3) Les historiens d'Alexandre, Polybe, X, 29-31, Strabon, XI, chap. VII, Ptolémée, VI, chap. IX.

(4) ANDREAS, *Amardoi*, Pauly-Wissowa, I, 1729-1733. Dans *Die Assyriaca des Ktesias*, *Philologus*, Supplementband VI/2, 1891-1893, p. 648, Marquart considère les Mardes comme un peuple non-aryen à l'origine (ursprünglich-nicht-arischer Stamm). Cf. aussi Marquart, *Untersuchungen*, II, p. 57, *Ēraniahr*, p. 136.

(5) MARQUART, *Unters.*, II, p. 28-29, 57. *Ēraniahr*, p. 136.

Simnān (Ptolémée : Σήμνα), mais plus tard prirent la place des Mardes dans la région d'Amol et donnèrent leur nom à la province de Tabaristān. Un autre groupe des Tapyres paraît avoir vécu près de Tūs, où on trouve une ville Tābarān. On ne sait rien de positif sur le caractère ethnique des Mardes dont les colonies s'étendaient de l'Oxus (une autre ville Amol — Ār-Jūy) jusqu'au lac de Van (canton arménien Mardastan), mais on croit généralement (Marquart) que les Tapyres étaient d'origine non-aryenne. La tradition avestique, qui peuple le Māzandarān de *daēva*<sup>(1)</sup>, indique aussi le caractère particulier de l'ancienne population de ce pays<sup>(2)</sup>.

Il est par conséquent possible que le mot *duvin* eût été légué aux Iraniens par les anciennes populations non-aryennes qui dans la haute antiquité devaient descendre jusqu'en Hyrcanie. Les tells qu'on trouve maintenant dans cette région représentent probablement les anciens points d'appui contre les invasions, venant de la steppe, qui s'étend entre le Hwārizm et l'Hyrcanie, et leur nom *duvin*, comme terme culturel, remonte peut-être à l'époque pré-iranienne.

§ 5. Or si réellement la patrie de ce mot rare est aux environs d'Astarābād, il est assez inattendu de le retrouver dès le iv<sup>e</sup> siècle à un millier de kilomètres vers l'ouest sur les bords de l'Araxe, et il est surtout curieux qu'au xii<sup>e</sup> siècle Moïse de Khorène pût en connaître le sens exact. La seule explication plausible de ces faits serait que le mot eût été introduit en Arménie par les Arsakides sortis de régions proches de l'Astarābād. La tradition arménienne elle-même n'attribue-t-elle pas la construction de Dvin à un rejeton des Arsakides?

(1) *Māzainya dāeva*, les références dans BARTHOLOMÆ, *Altir. Wörterb.*, coll. 1169 et 1371 (sub verbo *varona*); cf. GRIER, *Ostir. Kultur*, 1882, p. 184. A la rigueur *Vabrkāna* > Gurgān est également «pays des loups»!

(2) Voir mon article *Māzandarān* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

Les chefs parthes avaient occupé l'Hyrcanie dès 237 avant J.-C. <sup>(1)</sup> Mais déjà avant cette date le terme *duvîn* pouvait leur être familier par l'intermédiaire des Dahae. Ce dernier peuple nomadisait sur l'Atrak (ancien Σάπριος) et devait bien connaître le mot qui désignait les tertres appelés à défendre l'avant-montagne tout d'abord contre les incursions des Dahae. Or la dynastie parthe elle-même était issue de la peuplade dahienne Parnoi et ces liens ont dû persister, car c'est parmi les Dahae que fut élevé le restaurateur de l'empire parthe Artabân III (10-40), lequel suivant toute probabilité était l'oncle de Tiridate (55-100), fondateur de la dynastie arsakide d'Arménie <sup>(2)</sup>.

On ne sait rien sur l'époque de la fondation du village Dawîn (\*Duvîn) près d'Ustuvā (voir plus haut), mais on n'ignore pas que Ασάαχ, ville du fondateur de la dynastie parthe, était justement sise dans la localité Ασταυνη (= Ustuvā) <sup>(3)</sup>. Ce détail renforce les chances de la transmission ultérieure du terme *duvîn* par les Arsakides. Ces derniers devaient tenir à la terminologie géographique des lieux de leur origine. C'est ainsi que plus tard les Turks-Guzz, venus au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'Asie centrale, importèrent en Āzarbaijān persan et en Trans-

(1) Justin, XL, chap. 4, qui attribue la conquête de l'Hyrcanie au fondateur de la dynastie parthe Arsaces, appelle ce dernier «duarum civitatum imperio praeditus».

(2) GUTSCHMID, *Geschichte Irans*, 1873, p. 29 et 110. Sur les Dahae voir Tomaschek, *Dasi*, dans Pauly-Wissowa<sup>2</sup>. Les Dahae sont pour la première fois mentionnés à l'époque d'Alexandre, Justin, XII, chap. 6, 13. Ce peuple scythique vivait à l'est de la mer Caspienne, au nord de l'Hyrcanie, ainsi que le long de la localité parthe Nisaia arrosée par Ochos (= Areios, actuellement Tejen). Le canton Dihistān sur l'Atrak doit son nom aux Dahae, voir BARTHOLD, *Histoire de l'irrigation au Turkestan* (en russe), Saint-Petersbourg 1914, p. 31-35. Le Dihistān est constamment mentionné par Firdausi dans les récits des luttes de l'Irān et du Tūrān, éd. Vullers, I, 175, 251, 252 etc.

(3) Isidore de Charax (éd. Paris, p. 251) : πόλις Ασάαχ, ἐν ἣ Ἀρσάκης ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπεδείχθη· καὶ φυλάττεται ἐνταῦθα πῦρ ἀθάνατον. Cf. TOMASCHKE, *Zur hist. Topogr. v. Persien*, 1883, I, p. 85

caucasie le mot *kand* « village » qu'ils avaient emprunté au sogdien ou à une autre langue de l'Asie centrale <sup>(1)</sup>.

§ 6. La localité riche et fertile d'Ayrarat où se trouvait Dvin était habitée depuis une haute antiquité mais les Arméniens ne l'occupèrent que postérieurement à l'époque d'Hérodote <sup>(2)</sup>. Ainsi le nom de la capitale la plus ancienne de la région au nord de l'Araxe, Armavir, paraît dater de l'époque pré-arménienne. On admettra également que dans les vieux pays les villes surgissent rarement sur des emplacements vierges. D'habitude un village, un fort, un sanctuaire forment le point de départ d'un centre plus important. Tel est le cas de Tiflis, de Bagdād, de Téhéran. Il est donc possible que Hosrov II eût trouvé à Dvin quelque amorce de la future ville, d'un nom pré-arménien assimilé plus tard à *\*duvin*. Seulement on ne saurait sacrifier l'explication de Moïse de Khorène à une possibilité purement hypothétique <sup>(3)</sup>.

Quelle que fût l'origine du mot *duvin*, pour Moïse de Khorène il portait l'estampille de ceux qui l'avaient transmis. Il l'appelle donc « mot persan » et lui assigne une signification conforme à celle qui résulte de la toponymie d'Astarābād. D'autre part le témoignage de Fauste est formel quant à l'exis-

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir les noms Taškend, Samarķand, et les nombreux noms à base de *-kaθ* dans le bassin du Sir-Daryā, BARTHOLO, *Turkestan*, éd. angl., 1928, p. 161, 166, 174. Le mot *kand* est inconnu en Perse dans les régions purement persanes.

<sup>(2)</sup> HÜSCHMANN, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 207, 279.

<sup>(3)</sup> Dans son important travail *Arménie à l'époque de Justinien* (en russe), Saint-Petersbourg, 1908 [xiv-526 pages], M. Adontz, p. 222, à titre d'étymologie locale « pré-arsakide », a proposé *\*dava*, géorgien *daba* « village », avec comme illustration le nom de la ville Dabana en Petite Arménie. Toutefois dans Pauly-Wissowa<sup>2</sup>, IV, p. 1906, Fraenkel explique le nom de Dabana (Davana), château fort en Osrhoène; Amm. Marc., XIII, 37, comme araméen Dahewānā « doré ». Un autre fort Δεσάρα est mentionné dans POCOPH, *De aedif.*, II, 4, entre Dara et Amida; voir *ibid.*

tence d'une colline portant le nom de Dvin. Moïse de Khorène aussi parle d'un *blur* réel et concret. L'interprétation de Blur comme d'un nom propre, si jamais elle a existé, est certainement d'une époque tardive lorsque fut oubliée l'étymologie arsakide de Dvin.

§ 7. A part la capitale arménienne, on reconnaît le même élément *durin* dans deux places du Kurdistan : d'après les cartes anglaises un Duwin-ka'fa existe 40 kilomètres au nord d'Arbil, et une petite rivière Dara-Dowin (\*Dārā-Duvīn) se jette du côté droit dans le Diyālā (Sīrwān) à l'endroit où cet affluent du Tigre tourne vers le midi.

M. C. I. Edmonds me communique aimablement l'extrait suivant de son journal de voyage 1926 : « Duwin-ka'fa, a typical fort of Muhammad-pāshā of Rowānduz, perched up on the top of a ridge above the stream (that flows down from Shaklava). The Kurds here say that Duwin was once a considerable town and was the original home of the family of Saladdin. There are certainly signs of many buildings, now in ruins. » De cela il résulte : 1° que Duwin-ka'fa est situé sur une hauteur; 2° que la confusion de Duwin-ka'fa avec Dvin témoigne de l'identité des deux noms pour l'oreille des indigènes.

En ce qui concerne le petit courant de Dara-Dowin, il est à retenir qu'il traverse une localité très mémorable : il baigne le pied sud du fameux monument de Paikuli érigé par le sassanide Narsē (293-303)<sup>(1)</sup>. Avant les Sāsānides, les Arsākides devaient certainement utiliser la route importante<sup>(2)</sup> passant par le col

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir HERTZFELD, *Die Aufnahme des sassanidischen Denkmals v. Paikuli*, *Abh. Berl. Akad.*, 1924, n° 1, p. 1-29, et HERTZFELD, *Paikuli*, Berlin, 1924, I.

<sup>(2)</sup> Elle bifurquait de la route royale (reliant la Mésopotamie à la Perse) près de Hulwān pour se diriger vers le Šāhrazūr, cf. mon article *Shehrizūr*

de Paikuli, car, ainsi que le prouvent les documents d'Awramān, datant du I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C.<sup>(1)</sup>, la domination des Parthes s'étendait loin au nord du Sirwan.

Paikuli est certes un monument sāsānide, mais il est d'environ quatre-vingts ans antérieur à la date traditionnelle de la construction de Dvin par un rejeton de la dynastie aršakidè. A l'instar de ses prédécesseurs Artasir et Šāpuhr, Narsē fit rédiger son inscription en deux textes parallèles, *pārsik* et *pahlavik*; seulement l'inscription de Paikuli est la dernière connue dans laquelle le *pahlavik* soit employé et elle se trouve très isolée des autres monuments sāsānides. Par conséquent, l'existence d'une version *pahlavik* à Paikuli peut être rapportée au fait qu'on entendait mieux dans la région du Diyālā cette variété aršakide de la langue officielle moyen-persane.

La pénétration du terme *durīn*, ainsi sur le Diyala que sur l'Araxe, s'explique mieux par l'influence aršakide que par l'influence sāsānide. Et même si le terme Dara-Dowin, interprété comme « vallée de la colline [fortifiée?] » avait un rapport direct avec l'édifice de Paikuli, construit sur une éminence, on pourrait supposer qu'à une époque antérieure cette éminence devait être couronnée d'un fortin contrôlant le col (qui se trouve juste au nord de Paikuli), et le gué de Bān-Ĥēlān (à trois heures de distance vers le sud-est) où la route passe de la rive gauche à la rive droite du Diyālā.

§ 8. Il nous reste à considérer les formes étrangères du nom Dvin. Les Byzantins appellent la ville τὸ Δούβιος<sup>(2)</sup>, \*τὸ

dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*. M. Herzfeld a aimablement attiré mon attention sur le fait que cette localité se trouve déjà mentionnée dans le *Kārnāmah-i Artasir-i Pāpakān*, voir trad. Nöldeke, p. 50.

<sup>(1)</sup> E. H. MINNS, *Parchments of the Parthian period from Auroman in Kurdistan*, 1915, p. 41-42.

<sup>(2)</sup> PROCOPE, *Persica*, II, 24-25 et 30 (éd. Bonn, I, 263<sub>1</sub>; 263<sub>2</sub>; 297<sub>2</sub>);

Τῆς<sup>(1)</sup>, \*τὸ Τῆσιον<sup>(2)</sup>. Les deux dernières formes supposent une réduction du *u* (\**duvīn*) que fait encore sentir Δούσιος. Il n'est pas aisé de se prononcer sur la valeur de β (intervocalique!) car, si, d'une part la transcription de β par *v* arménien n'est relevée qu'à partir du x<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>(3)</sup>, d'autre part déjà Strabon, XI, 14, § 5, rend Vaspurakan par Βασοροπέδαν (restitué par Kiepert en \*Βασοροπαξαν)<sup>(4)</sup>.

Les transcriptions araméennes : 'dbyn (Dionyse de Tell Maḥrē, éd. Chabot, texte, p. 79, sous l'année 649-641), Dwbyn, Dwyn, D'wyn<sup>(5)</sup>, sont assez ambiguës à cause du caractère spirant du *b* araméen.

En arabe la forme ancienne est دبيل Dabil<sup>(6)</sup>. Seulement un manuscrit d'Ibn Ḥaukal, p. 240 d, donne دوين (à côté de Dabil) et au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle Yākūt transcrit séparément les deux formes Dabil et Dawīn, comme s'il ne se doutait pas de leur identité<sup>(7)</sup>. Seule la dernière forme était vivante comme le montrent l'histoire seljukide *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, *Gibb Memorial*,

ville distante de huit jours de Theodosiopolis (Erzeroum), célèbre par le commerce des Indiens et des autres gens.

(1) Εὐσ τοῦ Τῆς, *Hist. Haeresis Monothelitarum* (vers 700), cité par Gelzer dans l'édition de Georgius Cyprius. Leipzig, 1890, p. LIV; CONST. PORPHYR., *De admin. imp.*, cap. XLIV, mentionne Τῆς parmi les domaines de Ašot le Grand (862-890). Cf. MARQUANT, *Streifzüge*, p. 463.

(2) CONST. PORPHYR., *De admin. imperio*, cap. XLV, parle sous 932 de l'expédition byzantine κατὰ τοῦ ἡδίστου Τῆσιον au delà du pays des Phasiens (Basiān = Pasiñ, à l'est d'Erzeroum). Cf. également MURALT, *Essai sur la chronog. byzantine*, p. 630, sous les années 1045 et 1046 où il s'agit du šaddādide Abū-Suvār, maître de Tibion.

(3) HÜBSCHMANN, *Arm. Gramm.*, I/2, p. 326.

(4) Cf. toutefois HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 210.

(5) GHAZARIAN, *op. laud.*, p. 209.

(6) Ibn Ḥurdādhbih, 122, etc.; Balāduri, 199; Tabari, III, 1409, Dubil (sic); Iṣṭaḥṣri, 198, etc.; Ibn Ḥaukal, 244, etc.; Muḥaddasī, 51, etc.

(7) Sous *Dabil*, II, 548, il mentionne : 1° une localité limitrophe de Yamāna; 2° la ville en Arménie; 3° un village de Ramla; — sous *Dawīn*, II, 632 : 1° une ville de l'Arrān, sur les confins de l'Ādgarbaijān près de Tiflis et 2° un village d'Ustuwā (= Kūcān ou Ḥorāsān).



p. 299, et Juvainī, même série, II, 160, qui écrivent دژین Divin.

Dans la forme traditionnelle Dabil, l'alternance *n/l* est un phénomène naturel et fréquent<sup>(1)</sup> dont on peut citer en arabe de nombreux exemples :

*Ardahan* (?) aux sources du Kour (arm. Artahan, géorg. Artan), dans les manuscrits de Balāduri, p. 203, s'appelle ارتهان et ارطهال<sup>(2)</sup>.

*Manazkert* < arm. plus ancien Manavazakert, Hübschmann, *D. Altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 449, est rendu par les Arabes tantôt comme منازکرد (منازکرد), *Ist.*, 188, Ibn Haukal, 245-246, tantôt comme ملازکرد (ملازکرد), *Ist.*, 188, note o, Mukaddasī, 51, Yākūt, IV, 648 [et Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī, p. 106].

*Arduvān* اردوان, Mukaddasī, p. 258 o, ville du Ḥūzistān porte dans Yākūt, I, 204, le nom de اردوال.

Quant à *b* de Dabil, on peut le rapprocher de celui de Busfurrajān. Dans cette dernière forme, par laquelle Balāduri, p. 100, et Ṭabarī, III, 1410, rendent l'arménien Vaspurakan, *b* est la correspondance du *v* labio-dental, distinct du *w* bi-

(1) Cf. en géorgien *amtralmumli* < امير للموملي (avec dissimilation), Či-sinov, *Dictionnaire*, p. 15.

(2) Yākūt, I, 204, mentionne une forteresse Ardahn appartenant à Raiy (Rhagès) et une *nāhiya* Ardahn entre Dunbāwand et le Ṭabaristān. Un village Ardahan (?) existe dans l'Āzarbaijān entre Sarāb et Miyāna, et un autre Ardahan (?) à l'ouest de la route Hamadān-Zanjān (sur le parallèle de Bijār). Dans la région de Raiy le nom اردهی que Ḥasan Rūmlu (sous l'année 909/1503) transcrit اردهند, cf. Doan, *Auszüge*, p. 398, se rattache à la série de Rūdhin, Būmihin (ancien Bāmihind, ainsi au lieu de نامهد dans l'édition de *Istahri*, p. 114). Mais aux sources du Kour le nom peut avoir une autre origine, cf. la forme géorgienne Artan qui rappelle le nom de l'ancien peuple Artān aux sources du Tigre, cf. Balāduri, p. 211.

labial arabe. Toutefois les Arabes n'ont pas été conséquents dans la transcription du *v* arménien comme le montrent les formes *وېص*, Balāḍuri, p. 195, 200, et *وېذور*, Ibn Ḥaukal, p. 254, qui correspondent à Vayots (-berd ou -dzor) arménien, Ghazarian, p. 216. Il est vrai que le cas du *b* intervocalique de Dabīl présente un caractère spécial, mais en arabe *dabīl* veut dire «endroit dépourvu de sable au milieu des sables»<sup>(1)</sup> et, de toute façon, les Arabes devaient être influencés par cette étymologie populaire<sup>(2)</sup>. Finalement, il ne faut pas exagérer l'importance de la vocalisation Dabil, Dawīn, car la *fatha* n'est qu'un expédient pour résoudre le groupe consonantique à l'initiale des mots étrangers. Dans Ṭabari on trouve aussi la vocalisation Dubil, probablement plus ancienne.

Telles sont les pérégrinations dans l'Occident du mot *durin*, sorti des steppes du sud-est de la Caspienne, et tels sont ses avatars dans des milieux hétérogènes.

(1) Cf. Yāqūt, II, 548, et les dictionnaires arabes, tels que le *Taj al-arūs*.

(2) A la rigueur on pourrait également admettre que ce *b* soit dû au milieu kurde. La présence des Kurdes dans la région voisine de Dvin est un fait historique. Moïse de Khorène, I, ch. 30, dit qu'Artavazd, fils d'Artaxès, étant allé parmi les Mars (Mar < Mād «Mède [= Kurde]») bâtit Marakert sur la prairie de Šarur (immédiatement au sud de Dvin). Habib b. Maslama vers 22/643-644 étant arrivé à Artaxat (ارداط) «passa la rivière des Kurdes (نهر الاكراد) et descendit sur la plaine de Dabīl». Cette rivière peut correspondre seulement à Azat, où Gārnī-čai de nos jours, qui coule immédiatement à l'ouest de Dvin, cf. Balāḍuri, p. 200, Ṭabari, I, 2674. Au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle le prince Abū-suvar, de la dynastie kurde šaddādide, était le maître de Tibion (Dvin), cf. MURALT, *op. laud.* Le grand Saladin était de par son origine un Kurde de Dvin; voir Ibn Ḥallikān, trad. de Slane, IV, 48, qui précise le lieu de sa naissance à Ajdanaḳān, cf. sur ce nom Moïse de Khorène, I, ch. 30. Encore de nos jours un des villages surgis sur l'emplacement de Dvin s'appelle «Dvin Kürdākānd [*<* Kurd-kānd]». Or en kurde, comme en persan, *b* correspond à *v* initial plus ancien conservé dans les autres parlers iraniens. On pourrait imaginer une étymologie populaire kurde où l'élément *du-* serait interprété comme «deux» : \**du-vin*. Alors le *v* de *-vin*, passé à l'initiale, aurait pu aboutir à \**bīn*.

## II. SOGDABIL ET ARDABIL.

- § 1. Arabe Soġdabil = géorgien Sagodebeli.  
 § 2. La prise de Soġdabil en 853 selon Tabarī.  
 § 3. L'élément *-bil*.  
 § 4. La forme phonétique du nom Ardabil.  
 § 5. L'étymologie d'Ardabil et le mont Savalan dans les légendes zoroastriennes.

§ 1. Vis-à-vis de Tiflis sur la rive gauche du Kour, les géographes et les historiens arabes du ix<sup>e</sup>-x<sup>e</sup> siècle mentionnent la ville Soġdābil (صغدبیل ou صغدبیل)<sup>(1)</sup>. Ce nom disparaît de bonne heure. Yākūt, III, 396, qui le connaît encore, ne fait que transcrire les données de ses prédécesseurs (Balāduri), tandis que Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi<sup>(2)</sup> place Soġdabil dans la « plaine des Hazars ». Cette confusion de جرز *Jurz* « la Géorgie » avec خزر « Hazar », et l'adjonction gratuite du mot « plaine » (évidemment en souvenir du *Dašt-i Kipčak*!) montre à quel point Soġdabil avait été oublié vers le xiv<sup>e</sup> siècle.

La forme du nom Soġdabil avait dû frapper l'oreille des Arabes car déjà Balāduri, p. 195, l'explique par le fait que le fondateur de la ville Ḥosrau Anuširvān (531-579) en aurait fait une place d'armes et y aurait établi « des Soġdiens et des Persans » وانزلها قوما من السغد وابناء الفارس. Cette phrase figure telle quelle dans Ibn al-Faḳīh et dans Yākūt.

La mention des Soġdiens pourrait avoir l'apparence d'un argument en faveur de l'extension du pouvoir des Sāsānides

<sup>(1)</sup> Ibn Ḥordādbih, p. 122-123; Ibn al-Faḳīh, p. 287-288; Balāduri, p. 195; Tabarī, III, 1414-1416 (voir plus bas la traduction de ce passage), Mas'ūdi, *Al-Tanbih*, p. 62.

<sup>(2)</sup> *Nuzhat al-fulāḥ*, éd. Le Strange, dans le *Gibb Memorial*, p. 255.

jusqu'en Sogdiane, si elle n'était basée sur une simple assonance. L'affirmation de Balāduri avait déjà suscité des doutes<sup>(1)</sup> mais la question de Sogdabil n'a pas encore fait le sujet d'une étude, car la tentative de Ghazarian<sup>(2)</sup> de rapprocher Sogdabil de Tsurtav<sup>(3)</sup> est aussi indécise qu'impossible.

La solution est fournie par les sources géorgiennes. Dans la chronique dite *K'art'lis Tshovreba* le nom correspondant à Sogdabil se rencontre deux fois :

1° Au commencement du règne de T'amar (1184-1211) le chef des armuriers Kutlu Arsğan<sup>(4)</sup> s'étant mis en révolte, dressa ses tentes « dans la plaine d'Isani près de Sagodebel », Brosset, *op. laud.*, I/1, 487, texte géorgien, p. 281, საგოდებელი.

2° Le roi Vahtang III (1301-1307) étant parti contre David VI de la localité Tabahmela (12 kilomètres au sud de Tiflis), passa le pont (c'est-à-dire de la rive droite à la rive gauche du Kour) et par Sahiudabel se dirigea vers Mahat'a. Ce dernier nom est porté par le point élevé distant de 2 kilomètres de la rive gauche de la Koura (point de triangulation : 2140 pieds anglais).

L'identité de Sagodebel avec Sahiudabel (texte géorgien, p. 141, სასიუდაბელი) ne laisse aucun doute. De même il est clair

(1) MARQUANT, *Ērānshahr*, p. 108, n. 2; BARTHOLD, *Turkestan*, trad. anglaise dans le *Gibb Memorial*, p. 183, n. 5.

(2) GHAZARIAN, *Armenien unter d. arab. Herrschaft*, *Zeitschr. f. arm. Philol.*, II, Marburg, 1903, p. 224.

(3) Localité sur la rivière Ktsia (actuellement Hram), affluent droit du Kour, cf. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I/2, p. 109. Toutefois, d'après la *Géographie* de Vahušt, trad. Jansašvili, p. 37, Tsortav est le défilé en face de Ahtal, sur le Berduj.

(4) C'est-à-dire قوتلو ارسلان, en turc « Lion féliciteux » avec le curieux passage de l à g, par fausse analogie avec les mots arméniens (voir plus bas sous *Kasāl*). Le nom a dû être transmis par un milieu arménien.

que cette ville se trouvait sise dans le quartier de la rive gauche qui s'appelle actuellement Avlabar et dont le nom ancien Isani, Isni, Nisani se rencontre souvent dans la *Chronique*, ainsi que dans la *Géographie* du Prince Vahuşť<sup>(1)</sup>.

Mais plus important encore est le témoignage de la très ancienne *Vie de Saint-Abo*<sup>(2)</sup>, d'après lequel, à la suite de l'exécution de ce martyr, son corps « fut transporté en dehors de la ville [*scil.* : Tiflis] et apporté à l'endroit dit Sagodebeli car là se trouvent les tombeaux des habitants de cette ville... Le corps fut brûlé, après qu'il fut couvert de foin et de bois et arrosé de naphte, à l'endroit qui se trouve à l'est de la forteresse et qui est connu sous le nom de Sadilego, au bord du rocher formant la rive du grand fleuve qui se dirige vers l'est de la ville et qui s'appelle Mtkvari [Kour] ».

Or Sa-godeb-eli veut dire « (lieu) relatif aux lamentations », c'est-à-dire « cimetière », et Sa-dileg-o « lieu de prison »<sup>(3)</sup>. On voit que Sadilego appartenait à Sagodebeli, — tandis que cette dernière localité était adjacente à Isani (Avlabar) ou en faisait partie. Par la forteresse à l'est de laquelle se trouvait Sadilego il faut comprendre la forteresse de la rive gauche, c'est-à-dire Sogdabil (plus tard Metehi?).

(1) Trad. Brosset, p. 189, trad. JANAŠVILI, *Zap. Kavk. Otd. Geogr. Obšč.*, Tiflis, 1904, xxiv-5, p. 57-58.

(2) Par son origine Saint-Abo était Arabe de Bagdād. Il se fit chrétien en Géorgie et fut exécuté par l'amir arabe, probablement en 786. Sa *Vie* fut écrite par un de ses amis sur l'ordre du catholicos de K'art'lie Samoël (780-790). Voir son abrégé dans Brosset, I/2, p. 132-136; traduction complète, SCHULZE, *Das Martyrium d. hl. Abo, Texte und Unters. z. Gesch. d. altchr. Literatur.*, Leipzig, 1905, xiii, Heft 4, p. 1-45. Je dois la traduction du passage en question à l'amabilité de notre confrère E. S. Takaïchvili.

(3) TCHOUBINOV, *Dict. géorg.-russe-français*, 1840, p. 129, 188 et 421, *sagodebeli* « lamentable » (?). Ce nom paraît être un nom propre plutôt qu'une désignation générale de « cimetière ». Du reste la forme mutilée *Sahjudabel* de la *Chronique* montre que le mot était assez inusité pour être oublié par les Géorgiens eux-mêmes. Quant à *Sadilego* serait-il un dérivé du persan ديل « enclos de nuit pour brebis, etc. » ? Cf. Vullers, I, 995.

Cette forteresse défendait au nord les approches du pont qui donnait accès à Tiflis et avait une grande importance militaire. Du récit de Ṭabari (voir plus bas) il appert que les troupes de Buḡa en 853 s'emparèrent de Tiflis par une attaque venant du nord-ouest et du sud-est(?) de la rive droite. La forteresse de la rive gauche<sup>(1)</sup> capitula seulement après que la promesse d'amnistie eût été donnée à sa garnison. La colline d'où Buḡa suivait les opérations peut être rapprochée de Muḥat'a (voir plus haut), qui surplombe la forteresse de la rive gauche.

En résumé, la ville de la rive gauche, fortifiée à nouveau par Iṣḥāk ben Ismā'il (voir plus bas) avait reçu son nom du cimetière voisin. Les conquérants interprétèrent à leur guise le mot géorgien *sagodebeli* qui prit la forme Soḡdabēl.

§ 2. Le passage de la chronique arabe de Ṭabari, III, p. 1414-1416, relatif à la prise de Tiflis en 853 est important pour la topographie ancienne des villes situées sur les deux rives du Kour.

A cette époque Tiflis était la capitale de l'amir arabe (kuraisite) Iṣḥāk ibn Ismā'il, qui, entre 215-239/830-853, s'était taillé en Géorgie une principauté indépendante de fait et s'était créé de nombreuses relations locales<sup>(2)</sup>. Son isolement parut suspect à Bagdad. Déjà sous le calife Waṭīk, Iṣḥāk avec ses alliés les Ts'anars (الصنارية) avait essuyé une défaite, Ya'kubī, *Histoire*, II, 567, 579, 588, mais l'anéantissement du prince de Tiflis fut seulement l'œuvre du général turk Buḡa que le calife Mutawakkil expédia en 252/852 pour punir les Arméniens, auteurs du meurtre du wālī Yūsuf ibn Muḥammad. Par le territoire des coupables ḥuwaiṭiens<sup>(3)</sup> et par Albāk (aux sources

(1) MARQUART, *Skizzen z. hist. Topographie. Handes Amsorya*, 1927, n° 11, col. 839, confond Soḡdabīl avec ka'fa de la rive droite.

(2) Cf. MARQUART, *Streifzüge*, p. 421-423 et mon article *Tiflis* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islam*.

(3) الحويثية vivaient au Sasun, au sud-ouest de Bitlis, cf. le nom du canton

du Grand Zāb) Bugā arriva à Dvin. Au mois de Rabi' al-awwal 238 (automne 852) il expédia une avant-garde, sous le commandement du Turc Zīrak, qui passa sur la rive gauche (septentrionale) du Kour. Ṭabarī continue :

Le Kour est un grand fleuve, pareil à Šarāt [canal de l'Euphrate au Tigre] près de Bagdād, et (même) plus grand. Il coule entre la ville<sup>(1)</sup> de Tiflis, (qui se trouve) à son ouest, et Soğdabil, (qui se trouve) à son est. Le camp de Bugā était du côté est. Zīrak (de nouveau) traversa le Kour et (se dirigea) vers le maidān de Tiflis. Or il y a cinq portes à Tiflis : celle de maidān, celle de Karis<sup>(2)</sup>, la petite porte, celle du faubourg<sup>(3)</sup> et celle de Soğdabil.

Le Kour est le fleuve qui contourne la ville<sup>(4)</sup>. Bugā envoya Abū 'l-Abbās al-Wāriṭi<sup>(5)</sup>, le chrétien, auprès des habitants de Tiflis originaires d'Arménie, aussi bien les Arabes que les Persans. Zīrak s'approcha du côté du maidān, et Abū 'l-Abbās du côté du faubourg. Ishāk, fils d'Isma'il sortit contre Zīrak et engagea une escarmouche avec lui, tandis que Bugā restait sur la colline qui s'élève au-dessus de la ville du côté de Soğdabil, pour surveiller ce que faisaient Zīrak et Abū 'l-Abbās. Or Bugā envoya les pétroleurs (*naffātīn*) qui mirent feu à la ville bâtie en bois de sapin<sup>(6)</sup>. Le vent souffla sur le bois de sapin (en flammes). Ishāk s'approcha de la ville pour voir (ce qui s'y passait), mais le feu avait

Hoit. Voir sur ce peuple TOMASCHER, *Sasun, Sitzungsab. Wien. Akad.*, cxxxiii-4, 1895, p. 21, et MARQUART, *Südarmenien u. d. Tigrisquellen, Handes Amsorya*, 1915, col. 220-231.

(1) Je corrige le texte qui porte ما بين المدينة وتفليس en omettant l'article et la conjonction wa.

(2) Évidemment le génitif géorgien du nom Kari «Erzeroum», cf. arm. Karin, arabe Kālī-kalā.

(3) Dans la *Géographie* de Vaḥušt, trad. Brosset 130, trad. Jānāšvili, p. 58, le faubourg de Tiflis (Garet' Ubani) au xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle était situé *extra muros*, près de l'hippodrome (*asparez*).

(4) ينحدر مع المدينة «descend avec la ville», c'est-à-dire sans s'en éloigner.

(5) C'est-à-dire le bagratide Smbat le Confesseur; chef des troupes d'Arménie, père d'Ašot le Grand, cf. Thomas Artsruni, trad. Brosset, p. 41 et MARQUART, *Streifzüge*, p. 465.

(6) D'après le témoignage tardif de Zakariyā Kazwīni, *Ātār al-bilād*, p. 348, la ville avait seulement les toits en bois de sapin : المدينة كانت مستفة بالصنوبر. Mais Thomas Artsruni, III, § 9, trad. Brosset, p. 141, confirme qu'à Tiflis même les murs et les bastions étaient en bois de sapin.

déjà pris dans son palais (où se trouvaient) ses femmes. Et le feu entourait Ishak. Ensuite vinrent les Turcs et les Maures, qui le capturèrent, ainsi que son fils 'Amr<sup>(1)</sup>. On les mena auprès de Bugā qui donna l'ordre en ce qui concernait Ishak. Il fut conduit vers la porte des chevaux de frise<sup>(2)</sup>, où (après l'avoir) lié on lui coupa la tête. On la porta à Bugā, tandis que le corps fut pendu au-dessus du Kour. C'était un vieillard obèse, à tête large, teignant (ses cheveux) de bleu, basané, chauve et louche. Sa tête fut exposée au-dessus de la porte des chevaux de frise. Celui qui le mit à mort fut Gamiš, lieutenant de Bugā<sup>(3)</sup>. Environ 50.000 hommes brûlèrent mais après vingt-quatre heures le feu s'éteignit, car le feu de sapin n'est pas long. Le matin arrivèrent les Maures, firent prisonniers les vivants et pillèrent les morts. La femme d'Ishak se trouvait à Soğdabil, qui est vis-à-vis de Tiflis, vers l'est. Cette ville fut construite par Kisrā Anūširwān. Ishak l'avait fortifiée, fit creuser son fossé, et cantonna (dans la ville) des guerriers ħuwaiṭiens et autres. Bugā leur donna l'amān à condition qu'ils rendissent les armes, et (ensuite) partissent où ils voudraient. La femme d'Ishak était la fille du maître de Sarīr<sup>(4)</sup>. Ensuite, dit-on, Bugā envoya Zīrak avec des troupes vers la forteresse de Ĵardamān, qui se trouve entre Bardā'a et Tiflis. Zīrak s'empara de Ĵardamān et ayant fait prisonnier son batrik Kītrij<sup>(5)</sup>, l'emmena au camp...

(1) D'après Thomas Artsruni, Ishak, voulant se rendre à Zīrak (arm. Żīrak), sortit par la porte menant à Šamšīte (Samšvilde). Ceci confirme indirectement le fait que Zīrak opérait du côté sud-est de la ville.

(2) باب الحسك ne peut se rapporter à aucune des portes énumérées plus haut. *Hasak* désigne un cheval de frise hérissé de clous [cf. pers. *hasak* « piquant »], c'est-à-dire un appareil dont se servaient les assiégeants pour embarrasser les sorties de l'ennemi et les tentatives de fuite des attaquants. Ishak paraît avoir été conduit vers le passage laissé entre les *hasak*.

(3) Les deux noms sont turks : *buga* « taureau », *hamiš* « roseau ».

(4) MARQUART, *Streifzüge*, p. 302, avait donné la promesse de démontrer dans son *Ethnologie historique du Dagēstān* que le « Maître du trône » (صاحب السیور) était le roi des Avars du Dagēstān. Marquart disparut le 4 février 1930 avant que ce travail vit le jour. Sur la femme d'Ishak voir les détails dans Thomas Artsruni, III, § 10 et 15, tr. Brosset, p. 143, 168.

(5) Ce dernier nom arménien fait penser au canton Gardman (à l'ouest de Ganja) plutôt qu'à la forteresse située au confluent du Kour et de Ktsia que les Géorgiens devaient appeler Gardaban et que MARQUART, *Handes Amsorya*, 1927, col. 842, identifie à قلعة ابی کندهمان mentionné dans Isḡabrij, p. 193, etc.



§ 3. L'étymologie populaire interprétait Sa-godeb-eli comme Sogda-bel, dans le sens vague de « lieu habité de Sogdiens ». Or quelle pouvait être la valeur réelle de cet élément *-bel*, dont la prononciation (avec *e*) est tout d'abord confirmée par l'original géorgien ? Les Arabes et avant eux probablement les Sāsānides, devaient penser à l'élément *bēl/bil* qu'on trouve à la fin de certains noms de localités de l'Iran et de sa périphérie.

*Ardabil* (\*Ardabel), voir plus bas, p. 65.

*Anzabil* (\*Anzabēl), dans le Halhāl d'Ardabil près de la bourgade de Herow, cf. le *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 81. Sur la carte russe Anzabil, sur la carte de Khanikov, *A map of Azerbaijan*, *Zeit. d. Allgem. Erdkunde*, 1863, pl. XIV : Andail.

*Harzavil* خرزویل, cf. Nāṣir-i Ḥusrau, *Safar-nāma*, éd. Schefer, p. 4 : sur le col entre Kāzvin et le Šāh-rūd; cf. le nom du village Harzān près de Harzavil<sup>(1)</sup>, en amont du pont de Manjil. La date du voyage de Nāṣir-i Ḥusrau (1045) et la forme *-vil* (\**vil*) garantissent qu'il ne s'agit pas ici du mot turc *bel* « col », qu'on trouve par exemple dans le nom كويچه بيل « le Col Bleu » sur la route Tabriz-Ahar, actuellement Gōyja-bel, cf. le *Nuzhat al-Kulūb*, p. 222 (avec la correction qui s'impose).

*Dabil* دبيل, ville d'Arménie, Balāduri, p. 199, arm. Dvin, voir plus haut, p. 54.

*Sanbil*, Ibn Haukal, p. 171. سنبل, Mukaddasi, p. 407, سنبل, ville au Ḥuzistan, entre Rām-Hormuz et Arrajān.

*Qandabil* قندبيل, ville au Balūcistān, Iṣṭahri, p. 178, 186, etc. correspondant à Gandāwa au sud-est de Kalāt, cf. Mar-

<sup>(1)</sup> EASTWICK, *Journal*, 1854, I, 313 : Kharzan; HANWAY, *An histor. account*, 1754, I, 177 : Arsevil; H. SCHINDLER, *Zeitschr. d. Gesell. f. d. Erdkunde*, 1879, XIV, p. 121 : Harzabil. Ces deux dernières formes attestent un amuïssement de *ḥ* en *h*.

quart; *Eranšahr*, p. 190 et 276, et mon article *Tūrān* dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*.

*Armabil* ارومايل sur la route menant de Sind au Baluċistān, que Marquart, *ibid.*, p. 189, identifie à Las Bela <sup>(1)</sup>.

Pour des raisons tant géographiques qu'étymologiques, il est absolument impossible de réunir en un seul groupe ces noms dispersés et hétéroclites (cf. l'histoire du nom Dvin), mais il est probable que les noms de la Perse du nord-ouest : \*Arda-bēl, \*Anza-bēl, \*Harza-vēl soient formés à l'aide du même élément -bēl/-vēl <sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) Pour les Arabes pouvaient également entrer en ligne de compte les noms comme Arbil (plus tard Arbīl, actuellement en kurde Haolār) de sémit. *arba ilu* « les quatre dieux », et Sandabil سندايل, capitale de la Chine d'après Miš'ar b. Muhalhil, cf. MARQUART, *Osteurop. Streifzüge*, p. 89 (= la capitale des Ouigours orientaux Kan-čou), cf. la critique de Barthold *sub* Sandabil dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*. On ne sait rien sur l'origine du nom Gergebil au Daġestan (sur le Koy-su des Kazi-kumuġ). Kozulski, dans son *Memento de la province de Daġestan* (en russe), Temir-ġan-šura, 1895, cite une variante du nom Gergebil : Ĥergeb (Хергеб). La bourgade est habitée de montagnards Avar. Quant au village Zarzebil au sud-est du lac Gökčä, je pense qu'il doit son origine au nom de la source paradisiaque Salsabil dans le Kor'an, LXXVI, 18.

(2) La carte anglaise 1 : 253.440 donne également dans l'Azerbaïġan : Kortebil (environ 15 kilomètres à l'est de Marāġa) et Airandibil (entre Ĥulfä et Marand), auxquels correspondent Kortevul et Eirandibi des cartes russes. La carte de Khanykov (1869) a aussi Airandibi. Eiran-dibi, en turk « le fond du petit lait (*ayran*) » couvre certainement un nom plus ancien. Le village appartient au petit îlot linguistique de Harzan où un dialecte iranien (*tät*) est parlé, voir mon article *Tät* dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*. La première partie du nom paraît donc représenter le nom \*Eran, dans une forme appartenant à une époque, ou à un dialecte, où la distinction de *e* et de *i* n'était pas encore perdue. Le deuxième élément serait provisoirement à rapprocher de *dabil* (voir Dvin). Comme toutefois ni Kortevul, ni Eirandibi ne se trouvent dans les géographes anciens, leur vérification d'après les listes cadastrales est tout d'abord désirable. [Note de correction. — On trouve aussi : Larandabil, au sud d'Astarä, sur la mer Caspienne; Andabil, près de Sofiyan, au nord de Tabriz, et la montagne de Haravil (turquisée en Ara'ul), à l'ouest de

§ 4. Quant à Ardabil, l'ancienne prononciation de ce nom est indiquée par les auteurs arméniens : Levond (viii<sup>e</sup> siècle) donne Artavēt, et Jean Catholicos (x<sup>e</sup> siècle) Artavel<sup>(1)</sup>. La forme de Levond est certainement archaïsante car les Arabes ne connaissent que la nouvelle forme avec *d* et *l* : اردبیل \*Ardabel.

Pour l'évolution de ce nom est caractéristique la série  $l > \delta > l$  que Darmesteter a été le premier à reconnaître en iranien. Même en persan ce phénomène a plus d'extension que ne le croyait P. Horn<sup>(2)</sup>. Il est expressément connu au nord-ouest de la Perse. Le nom Mamlān مملانی fréquent parmi les princes rawwādites de l'Azarbaijān (Kurdes?) au x<sup>e</sup>-xi<sup>e</sup> siècle correspond à Muḥammad<sup>(3)</sup>. En kurde le passage  $d > l$  ne se borne pas aux mots étrangers cités dans la grammaire de Justi, p. 75. Dans le dialecte Mukri (au sud du lac d'Ourmia)

Salmas. Cf. mes articles *Lenkoran* et *Salmas* dans l'*Enc. de l'Islām*. La question de *-bil/-vil* devra être reprise lorsqu'on disposera de listes officielles de noms de lieux persans. V. M.]

(1) MARQUART, *Eranšahr*, p. 108.

(2) DARMESTER, *Études iraniennes*, I, 71, II, 195-201, tout en considérant le cas *malah* < *maḍaha* comme iranien oriental (« du même groupe que l'afghan », relevait aussi le flottement persan littéral \**naḍ* > *nāy/nal*. Horn dans le *Grund. d. Iran. Phil.*, I/2, p. 57, croyait que le phénomène *d/l* « involvrit keinen persischen Lautwandel » (?). Voir toutefois *ianbalid/ianbalil*, « fenugrec », le village اقلید, entre Isfahan et Sirāz, qui est souvent appelé Aklil, cf. OUSELEY, *Travels*, II, 443; *kilil* < *kild* « clef » (chanson populaire de Sirāz), cf. ROMANKEVIČ, *Zapiski*, 1916, XXIII, p. 24; le canton Mazlagān < Mazdakān au nord de Sava, etc. Cf. également *ḥaḍang* « nomen arboris durissimae » (Vullers) qui correspond à *ḥalanj* des géographes arabes : « arbor cujus lignum est pretiosum... crescit in meridie maris Caspii, in Tabaristan... in Djordjan... et, sed minoris qualitatis, ad orientem Ardebili », GOMZ, *Bib. Geogr. Ar.*, IV, p. 229. Dans ce dernier cas *l* doit avoir un caractère local (caspien) :

(3) Il a l'air d'être formé à l'instar des formes arabes فہلری فہلان qui expriment la noblesse d'origine. Toutefois le *l* de Mamlān pourrait à la rigueur s'expliquer par un suffixe hypocoristique. Un atābek de Marāga au xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle s'appelait Ahmad-il; cf. le nom de village près de Marāga-Mamad-il, et le nom de caresse persan Mamil pour Muḥammad.

au persan *hudā* « Dieu », correspond *hutā* avec *t* de nuance cérébrale, distincte de l'articulation vélaire de *t* russe.

De la même tendance il faut rapprocher le rhotacisme ( $-\delta > r$ ) des parlers « *tāt* » de la Transcaucasie et de quelques îlots perdus de l'Azarbaijān persan en voie d'être submergés par le *turk-āzari*. Les spécimens les plus anciens de ces parlers proviennent justement des environs d'Ardabil et datent du *xiv<sup>e</sup>* siècle<sup>(1)</sup>. Le même phénomène s'observe dans les emprunts faits par l'arménien à l'iranien (du nord-ouest ?). Cette particularité devait donc exister pour le moins dès l'époque sāsānide. Les phénomènes  $\delta > l$  et  $\delta > r$ , dus probablement à des milieux différents mais proches, pouvaient se développer parallèlement<sup>(2)</sup>.

En ce qui concerne le *v* initial, son passage en *b* est d'habitude considéré comme le trait typique des parlers méridionaux (du Fārs), y compris le persan moderne, mais le même

(1) La découverte a été faite dans la *Vie* des cheikhs d'Ardabil صفوة الصفا آذرى يا زباني باستان آذربايجان par le savant persan Seyyid Ahmad Kasravi, Téhéran, 1304/1927. Cf. les travaux persans du même auteur *The forgotten rulers*, I-II, Téhéran, 1928-1929 (études importantes sur les dynasties persanes du nord et du nord-ouest) et *The names of towns and villages of Persia*, Téhéran, 1929 (brochure, dont aussi bien la méthode que les conclusions sont inacceptables). Sur le *tāti* voir les travaux de V. F. Miller et l'étude récente de B. V. MILLER, *Les Tāts, leur distribution et leurs parlers* (en russe), Bakou, 1929. Cf. ma mise au point *Tāt* dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islam*.

(2) Pour la région de Sistan on a le témoignage important du nom avest. Haētumand « rivière aux barrages » qui dans les auteurs grecs a la forme *Ἐρύμανδρος* (Polybe, XI, 34, 13) à côté de *Ἐρύμανδρος* (Arrien, IV, 6). Mas'ūdī, II, p. 79, donne Hirmand, tandis que Muḥaddasi, p. 314, Hīdmand. Encore dans le *Nuzhat al-ḥulub*, p. 142, etc., on trouve Hirmand. Actuellement la rivière s'appelle Hēlmand en Afghanistan et Hilmand en Perse. Cf. MANQUANT, *Unters. z. Gesch. v. Iran*, I, p. 235-236 : Erymandus. L'évolution générale est donc  $t > \delta > r > l$ , mais on constate que les formes parallèles ont longtemps coexisté, car évidemment, avant de se généraliser, les changements phonétiques se limitaient à certains groupes de population.

phénomène est largement connu en kurde où l'évolution  $v > b$  a dû s'opérer indépendamment, — peut-être sous l'influence de facteurs locaux (voir plus haut, p. 56).

Puisque les phénomènes  $-d > l$  et  $v > b$  s'expliquent bien dans le domaine kurde, il convient de rappeler le témoignage de Balādurī, p. 326, selon lequel au moment de la conquête de l'Azarbaijān par les Arabes, un nombre considérable de Kurdes vivaient dans le voisinage immédiat d'Ardabil, près de Balasjān, de Sabalān (le mont s'appelle actuellement Savalān) et de Sātrūdān(?). Il devient probable, que les paroles de Strabon, XI, chap. 13, sur les *Kúptioi* nomadisant au nord de l'Azarbaijān, et celles de Ptolémée, VI, chap. 2, sur les Carduques (*Καρδοῦχαι*) habitant à proximité des Cadousiens (*Καδούσιοι*) se rapportaient aux ancêtres des Kurdes de Balādurī. Ainsi donc le milieu local iranien, et surtout kurde, a pu jouer un rôle dans la réalisation ou dans l'accélération du développement *Arta-vēt > Ardabēl*.

§ 5. Si on passe maintenant de la forme phonétique de ce nom à l'explication du sens, on ne doit pas oublier que parmi les peuples énumérés au nord-est de l'Atropatène par Strabon (XI, chap. 13) et par Ptolémée (VI, chap. 2), certains, comme les Caspiens [et les Cadousiens?] étaient probablement d'origine non-aryenne. Aussi l'agglomération d'Ardabil a-t-elle pu surgir et recevoir son nom avant que les Iraniens eussent colonisé cette région. De ce fait nous pouvons être en présence d'un nom ayant seulement subi une assimilation sémantique iranienne.

Cette réserve faite, on doit reconnaître que, tel quel, le nom d'Ardabil a une apparence iranienne prononcée. La première partie du nom *Arta-vēt* s'identifie aisément au mot bien connu avest. *arata-*, vieux-perse *arta-* «loi, ordre sacré». Son deuxième élément *-vēt* correspond le mieux à l'avestique *vaδ-*

*taŋ*, moyen-pers. *vaŋ* « saule, rameau de saule ». Tout ensemble le nom pourrait s'interpréter comme le lieu « aux saules ou aux rameaux de la loi sacrée ».

L'étrangeté apparente d'une telle exégèse est affaiblie par le seul endroit de l'Avesta, *Vidēvdāt*, 22, 20 (trad. Darmesteter, II, p. 291), où apparaît *vaŋtaŋ*. Pour combattre les maladies envoyées par Ahriman, Ahura Mazda invoque l'aide du dieu Airyaman<sup>(1)</sup> qui arrive sur la montagne des « Conversations sacrées » (*spəntō-frasan*) à l'arbre des « Conversations sacrées », avec les paraphernalia de la purification. Entre autre « il apporta avec lui neuf rameaux, il traça neuf sillons ». Comme les neuf rameaux *vaŋtaŋ* avaient évidemment une destination magique<sup>(2)</sup>, la composition moyen-persane *arta-vaŋ* devient plus plausible<sup>(3)</sup>.

D'autre part, le puissant mont Savalān, qui s'élève à l'ouest d'Ardabil et forme le trait le plus saillant de tout l'Āzarbaijān oriental<sup>(4)</sup>, ne pouvait manquer d'être associé aux traditions zoroastriennes (du moins tardives!), où la région entre la Caspienne et le lac d'Ourmia joue en général un rôle très important<sup>(5)</sup>. Le *Vidēvdāt*, 19, 4 et 19, 11<sup>(6)</sup> parle de la rivière Drājā sur laquelle se trouvait la colline de la maison de Pourušaspa, père de Zarathuštra. Là le prophète de l'Iran fut

(1) Sur ce personnage, cf. maintenant GRAY, *Foundations of the Iranian Religions*, Bombay, 1930, p. 131.

(2) Formation d'un *barsman*? BARTHOLOMAE, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, col. 958 et 1314, s'abstient d'expliquer le rôle des rameaux dans ce passage du *Vidēvdāt*.

(3) Comme parallèle d'une composition semblable, voir arm. *artahoir/artahurak* « diadème, tiare », de l'iran. *arta* + *xōd* « casque », HIRSCHMANN, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 150 et 160, n° 230 et 280.

(4) Damāvand, alt. 18.600 pieds anglais; Savalān. alt. 15.800 pieds anglais.

(5) W. JACKSON, *Zoroaster*, 1899, p. 193-201.

(6) Trad. Darmesteter, II, p. 260, 262.

tenté par Àhriman et communia avec Abura Mazda en présence des archanges Amšaspentas. Les sources moyen-persanes<sup>(1)</sup> confirment cette tradition et le *Bundahiš* dit expressément que Dāraja (*sic!*) est une « rivière en Erān-vež, sur les rives de laquelle se trouvait la maison de Parušasp, père de Zaratušt »<sup>(2)</sup>.

Or, comme l'a montré Jackson<sup>(3)</sup>, cette rivière doit correspondre à l'affluent droit de l'Araxe qui actuellement porte le nom turk de Kara-su. Ce cours d'eau sourd au sud-est du Savalān, fait un demi-tour autour de ce mont et, arrivé à son nord-ouest, suit la direction nord sur une distance de 140 kilomètres<sup>(4)</sup>. Les eaux descendant de la face nord du Savalān nourrissent le cours moyen du Kara-su. Jackson par un malentendu l'appelle Daryai<sup>(5)</sup> mais en réalité le nom doit être lu Darayurt, où *Dara*<sup>(6)</sup> peut représenter un ancien \*Daraj<sup>(7)</sup>, tandis que le turk *yurt* « pays, région » couvre un élément iranien plus ancien. En effet le *Nuzhat al-kulūb* (écrit en 1340), p. 83, mentionne le canton داری دراج dans le *toṃan* de Bīškin (maintenant Miškin), situé immédiatement à l'ouest d'Ardabil et du Savalān. Cette forme (\*Darāvard) est certainement calquée sur le nom répandu Darābgird, dont Yākūt, II, 560-561, indique justement la forme vulgaire Darāward. Cette forme bien que plus ancienne que Dara-yurt, doit également

(1) *Zat-Sparam*, 22, 12; *Bundahiš*, 20, 32; 24, 15.

(2) BARTHOLOMÆ, *Altir. Wörterbuch*, col. 777. D'après le *Bundahiš*, Erānvež se trouve du côté de l'Āzarbaijān.

(3) *Op. laud.*, p. 194.

(4) Les textes zoroastriens disent que la maison du père de Zarathušttra était située sur une *zbarah* « colline (?) ». Or la rive gauche du Kara-su, adjacente à la région montagneuse de Karaĵa-dağ, s'élève de 3 à 45 mètres au-dessus de la rivière.

(5) Toutefois sur la carte de Keith-Jones, donnée en annexe au livre de Jackson, on voit distinctement les lettres *rd* à la fin de ce nom.

(6) La quantité des voyelles n'est pas indiquée sur les cartes.

(7) Par analogie extérieure avec le nom fréquent Diza < Dizaj?

être une adaptation du nom original car on ne la connaît que dans le *Nuzhat al-kulūb* <sup>(1)</sup>.

Il est possible que le nom Darāvard s'appliquait seulement au cours inférieur du Kara-su. La *Nuzhat al-kulūb*, loc. cit., dit : « Darāvard était autrefois une bourgade et, actuellement, c'est une localité (*vilāyat*) où hivernent certains Mongols. Ses produits sont le froment, le coton et le riz ». Ces détails, qui indiquent le climat modéré du canton, concordent avec la carte russe où la légende Dara-yurt ne figure que sur le cours inférieur du Kara-su, près de son embouchure dans l'Araxe.

Les sources musulmanes <sup>(2)</sup> sont unanimes à établir un rapport entre Zarathuštra et le Savalān. Toutefois le nom de ce mont ne se retrouve pas dans les sources iraniennes. Spiegel <sup>(3)</sup> avait proposé d'identifier le Savalān au mont avestique Asnavant. Le *Bundahiš* place ce dernier en Āzarbaijān en ajoutant que là s'était posé le feu Gūšasp (Gūšnasp) après que Kai Husrāu eut détruit le temple d'idoles du lac Āčāst (Ourmia). Par suite il vaut mieux ne pas trop éloigner Asnavant des rives de ce lac; aussi Jackson identifie-t-il Asnvand à Saband <sup>(4)</sup>, tandis qu'en Savalān il voit la montagne Spānto-frasan (« des

<sup>(1)</sup> On se demande quel pouvait être le nom de la rivière au temps des Arabes ? Dans l'histoire de la conquête de l'Āzarbaijān, Baladuri dans la région d'Ardabil mentionne un سائرودان (var. سائرودان, Yākut, میانرودان) occupé par des Kurdes. Ce Sāt-rūdān (\*Sāt-rūdān) peut être le nom de la rivière principale de la région, en espèce du Kara-su de nos jours. L'élément \*sāt- «joyeux» contiendrait-il quelques allusions au *Bundahiš*, XXIV, 15 : «La rivière Dārāja est le chef des rivières... Zaratušt y naquit».

<sup>(2)</sup> Voir STACKELBERG, *Bemerk. z. pers. Sagen Geschichte* : Der Berg Sabalān, W.Z.K.M., 1898, p. 230-234.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Ērān. Altertumskunde*, I, 624 et 697, cf. H. BAUMHOFF, *Vom Pontus bis zu Indus*, Leipzig, 1893 (comme vol. II de son *Urgeschichte d. Arier.*), p. 73-83 : Der Sabalan als d. Heilige Offenbarungsberg Ačnavanta des Avesta und als der Göttersitz Ačvattha des Veda.

<sup>(4)</sup> Qui sépare Tabriz de Marāğa et commande la rive orientale du lac d'Ourmia.



Conversations sacrées»<sup>(1)</sup>), c'est-à-dire, justement, la montagne sur laquelle Airyaman s'était présenté à Ahura Mazda.

Le même passage du *Videvdāt* précise l'endroit de la rencontre d'Airyaman avec Ahura Mazda en nommant à la suite du « Mont des Conversations sacrées » l'« Arbre des Conversations sacrées ».

Or l'écrivain arménien Grigor Magistros (mort en 1058) parle d'un « cèdre Sabalan » avec les branches duquel trois villes furent construites, etc.<sup>(2)</sup>. D'autre part le voyageur arabe du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Abū-Hāmid al-Ġarnatī, parmi les autres merveilles se rapportant au Savalān, mentionne à son pied (في حضيض الجبل) « de grands arbres » (ou « beaucoup d'arbres ») entre lesquels (بينها) pousse une plante qui met en fuite tous les êtres vivants et occasionne la mort de ceux qui en mangeraient. Ces détails fabuleux qui ne sont que les échos d'anciennes traditions<sup>(3)</sup> abondent dans le sens de l'hypothèse de

(1) Il convient de rappeler que les « Conversations sacrées », d'après le commentaire zoroastrien, Darmesteter, II, 291, se rapportent aux entretiens d'Ahura Mazda avec Zarathuštra, et non pas à l'épisode d'Airyaman ! Ainsi donc cette identification se trouve en harmonie avec la tradition dont font écho les sources musulmanes (voir Stackelberg).

(2) G. CHALATHEANTZ, *Fragments iran. Sagen bei Grigor Magistros*, W.Z.K.M., X, 1886, p. 220 : « Die Ceder Sabalan, aus deren Aesten nach der Erzählungen der Parther drei Städte gebaut sind, und aus deren Wurzel und Stamm, welche versteinert waren, Spandiar sich ein Denkmal errichtete ».

(3) Ce récit d'Abū Hāmid (dont le *Tuhfat al-albab* a été publié par M. FARRAND, *J. As.*, 1925, CCVII) est conservé dans les deux versions légèrement différentes que cite Zakariyā Kāzwini dans ses *Ātār al-bilād*, p. 189, et *'Aja'ib al-mahluqāt*, p. 163. A travers le ton merveilleux du récit d'Abū Hāmid on reconnaît clairement les détails réels. Les sources chaudes autour du Savalan sont celles du village Nir; sur la source gelée au sommet de la montagne voir le plan du Savalān avec un petit lac nourri par un minuscule ruisseau, dans KHANTKOV, *Bull. phys.-math. de l'Académie de Saint-Petersbourg*, 1858, p. 337-352. Abū Hāmid raconte que sur le Savalān se trouve le tombeau de « quelque prophète ». Or dans le cratère on voit un tombeau à l'est du lac, *ibid.* L'histoire sur la construction miraculeuse d'une mosquée sur le flanc du mont peut avoir pour source l'existence d'une mosquée à l'altitude de 12.282 pieds anglais.

Jackson. Du même coup il devient moins risqué de chercher la réminiscence des rameaux (*vaṣṭay*) d'Airyaman dans le nom d'Ardabil situé à l'ombre du majestueux « Mont des Conversations sacrées ».

Si pour Harzavil on ne dispose encore d'aucune précision utile, le parallélisme des noms Anzabil/Ardabil est probable, vu que Anzabil est situé immédiatement au sud d'Ardabil. Même quelques influences zoroastriennes dans la formation du nom Anzabil ne seraient pas inattendues, car le chef-lieu de ce canton sauvage<sup>(1)</sup> s'appelle هَرُو (prononcé actuellement *Héro*), c'est-à-dire, selon la graphie administrative plus ancienne هيراب \*Hēr-āb « rivière de l'école de prêtres ? »<sup>(2)</sup>.

Pour Anza-, cf. avest. *az* « ceindre », *azah* « rétrécissement, étroitesse, gorge de montagne » et arm. *andz-uk* « étroit, etc. » que Hübschmann, *Arm. Gramm.*, p. 420, place toutefois parmi les mots arméniens purs. Le groupe -nz est caractéristique. Son alternance avec -nj dans le moyen persan n'est pas très claire, car dans le même morceau (F. W. K. Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, II, n° 98) on trouve *pnz* et *pnč* « cinq ». Dans la toponymie iranienne (« médique ? ») on trouve le nom arménien de la ville sacrée de l'Āzarbaijān *Gandzak*<sup>(3)</sup>, qui reflète certainement une prononciation iranienne locale avec -nz : encore les auteurs arabes (Iṣṭahrī, p. 187, Muḩaddasī, p. 51) donnent-ils à la ville homonyme en Transcaucasie (arm. Ganzak) l'appellation de Janza (جنزة) et seulement plus tard ce nom aboutit à Ganja (Ibn al-Aṭṭar, X, 192, كنجة). Un village Ganza existe encore dans le canton d'Ordūbād au nord de l'Araxe, Chopin, *Pamiatnik*, p. 623. Très bizarre est le nom de la petite ville *Natanz* (entre Isfāhān et Kāšān), dont le -t- (au lieu de *d* < -d-) s'explique probablement par le fait que le nom était senti comme une composition *na* + *tanz*, et dont le groupe -nz reçoit une lumière du mot *genzā* « chambre < trésor » (persan *gānj*) qui existe dans le dialecte nāyīnī parlé dans la même région.

(1) Voir mon article *Tārom* dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islām*.

(2) Cf. avest. *aēθra-patay* « maître de l'école des prêtres (?) », persan moderne *āṯr-bad*, BARTHOLOMAE, *op. laud.*, col. 30.

(3) Six des musulmans. Ses ruines sont situées à Taht-i Sulaimān.

L'étymologie géorgienne du nom Sogdabil ayant été établie, il s'agissait seulement d'examiner l'élément *-bel/-bil* sur lequel s'était basée l'étymologie populaire musulmane, et probablement sāsānide, de ce nom. Cette analyse a montré que dans le domaine iranien l'élément *bel-bil* ne saurait avoir le caractère mécanique de l'ancien *-karta* (*kird*, *gird*, *jird*) ou du moderne *-ābād*, qui servent à former des noms de villes et de villages. Cela nous ramène à la question de savoir si à l'origine lointaine ce type de noms ne serait pas dû à une couche ethnique préaryenne? C'est ainsi que Hübschmann<sup>(1)</sup> élimine du domaine de l'arménien les noms Armavir et Arsavir, dont la structure générale est parallèle à celle du nom Ardabil. Même en géorgien le terme rare Sagodebeli ne cacherait-il pas quelque nom ancien oublié?

### III. KASĀL ET KAZAH.

- § 1. Kasāl dans les sources arabes.
- § 2. Les origines du nom Kāzah (Ḥazik ? Kazaḥ ?).
- § 3. K'asał dans les sources arméniennes.
- § 4. Qui sont les Ḥasagi ?
- § 5. Kasāl = Kazaḥ.

§ 1. Les historiens arabes du m<sup>e</sup>/ix<sup>e</sup> siècle font plusieurs fois mention de la localité \*Kasāl (كسال) en Transcaucasie<sup>(2)</sup>.

1. Kasāl figure dans la liste des conquêtes de Ḥabib b. Maslama faites après la prise de Tiflis vers 25/245, Balāduri,

(1) *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 380, 405. Cf. également le nom de la rivière de Marand Zilvīr, *Āṭār al-bilād*, p. 289; *Nuzhat al-kulāb*, p. 234: actuellement Zilbir.

(2) La vocalisation Kisāl et Kusāl indiquée dans certains manuscrits n'a pas d'importance car les noms caucasiens sont d'habitude très mutilés. La forme Kisāl paraissait peut-être plus familière à l'oreille arabe.

p. 202. Dans cette énumération importante les noms sont cités pêle-mêle, mais il convient de noter que Kasāl est nommé à côté de Hunān (خنان), lequel probablement correspondait au fort géorgien du même nom dans la fourche formée par le confluent du Kour avec son tributaire droit K'tsia (Hram)<sup>(1)</sup>.

2. Marwān b. Muḥammad, nommé en Arménie du temps du calife omaiyade Hišām (105-125/724-743), s'établit à Kasāl et y bâtit une ville (مدينتها) dont la distance de Barda'a<sup>(2)</sup> était de 40 farsahs et de Tiflis de 20 farsahs. Ensuite par la porte des Alān Marwān envahit le pays des Hazar tandis qu'une autre colonne marchait contre ce peuple par Derbend, Balā-dūrī, p. 207.

3. Vers 213/828-829, Hātim b. Harṭama, nommé wālī d'Arménie par le calife Ma'mūn, ayant quitté sa résidence Barda'a descendit à Kasāl; il y bâtit un fort et par ses agissements devint suspect de défection<sup>(3)</sup>.

4. L'année suivante (214/829-830) le nouveau wālī Hālid b. Yazīd arriva à Kasāl par la voie de Našawē (Naḥīcawān), Ya'kubī, *ibid.* De là, par des négociations diplomatiques, il ramena à la soumission Muḥammad b. 'Attāb qui s'était emparé du pouvoir en Géorgie (جرجان) et entreprit une expédition contre les Šanariens (الصناريه), c'est-à-dire les Ts'anars (Ptolémée, V, chap. viii, § 13 : ὑπερ δε την Αλβανίαν Σαναραιῖς).

<sup>(1)</sup> La *Géographie* de Vahūst, trad. Brosset, p. 169 et 179, donne aussi son nom turk tardif Kiz-Kal'a. Toutefois les itinéraires arabes, Iṣṭaḥrī, p. 193, Ibn Hauḳal, p. 251, semblent indiquer pour Hunān une place à l'est du Hunan géorgien.

<sup>(2)</sup> En arménien Partav, capitale de l'Arran, située sur le Terter (Balā-dūrī, p. 203, الثرفور), à 20 kilomètres en aval de son confluent avec le Kour, voir l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islām* (Barthold).

<sup>(3)</sup> En outre il entra en rapports avec Bābak, chef de la secte hurrāmī, dont le centre était la ville Badd, dans le Karaja-dag de nos jours, sur la rive droite de l'Araxe, Ya'kubī, *Historiae*, éd. Houtama, II, 563.

— peuple guerrier qui à cette époque vivait sur l'Alazan dans la Kahétie <sup>(1)</sup>.

5. Parmi les géographes arabes Ibn Hurdādbih, p. 123, cite Kasāl dans une liste désordonnée des localités de l'Arménie (cf. Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 175) et Ibn al-Fakih, p. 292, transcrit la liste de Balādurī, p. 202 <sup>(2)</sup>.

Très importante est l'indication de Balādurī, p. 207, qui évalue la distance Barda'a-Kasāl-Tiflis à  $40 + 20 = 60$  farsahs. D'autre part d'après Ibn-Hurdādbih, p. 122, la distance Barda'a-Tiflis était de 10 journées (مرحلة), tandis que Iṣṭahri, p. 193, donne 62 farsahs et Ibn Haukal, p. 251, 52 farsahs. Ibn Haukal d'habitude corrige et complète Iṣṭahri, mais même si on retient les données de ce dernier, Kasāl ne devait pas se trouver à un écart considérable de la grand'route.

En réalité, entre Barda'a et Tiflis il y a environ 245 verstes <sup>(3)</sup>. Appliquant à cette distance la proportion de Balādurī on obtient le tronçon Tiflis-Kasāl 78 verstes, ce qui assez précisément correspond à l'éloignement de Kazah, chef-lieu de canton de nos jours situé sur la rivière Akstafa <sup>(4)</sup>. Le choix de cet endroit par les Arabes est parfaitement motivé par le fait que

<sup>(1)</sup> N. Y. MARR, *Sur l'histoire des migrations des peuples japhétiques du sud au nord du Caucase* (en russe), *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk*, X/12, 1916, p. 1379-1408, rapproche les Ts'anars de la peuplade Tuš apparentée aux Cécens (peuple du bassin du Terek).

<sup>(2)</sup> J'estime que الكاسكية de MAS'UDI, *Tanbih*, 184, n'a aucun rapport à كسال. Comme l'a montré MARQUART, *Streifzüge*, p. 479, ce nom mentionné à côté de كك (Kasak «Cerkes», cf. russe Kacor) en doit être une simple répétition.

<sup>(3)</sup> Je garde les verstes (chacune = 1066 m. 78) pour faciliter les recherches sur les cartes russes. Pour cette partie de la Transcaucasie 1 farsakh, d'après Iṣṭahri, équivaudrait 3,8 verstes, et d'après Ibn Haukal 4,52 verstes.

<sup>(4)</sup> L'identification de Kisal à K'an (sur la rivière du même nom à l'ouest de Mtskheta) que Marquart fait en passant, *Handes Amsorya*, 1927, col. 944 et 856, est certainement basée sur un malentendu.

Kazah est situé au point où la vallée d'Akstafa débouche dans la plaine du Kour. On verra plus loin l'importance que la vallée d'Akstafa a joué pour les communications avec les régions méridionales (le bassin de l'Araxe). Les chefs arabes qui fortifièrent Kasāl voulaient contrôler la route Tiflis-Barda'a tout en restant sur la ligne de communications avec Dvin et Našava (Nahičevan), cf. plus haut Ya'kūbi, II, 563.

§ 2. Or, tandis que le nom Kasāl disparaît de la littérature musulmane vers l'an 900 de l'ère chrétienne et n'est plus cité ni dans la grande compilation de Yakūt, ni dans le *Nuzhat al-kulūb* de Hamdullah Mustaufi, — le nom géographique Kazah est attesté seulement six siècles plus tard.

Selon la suite de la *Chronique géorgienne*, Šah Tahmāsp se retirant de Géorgie en 1556 <sup>(1)</sup> installa des khans à Kazah et à Šamsadilo <sup>(2)</sup> et les fit relever du sultān, « capitaine, gouverneur », de Ganja. Evliya Čelebi, II, 290, mentionne le khan de Kazah (قراق) parmi ceux que Muṣṭafa-paša battit en 1578 lors de la campagne ottomane en Transcaucasie.

De prime abord, l'interprétation de Kazah par le mot turk Kazak paraissait toute naturelle, tant au point de vue phonétique qu'ethnologique. En dialecte turk de Transcaucasie (*āzārī*) les *k* finaux passent à *h* (*almah*, *koruh*, etc.). D'autre part il était certain qu'une population turke (turkomane) s'était

<sup>(1)</sup> 964 A. H. ? La date n'est pas sûre, voir mon article *Tiflis* dans l'*Encyclopédie de l'Islām*. Selon le *Ālam-ārā* d'Iskandar-munši, I, 44, la dernière expédition de Tahmāsp eut lieu en 961/1553. Vahūst lui assigne la date 1558. La source principale du règne de Tahmāsp, *Aḥsan al-tavarīḥ* (Bibl. nat., supp. persan, 228), entre les années 961 et 970, n'a rien sur Kazah, mais parle de nombreuses expéditions contre la Géorgie de Šāh-verdi-sultān Ziyād-oğlu de Ganja. On trouve les mentions de Kazah dans Brosset, *op. laud.*, II/1, p. 118 et 348, et II/2, p. 118 et 253.

<sup>(2)</sup> Šamsadilo > Šamsaddinlu est la localité au sud du Kour entre les rivières Akstafa et Dzegam.

introduite et installée dans la région de Kazah<sup>(1)</sup> considérablement avant le xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Toutefois la valeur du terme Kazak Kazah dans le cas présent ne s'explique pas sans difficulté.

Gûldenstädt et Klaproth avaient mentionné le district de Kazah. D'autre part, Klaproth, *Reise*, II, 175, dit que sous le roi Giorgi II (1072-1089) de nombreuses « hordes tatares » étant arrivées de Perse en Géorgie, s'établirent sur les affluents gauches du Kour (Alazan et Ior). Saint-Martin combina ces deux séries de faits avec les données de l'historien arménien Étienne Orbelian (xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle) pour en tirer la conclusion que les « Khazak » (Hazarak) au commencement du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle passèrent l'Oxus avec les Guzz et entrèrent en Perse sous les ordres des princes seljukides. « Comme des Kirghiz portent aussi ce nom, ces Khazaks ne sont peut-être qu'une division de ce peuple puissant répandu dès longtemps depuis les bords de la mer Caspienne [sic!] jusqu'aux frontières de la Chine. C'est la

(1) Les frontières du canton Kazah ont plusieurs fois subi des changements. Son territoire de fond paraît comprendre la rive gauche de l'Akstafa, ainsi que le bassin de Inja (= ancien Kolbop'or de la géographie arménienne; le village Kulp < Kolb y existe toujours). Cf. KLAPROTH, *Reise in d. Kaukasus in 1807-1808*, Halle, 1814, II, 51; Brosset, *op. laud.*, II/2, p. 118, et la carte historique des divisions administratives au Caucase publiée à Tiflis en 1915. Toutefois le Kazah devait empiéter vers l'est sur le canton voisin de Samšadilo, cf. GULDENSTADT, *Reisen durch Russland*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1787, I, 361-362 (données très détaillées et exactes) et EICHWALD, *Alte Geogr. des Kasp. Meeres*, Berlin, 1838 (où Kazah occupe l'espace entre le « Pont Rouge » et l'Akstafa, ainsi qu'une bande plus étroite le long de la rive droite de l'Akstafa); d'après la délimitation nationale terminée vers 1925, seulement le cours inférieur de l'Akstafa fait partie du nouveau canton Kazah appartenant à la république de l'Azerbaïdjan, tandis que tout le cours supérieur de cette rivière est incorporé dans la république soviétique de l'Arménie. Le chef-lieu portant le nom de Kazah se trouve sur la rive droite du cours inférieur de l'Akstafa. On doit toutefois envisager la possibilité du déplacement du centre à l'époque où l'apparition des Turks avait modifié la composition ethnique du canton. En localisant Kasal à Kazah on ne peut pas, sans des recherches archéologiques préalables, être sûr de l'emplacement exact de la ville arabe.

première fois [c'est-à-dire dans Orbelian] qu'il est question des Khazak dans l'Occident. Ils [*sic!*] vinrent peu après s'établir en Géorgie avec d'autres tribus tatares sous le règne de Georges II. . . . Leurs descendants y habitent encore. . . . Ils ont donné leur nom à un district. . . . entre Ktsia et Indja. . . . Ils y habitent mêlés avec des Arméniens<sup>(1)</sup>. »

Cette mise au point soulève des doutes considérables :

a. Saint-Martin force quelque peu le texte de Klaproth. Du reste Klaproth lui-même ne pouvait se baser que sur la *Chronique géorgienne*, dont voici la citation exacte d'après Brosset, II/1, p. 348. Voyant la Géorgie dévastée par les Turks, Giorgi II se rendit à Isfāhān auprès du seljukide Malik-šāh qui « affranchit son royaume de toute incursion et le renvoya avec une grande escorte de troupes ». Rentré chez lui, Giorgi « fit présent aux Turks qui étaient avec lui de Sujet', de toute la contrée de Kuhet', au bord de l'Ior » . . .

Sous le règne de David II (1084-1125), successeur de Giorgi II, la *Chronique*, *ibid.*, p. 352, parle encore des hivernages des Turks « à Av-č'ala, à Digom, au delà du Kour et sur les rives de l'Ior, où ils s'établissaient ». Tous ces endroits se trouvent au nord du Kour et le texte ne contient aucune précision sur la localité autour de Kazah.

b. On sait maintenant que la confusion des Kazak<sup>(2)</sup> (groupe d'Ōzbeks formé au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle) avec le peuple Kīrgīz (nom mentionné déjà au iii<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère) est d'une date assez récente<sup>(3)</sup>. Les Mongols occidentaux (Oyrat) en sont responsables et on indique les années 1721 et 1734 comme l'époque à laquelle le même emploi équivoque des deux termes

(1) *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, II, 210.

(2) BARTHOLD, *sub verbo*, dans l'*Enc. de l'Islām*.

(3) BARTHOLD, *Les Kirghizes*, aperçu historique (en russe), Frunze [= Verni], 1927, p. 44 et 46.



s'est glissé en russe. Jusqu'à 1917 les véritables Kırğız (en mongol Burut) de la région du Tian-chan étaient désignés en russe comme Kara-kırğız, tandis que les Kazak portaient l'appellation de Kırğız-kazak. Seulement, après la révolution, les deux peuples turks ont rétabli leurs noms originaires Kırğız et Kazak sans aucune adjonction.

c. Le texte même d'Étienne Orbelian n'inspire pas une confiance absolue. Selon lui, lorsque les troupes seljukides arrivèrent devant Erzeroum vers 1049<sup>(1)</sup> elles comprenaient « une immense quantité de Persans, de Khazak (*ḫwazḡwag*), de Khazimziens, d'Arabes et de Scythes du Turkestan ». Or, si même on considérait la forme \*Hazak (Hazik?) comme une correspondance possible du nom Kazak, ce qui paraît phonétiquement difficile, il serait très étrange de trouver les Kazak, autrement inconnus dans l'Occident, figurant à côté des grands peuples bien connus. Il est évident que l'énumération d'Orbelian est générale et approximative<sup>(2)</sup>. A côté des « Scythes », purement traditionnels, on s'attendrait plutôt à trouver un autre nom comme Hazar, d'autant plus que dans la littérature musulmane « Hazar » paraît encore jusqu'au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle<sup>(3)</sup>.

Toutefois un fait nouveau qui ne figurait pas dans le raisonnement de Saint-Martin mérite d'être étudié attentivement.

(1) Il s'agit de la bataille de 1048 dans le Bāsīān au nord d'Erzeroum, dans laquelle les troupes byzantines furent battues et le connétable géorgien Liparit fait prisonnier, Brosset, I/1, p. 323. Cf. Ibn-al-Aṭīr, IX, 372, sous l'année 440.

(2) Voir l'appréciation de cet historien dans Brosset, I/1, p. 327 : « Livre d'extraits mal soudés, plein de lacunes considérables et d'énormes anachronismes. »

(3) Hākānī dans une ode parle de l'invasion au Širwān des Hazars et des Russes (Rūs) du temps du Širwānšāh Aḫsatān (vers 1173-1175). A cette époque le terme Hazar devait couvrir quelque autre peuple qui avait succédé au Caucase du Nord aux véritables Hazars. Cf. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1930, vol. V, partie IV, p. 905.

L'histoire importante d'Asolik de Taron (commencement du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle.) contient un passage corrompu <sup>(1)</sup> qui a beaucoup embarrassé les éditeurs. Selon lui, vers 980, l'amir de Golt'n (région de Julfā, Akulis et Ordūbād à l'est de Nāhičevān) Abutlup' (= Abū Dulaf) <sup>(2)</sup> marcha contre le Vaspurakan « avec 905 (?) hommes d'infanterie des Hazik. Le commentateur arménien M. Norayr (cité dans la traduction de M. Macler) rappelle que le même nom étrange se rencontre une fois dans la *Lamentation sur la destruction d'Édesse* de Nerses Šnorhali (1144) et deux fois dans l'histoire d'Étienne Orbelian. On vient d'examiner la valeur du témoignage de ce dernier. Quant à la *Lamentation* (attendu que M. Norayr a en vue le vers 633), Dulaurier en donne la traduction suivante : « [l'atābek Zangī de Mossoul] m'entoura de ses troupes d'Arabes maghrébins, que, certes, il serait impossible d'énumérer par leurs noms, d'Elyméens et de Khétéens (*Elimatsik' ev K'etatsik'*) » <sup>(3)</sup>. Dans une pièce, destinée à frapper l'imagination des fidèles, il s'agissait de choisir des noms bizarres donnant l'impression de l'avalanche qui s'était abattue sur Edesse. Si même les « Elyméens » désignaient quelques auxiliaires de Zangī venus du Huzistān, l'autre nom biblique (Khétéens [= Hittites], progéniture de Heth, cf. Genèse, X, 15) <sup>(4)</sup> devait également être un déguisement d'une peuplade réelle. Il est entièrement exclu que cette énumération particulièrement vague puisse contenir des données rares sur un peuple inconnu par ailleurs!

On est ainsi réduit au seul passage de Asolik qui, malgré son caractère mutilé, garde son importance. Or, M. Norayr a

(1) Asolik, livre III, chap. XIII, trad. Macler, p. 54. Ce nom apparaît dans le texte au cas instrumental comme *խաղիւոր* ou *խաղիւնոր*.

(2) Sur ce prince de la petite dynastie Šaibānī, voir Aḥmad KASRAVĪ, *Pad-šāhān-i gum-nām*, II, Téhéran, 1308/1929, p. 52, où toutefois le texte d'Asolik est arbitrairement émendé de *Hazkok'n* en *Tačkok'n*.

(3) *Recueil des historiens des Croisades*, Docum. arm., I, 1869, p. 246.

(4) Voir le commentaire de Dulaurier.

essayé d'inclure ces Hazik dans l'arbre généalogique des gens de Kazah. Mais, en 980, on était environ un demi-siècle avant l'apparition, en Asie antérieure, des Guzz, précurseurs des Seljukides. Cette extension de la théorie de Saint-Martin tombe d'elle-même. MM. Gelzer et Burckhard<sup>(1)</sup> paraissent avoir raison lorsque, *tacita manu*, ils corrigent le խաչկաք < \*Hazik en \*Hazir, nom arménien habituel des Hazar, qui revient quatre fois dans la partie précédente du texte d'Asolik<sup>(2)</sup>.

Il est curieux de trouver en 980 une mention des Hazar en Transcaucasie, mais comme le roi David II de Géorgie (1089-1125) s'appuyait sur les Kipçak qu'il avait fait entrer par la passe de Darial<sup>(3)</sup>, il n'y a rien d'impossible à ce que, un siècle plus tôt, Abū Dulaf pût trouver en Transcaucasie des mercenaires Hazar. Pour ne parler que des faits post-islamiques : Balāḍuri, 194, dans l'énumération des villes de la Transcaucasie dit : « la ville de Kabala — ce sont les Hazar » (و مدينة قباله وهى الخزر). En 853, le général du calife al-Mutawakkil Buḡa fit entrer par Derbend 300 familles de Hazar qu'il établit à Šamkor<sup>(4)</sup>. Sous 421/1030, Ibn al-Aṭīr, IX, 289, mentionne une expédition du Šaddādide Faḍlūn contre les Hazar; ces derniers répondirent par une contre-invasion, laquelle, suivant la teneur de ce passage, parvint jusqu'à Ganja.

Sur les « Hazik », Asolik donne un détail curieux et assez inattendu en disant que c'étaient des fantassins (?)<sup>(5)</sup>. Ce trait

(1) *Des Stephanos von Taron Armenische Geschichte, Bibl. Teubneriana.* 1907, p. 132 : « Um diese Zeit marschierte Aputluph... mit 905 Mann (?) Chazirischen Fussvolks nach dem Reiche von Waspurakan. »

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 71<sub>m</sub>; 71<sub>m</sub>; 105<sub>g</sub>; 106<sub>u</sub>.

(3) *Brosser, op. laud.*, I/1, p. 362.

(4) *Brosser, op. laud.*, I/1, p. 267.

(5) Le complexe *jehetevakazolehazkok* paraît toujours douteux. Dans *jehet* on a en vain cherché l'arabe *zāhid*. *Jāhid* « qui s'applique », aurait plus de chance à assurer la correspondance phonétique, mais seulement *mujāhid*

fait penser aux montagnards plutôt qu'aux habitants des plaines. Les possessions d'Abū Dulaf touchaient au Nord-Ouest au pays montagneux entourant le lac de Gökçā (anc. arm. « lac de Gelam » ou Gelark'uni, cf. arabe كيلكون Iṣṭahri, p. 193). Ses auxiliaires pouvaient donc facilement venir auprès de lui s'ils étaient établis, par exemple, dans la haute vallée de la rivière de Šamkor.

Ainsi donc les arguments cités en faveur de la pénétration du nom Kazak en Transcaucasie vers le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle doivent être écartés. En effet, les grands historiens de l'époque seljukide et mongole ne contiennent pas de mention des Kazaks<sup>(1)</sup>. La seule exception est le nom personnel Ġazaġli, qu'à l'époque seljukide plusieurs amirs ont porté dans l'Ouest<sup>(2)</sup>.

Les mentions connues des Kazaks<sup>(3)</sup> commencent vers la moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle et il paraît que ce nom est employé comme terme générique, en turc « brigand, révolté, aventurier », Radloff, II, 364. Mais, même dans cette acception, le terme ne se propage qu'à partir du IX<sup>e</sup>/X<sup>e</sup> siècle. Seulement, vers la

donnerait le sens suffisant de « soldat menant la guerre sainte ». Le nombre de 905 auxiliaires d'Abū Dulaf est suspect à côté d'autres expéditions de la même époque, auxquelles auraient pris part 100.000 hommes (7), *Asefīk*, III, chap. XVIII.

(1) Bundari, Rawandī (*Rāhat al-ḡudūr*), Ibn al-Aṭīr, Nasawī (*Strat Jalāl al-dīn*), Juwainī, Raṣīd al-dīn.

(2) Un chef Guzz Maṣṣūr b. Ġazaġli passa l'hiver de 450 près de Jazīra (ibn al-'Omar), Ibn al-Aṭīr, IX, 269, 270, 272-275. Sous 496 est nommé al-amīr Ġazaġli, chef de l'armée du sultān Muḥammad (à qui appartenait Ganja et l'Arrān !), *ibid.*, X, 248. En 513, lors de la guerre entre Sultān Sanġar et Sultān Maḥmūd, l'atābek de ce dernier s'appelait Ġazaġli. Sous la même année l'amīr Ġazaġli, chef des Turcs lamā'iliya, est mentionné dans la région de Baṣra, *ibid.*, X, 387 et 393. Sous 572 on trouve un général Ġazaġli au service du calife, *ibid.*, XI, 292. Les Arabes rendent souvent le *k* turk par *g*, cf. Tabarī, III, 1116, Ġāmiš = Kāmiš « roseau ».

(3) Voir les citations recueillies par Quatremère dans l'édition de Raṣīd al-dīn, p. 406. Elles se rapportent à l'Asie centrale. Les plus anciennes sont celles de la soi-disant autobiographie de Timur (sous l'année 757/1356) et du *Maṣla' al-es'dain* de 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarḡandī.

moitié du  $xv^e$  siècle, une partie des Ōzbeks forma le groupement politique spécial qui fut désigné par le nom *Kazak*. Tel est le point de vue établi actuellement<sup>(1)</sup>, mais il est curieux que sous 796/1393, l'historien officiel de Timūr<sup>(2)</sup> fait mention d'une région des *Ėotur-kazak* au Daġistān, c'est-à-dire à proximité de la Transcaucasie. *Ėotur* veut dire en turk « ayant le nez petit ou large », Radloff, III, 2025. Par conséquent, le terme doit probablement avoir un caractère ethnique et se rapporter à une peuplade non-caucasienne.

Toujours est-il que nous ne disposons pas de données historiques précises sur la pénétration en Transcaucasie des *kazak*, quelle que soit l'acception de ce terme. Il paraît plausible que les noms à base de *kazak* qu'on trouve dans la toponymie locale<sup>(3)</sup> aient des origines multiples. Certains d'entre eux peuvent être dérivés du nom personnel *Ėazagli*, d'autres de celui de la bourgade *Kazah*, sans qu'on oublie les mystérieux *Ėotur-kazaks*. Mais tant qu'on n'a pas une explication certaine de toute la série de ces noms, on a le droit de tenter une explication du nom *Kazah* en partant de données purement locales. Cette forme ne couvrirait-elle pas un nom plus ancien ?

§ 3. L'affluent gauche de l'Araxe qui s'appelle actuellement Abaran, portait autrefois en arménien le nom de K'asał. D'après Moïse de Khorène, III, chap. xvi, le roi Tigran (le Moyen) établit les captifs juifs à Armavir et dans la bourgade de Vardġēs « qui est sur la rivière K'asał ». Ensuite, *ibid.*, III, chap. lxxv, le roi Valarsak entoura la bourgade de Vardġēs

(1) Voir BARTHOLO, *Kazah*, dans l'*Enc. de l'Islām*.

(2) *Zafar-nāma*, I, 772 : ولایت چو در قزاق.

(3) Au nord de la bourgade *Kazah*, dans la direction du Kour, il existe deux *Kazah-begli* et un *Kazagli*; à 12 verstes au nord-est de Ganja : *Kırmızı-kazahlar* et *Kazahlar-yāġarġi*; deux autres *Kazahlar* se trouvent l'un près de Kedabek (anc. arm. *Getabakk'*) au sud de Ganja, et l'autre au nord de Terter.

d'un mur et l'appela Valarsapat. A ce propos Moïse cite un fragment du chant épique consacré à l'ancien héros :

Le jeune Vardgès se sépara et alla  
Du canton des Tuh [?] vers la rivière K'asal.  
Il vint (et) s'établit sur la colline Šreš,  
Près de la ville Artimed, près de la rivière K'asal<sup>(1)</sup>.

D'après la *Géographie* de Vardan « K'arsah (sic!) est l'eau de Karbi ». Le site de Valarsapat, dont on voit les ruines aux environs d'Ècmiadzin, sur la rive gauche d'Abaran<sup>(2)</sup>, ne laisse pas de doute sur l'identité de K'asal = Abaran<sup>(3)</sup>. Il est certes impossible de rapprocher ce K'asal arménien du Kasāl arabe<sup>(4)</sup>. Toutefois, les sources d'Abaran qui coule vers le Sud touchent de très près<sup>(5)</sup> aux sources de la rivière Akstafa qui se dirige vers le Nord et passe devant Kazah.

Il serait tout à fait facile de s'imaginer que du bassin méridional le nom eût pénétré dans le bassin septentrional, d'autant plus que ce phénomène est en accord avec la tendance générale des noms caucasiens à remonter du Sud au Nord. Ce mouvement de toponymie doit refléter les mouvements ethniques. Or, une des nombreuses vagues d'invasion déferlant de la vallée de l'Araxe sur la Transcaucasie a facilement pu charrier vers l'emplacement de Kazah un groupe d'anciens riverains de K'asal<sup>(6)</sup>.

(1) Je suis la traduction russe de N. Emine, Moscou, 1893, p. 69, 112. Cf. la traduction de L. H. Gray dans *Les mètres païens de l'Arménie*, *Rev. des Et. arm.*, VI/2, 1926, p. 161, 163.

(2) N. G. ADONTZ, *L'Arménie à l'époque de Justinien* (en russe), Saint-Petersbourg, 1908, p. 303.

(3) Abaran se jette dans l'Araxe en amont de Hrazdan — Zengi (rivière d'Èrivan).

(4) İstahri, p. 193, Ibn Haukal, p. 252, et Muḳaddasi, p. 381, décrivent une route directe de Barda'a à Dvin (82 farsakhs), mais ce détour, même partiellement, ne pouvait desservir les communications directes entre Barda'a et Tiflis, voir plus haut les distances de Balāduri.

(5) Seule la montagne Halhal les sépare sur une distance de 8 verstes.

(6) Cf. l'étude déjà citée de N. Y. MANA, *Izv. Akad. Nauk.*, 1916, p. 1379-

Les communications entre la vallée d'Araxe et celle du Kour se faisaient précisément par la vallée d'Akstafa. Dans son ingénieuse interprétation de l'itinéraire romain partant d'Artaxata (Artašat) Marquart<sup>(1)</sup> a tracé cette route le long des vallées de Zangī et d'Akstafa. Hālid b. Yazid qui (voir plus haut) arriva à Kasāl de Nahčevān a dû la suivre également. Evliya Čelebi, II, 286, paraît avoir choisi la même route au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Jusqu'à la construction (vers 1900) du chemin de fer Tiflis-Erivan qui emprunte la vallée plus occidentale de Debeda (Borčala), tout le trafic partait également d'Akstafa pour déboucher sur Erivan. Or, la vallée d'Abaran (K'asał) est voisine et parallèle à celle de Zangī, et les mouvements se produisant dans cette dernière pouvaient facilement se répercuter sur la population de l'ancien K'asał.

Le déplacement du nom doit être assez ancien pour que la finale de K'asał fût entendue par les Arabes comme *l*. Du reste, كسال correspond rigoureusement à K'asał. Non loin de Kaṣaḥ, de nos jours, on trouve deux points habités, nommés sur la carte russe Keisala et Kesala<sup>(2)</sup>. Ces deux villages peuvent être de petites colonies détachées de l'ancien Kasāl. C'est un fait fréquent en Transcaucasie que de trouver autour de l'emplacement d'un centre disparu un faisceau de noms similaires conservés par les débris de l'agglomération ancienne<sup>(3)</sup>.

1400. On pourrait citer le nom de Gardman (ancien château fort au sud du Kour) que porte maintenant la rivière coulant à l'ouest de Šamāḥi (au nord du Kour). La même observation s'applique au nom Halḥal.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Skizzen z. histor. Topographie von Transkaukasien, Handes Anseorys*, 1927, n° 11, p. 825-866. En tout cas la route romaine passait tout près du bassin d'Abaran.

<sup>(2)</sup> Keisala, à 19 verstes au nord de Kaṣaḥ; Kesala, à 18 verstes au sud-est de Kaṣaḥ, sur la rivière Tā'ūs (arm. Tauš). Kesala a déjà été turquisé en Kızıl-bulağ.

<sup>(3)</sup> Cf. les traces de l'ancienne ville de Halḥal (sur le Dzegam) : une série d'établissements Heiliḥāna autour de la ville disparue, un Hiḥina au nord-est de Ganja, un autre Hiḥina au nord de Kaṣaḥ.

Si l'identité des noms K'asa| et Kasāl, ainsi que la survivance de cette dernière forme dans Keisala et Kasala, sont très probables, que représente le nom Kazah? Est-ce un fait nouveau provenant de l'invasion turke, est-ce une déformation ultérieure de l'ancien K'asa|? Selon Hübschmann, l'évolution  $l > g$  ( $> h$  devant sourdes et à la fin des mots) est assez ancienne<sup>(1)</sup>. Elle est en tous cas postérieure aux premiers siècles de l'Islam car les auteurs arabes rendent Karin-k'alak' par Kālī-kalā<sup>(2)</sup>, Albak par Albak (الباق), Balādūrī, p. 212, Tabarī, III, p. 1414; Salamās par Salamās > Salmās, Iṣṭahri, p. 182; et Čapa|-jur par Jabal-jūr (جبل الجور), Ibn al-Aṭir, X, 270, etc.<sup>(3)</sup>. Ces exemples sont surtout convaincants comme emprunts directs d'arménien en arabe<sup>(4)</sup>. Toutefois, si on suit l'hypothèse ingénieuse de Marquart, *Streifzüge*, p. 175, 186, qui restitue الطنبق de Mas'ūdī en \*mambagi et rattache cette forme arménienne au géorgien *mampali* « roi », il faut en conclure que le passage de  $l$  à  $g$  s'était accompli avant 943.

Dans la *Géographie* de Vardan (xiii<sup>e</sup>-xiv<sup>e</sup> siècles) la rivière K'asa| figure sous le nom mutilé K'arsah, où  $h$  provient de l'assourdissement de  $g < l$ . Une autre forme vulgaire K'atsah (քացախ), dont Saint-Martin, II, 423, ne donne pas la source, est surtout proche de la forme musulmane Kazah.

En effet il est à supposer que, si les noms de K'asa| et de Kasāl sont de la même origine, leur évolution, dans un milieu

(1) *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 393 : « das armenische dunkle  $l$  schon recht früh zu  $g$ , vor Tenues  $x$  geworden ist ».

(2) كاليك, Balādūrī, 194; Ibn Hurdābih, 122; Yāqūt, IV, 19.

(3) On trouve Jabal Jūr encore dans la *Vie du Hwārizmīshāh Jalāl al-dīn*, de Nasawī (xiii<sup>e</sup> siècle), éd. Houdas, p. 240-241, mais l'*Histoire des Kurdes*, de Šaraf al-dīn (terminée en 1516), éd. Véliaminov-Zernov, I, p. 256-259, emploie la forme vulgaire جبجور, Čabakjūr < Čabagjūr.

(4) Par contre nous laissons de côté les formes transmises par Balādūrī : Taryālit, Kalarjīt, car leur désinence montre que l'emprunt a été fait au géorgien (pluriel en -et'i) et non aux formes arméniennes Trēlk' et Klarjk'. Cf. Juwainī, II, p. 170. جانب, lire Jānit < Čanet'i, « les Č'an ou Lazca ».



arménien, devait être parallèle et on sait que, même après tant d'invasions, la population du bassin d'Akstafa garde son caractère mêlé arméno-turk.

Il faudrait donc croire que Keisala et Kesala reflètent l'ancienne forme Kasāl (K'asa) tandis que Kazah, — et probablement ses dérivés les villages Kazahbegli et Kazahl [ce dernier peut-être < Gazagli, voir plus haut], situés immédiatement à son nord, — doivent leurs noms à la forme tardive \*K'atsah.

Cette coexistence à la fois de la forme ancienne et de la forme récente n'a rien d'anormal et peut s'expliquer par le milieu allogène dans lequel pouvait survivre la vieille forme. C'est ainsi qu'à côté d'Akstafa (avec *k* < *g*, cf. arm. Alistev, géorg. Agstevi)<sup>(1)</sup> existe le village Kulp (avec *l*) qui est situé dans le bassin de la rivière voisine Inja et correspond au canton Kolbop'or de la géographie arménienne.

S 4. La question K'asa/Kazah est toutefois compliquée par un détail dont la discussion a dû être réservée jusqu'ici. Nous ignorons encore si le nom de la rivière K'asa est d'origine ethnique, mais à proximité de Kazah il existait autrefois un élément ethnique ou politique, dont le nom est transmis dans la chronique géorgienne comme Hasingian, etc.

En 1165, le roi Giorgi III passa à l'offensive sur toutes ses frontières. Des forces importantes furent lancées sur Ganja : « le généralissime et les Arméniens<sup>(2)</sup> » durent aller au delà de Mtkuar [Kour] jusqu'à Gandza; le roi lui-même se porta à Hasingian; ceux du Liht-Imier et les K'art'ls sur les deux rives de ce fleuve, dans la direction de Gandza jusqu'à Holt'a, et ceux du Heret' et du Kahet' depuis l'embouchure de l'Alazan jus-

<sup>(1)</sup> La forme Akstafa a une assonance familière pour une oreille turke musulmane : cf. *ak* « blanc » et le nom *Muṣṭafā* !

<sup>(2)</sup> Il s'agit ici probablement des Sompétiens, habitants de la province Sompétie (Arménie) située sur l'affluent droit du Kour Dabeda et relevant de la Géorgie.

qu'au Širvan »<sup>(1)</sup>. La seule indication concernant l'itinéraire du roi est que, chargé de riche butin, il repasse les montagnes pour rentrer à Gegut'. Ce dernier endroit est en Iméréthie (près de la station de chemin de fer Rion). L'hypothèse que l'expédition de Giorgi III aurait été dirigée vers le sud de Gegut' se heurterait au fait étrange que justement les troupes de la Géorgie occidentale (Liht-Imier) eussent été envoyées vers l'est contre Ganja. Il faut donc comprendre « les montagnes » dans le sens habituel en géorgien, c'est-à-dire comme la chaîne de Liḥ qui sépare la Géorgie occidentale (bassin du Rion) de la Géorgie orientale (bassin du Kour). Dans ce cas-là le roi opérait conjointement avec le gros de son armée. Comme la vallée du Kour était occupée par les autres colonnes énumérées, la seule direction indépendante pouvait être celle du sud-est, c'est-à-dire du pays montagneux d'où sortent les affluents droits du Kour. On verra plus loin le but d'une telle diversion.

La même *Chronique* sous le règne de T'amar (1184-1212?) contient un récit très curieux sur la mort de l'atābek de l'Arrān Amir Miran<sup>(2)</sup>. A ce propos le mari de la reine T'amar « partageait les regrets des seigneurs *hasagian* et des sujets de ce prince »<sup>(3)</sup>. Cette fois-ci les événements se passent décidément

<sup>(1)</sup> Brosset, *op. laud.*, I/1, p. 366. Cf. Ibn al-Aṭīr, XI, 213, sous l'année 561.

<sup>(2)</sup> Les sources musulmanes inédites corroborent le passage de la *Chronique* jusqu'ici obscur. Amir Mirān 'Omar était le quatrième fils de Pahlawān, né de l'aventureuse Inanj-ḥātūn, épouse en secondes noces de Kizil-Arslan, frère de Pahlawān, et en troisièmes noces du Sultān Tuḡril II; cf. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, *Acta Orientalia*, III, p. 143.

<sup>(3)</sup> Brosset, I/1, p. 447, note, ne fait que résumer en quelques lignes le passage intercalé dans un seul manuscrit où il occupe quatre pages. Ce passage conclut l'histoire des luttes entre l'atābek de l'Azarbaijān Abū-bakr b. Pahlawān b. Ildegiz (Eldiguz) et son frère cadet Amir Mirān (Amir Mirman). Ce dernier grâce au secours de la reine T'amar, avait réoccupé Ganja (?) et Šankor (arabe Šamkūr) mais Abū-bakr lui aurait fait donner le poison. Amir Mirān, encore vivant, se réfugia sur la montagne Kpi(?), près de Ganja.

dans la région montagneuse au sud du Kour, mais il est absolument impossible de rattacher ce nouveau terme ni à Hazik d'Asolik, ni à Kazah.

En géorgien le mot apparaît la première fois comme *hasgian* avec les variantes *haragian* et *hasič'an*. Les variantes ne répondent à rien de connu mais d'après *haragian* on peut restituer *hasgian* en *hasagian*, conforme à la forme mentionnée sous le règne de Tamar. Ce mot, comme l'avait déjà soupçonné Brosset, correspond exactement à l'arabo-persan *hāsagī* avec la terminaison persane de pluriel *-ān* خاصگیان. Ce terme qui désignait les courtisans intimes (« particuliers ») d'un prince est bien attesté à l'époque dont il s'agit<sup>(1)</sup>.

La configuration du pays au sud du Kour était propice à la formation de petits fiefs. La montagne y est coupée par de nombreuses vallées étroites arrosées par le système des affluents droits du Kour<sup>(2)</sup>. Cette partie de l'ancienne Albanie (Arrān) relevait aux iv<sup>e</sup> et v<sup>e</sup> siècles de l'Hégire de la dynastie kurde šaddādide dont le siège était à Ganja. Le seljukide Malik-Šāh (465-485/1072-1092) mit fin à cette dynastie<sup>(3)</sup>. Sous les Seljuks, les Atābeks, tantôt seuls, tantôt comme vassaux des princes seljukides, gouvernaient ce pays. Depuis le règne d'Arslan b. Tuğril (566-573/1161-1177) les puissants atābeks ildigizides, maîtres de l'Āzarbaijān, s'établirent à Ganja. Le dernier d'entre

Abū-bakr reprit Ganja et s'avança jusqu'à Šankor. Le manuscrit glisse sur la suite des événements défavorables aux Géorgiens. C'est ici qu'intervient le passage sur le deuil causé par la mort d'Amir Mirān. Les événements durent avoir lieu vers 589/1193.

(1) *Rahat al-šudūr* (terminé en 901/1204), p. 361-366, qui se rapportent au règne de Tuğril II (1177-1194).

(2) Injā, Akāibara, Akstafa, Hasan-su, Tā'ūs-čai (uni à Hunzur-kut et Ahanja), Asrak-čai, Dzegam, Jāgir-čai, Šamhor, Kačkara, Ganja-čai, Kūrak-čai, Gōran-čai, Inja-čai, Terter, etc.

(3) Faḍlun, le Šaddādide dépossédé, après de nombreuses aventures, finit ses jours à Bajdād en 484. Voir ДЕРЖИЗЫ, *Le règne de Barkiarok*, Journ. As., 1853, II, p. 245.

eux Ōzbek fut délogé de Ganja par le ḥwārizmšāh Jalāl al-dīn en 622/1225, mais, dix ans après, toute la Transcaucasie rentra dans la sphère des conquêtes mongoles<sup>(1)</sup>. Telle était la succession des maîtres de Ganja qui certainement répartissaient le pays avoisinant en petits fiefs (*ikṭā'āt*) selon le système en vigueur. Sous la dénomination de *ḥāsegi* contre lesquels guerroya Giorgi II il faut justement comprendre les seigneurs des petites vallées, les hommes-liges des maîtres de Ganja. Le roi Giorgi en attaquant les *ḥāsagiān* voulait certainement paralyser leur secours à Ganja contre laquelle marchait le gros de l'armée. De même les «seigneurs *ḥasagian*» qui regrettaient la mort d'Amīr Mirān étaient ses intimes qui lui devaient leur nomination.

Toute connexion de *ḥāsagi* avec *Ḳazah* doit être écartée. Même phonétiquement une telle évolution du terme bien connu aux musulmans et assez bien transmis par les Géorgiens est totalement improbable.

§ 5. Pour résumer : l'indication géographique précise de Balādūrī a permis de localiser *Kasāl* dans la région de *Ḳazah*. Les données historiques ont montré le caractère illusoire de l'explication ethnique de Saint-Martin : *Ḳazah* < turk *Ḳazak*. Par contre l'hypothèse qui explique ce nom par l'arménien *K'asal* est à la fois suffisante au point de vue des conditions locales et permet de rétablir l'identité de *Kasāl* et de *Ḳazah* à la lumière des lois phonétiques arméniennes. Les séries *Ḥazik* (\**Ḥazir*) et *Ḥasagi* n'ont aucun rapport à la question *K'asal/Kasāl/Ḳazah*.

(1) Cf. l'Enc. de l'Is., Arrān, Ganja (Barthold), Shaddādides (Sir D. Ross).

#### IV. LA FORTERESSE ALINJAK ET LA VALLÉE DE « ĤAMŠĀ ».

- § 1. Les campagnes de Timūr en Géorgie.
- § 2. La forteresse Alinjak.
- § 3. Son siège par Timūr et son déblocage par les Géorgiens.
- § 4. Retour de Timūr et l'expédition contre Ĥamšā.
- § 5. Détails de l'expédition contre Ĥamšā.
- § 6. Ĥamšā = Eliseni, Ĥamšā/Himšā ?

§ 1. Les nombreuses campagnes de Timūr en Géorgie mériteraient une étude spéciale. Leur source principale est le *Zafar-nāma* de Šaraf ad-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, dont la *Chronique géorgienne* elle-même dépend directement dans l'exposé de l'époque timūride. Déjà Brosset l'a bien vu : « Si l'on compare le texte de Chéref-ed-Dīn avec celui de l'auteur géorgien, on voit que celui-ci suit l'autre pied à pied, et dans l'ordre des faits, et dans la manière de les exposer » <sup>(1)</sup>.

Les détails suivants peuvent servir d'appui à cette thèse et donner une idée des malentendus résultant de la méthode trop servile du compilateur de cette partie de la *Chronique*.

a. La *Chronique* transforme le nom منگول en Manglis sans se soucier du contresens (voir plus bas : Min-göl).

b. La *Chronique*, Brosset, I/1, p. 666, reproduit le récit du *Zafar-nāma*, II, 242, sur l'expédition contre Jānī-beg, qu'elle se borne à appeler vaguement « un *m'avar* de très haut rang ». Plus tard seulement Vahūst a tenté de rapprocher ce nom de Jāndieri.

c. La *Chronique*, I/1, p. 670, donne la liste complète des généraux que Timūr avait envoyés contre Alinjak, d'après le *Zafar-nāma*, II, 354.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Histoire de la Géorgie*, I/1, p. 393, n. 7.

d. La *Chronique*, I/1, p. 673, copie avec tous les détails le récit du *Zafar-nāma*, II, 524-532, sur le siège de la forteresse (Kürtün, Gūr-tēn?), laquelle d'après Šaraf ad-Dīn se trouvait «au milieu du pays» (در وسط بلاد). La *Chronique* substitue à ce nom celui de la forteresse connue de Birt'vis<sup>(1)</sup> mais laisse tel quel le nom du commandant Nazal<sup>(2)</sup>. Au grimpeur habile Begtjān, qui pénétra le premier dans la forteresse, la *Chronique* attribue une origine égyptienne, par une étrange confusion de «Merkit» مرکیت qui se trouve dans le texte<sup>(3)</sup> avec «Miṣrī» مصري plus familier! En caractères arabes ce qui-pro-quo est exclu. Il faudrait plutôt supposer que le compilateur opérait sur une traduction géorgienne faite par quelqu'un d'autre, ou que le texte persan lui était interprété oralement.

Pour illustrer la traduction de la *Chronique* Brosset a résumé dans ses *Additions* (I/2, p. 386-397) les passages de Šaraf ad-Dīn. Malheureusement le grand géorgisant ne disposait que de la vieille traduction de Pétis de la Croix<sup>(4)</sup>, entièrement périmée en tant qu'il s'agit des régions éloignées et peu explorées à l'époque où vivait le traducteur. De là des malentendus inévitables dans les éclaircissements de Brosset.

(1) Sur la rivière Alget', en aval de Manglis, voir la *Géographie* de Vahūst, trad. Brosset, p. 175; trad. Janasvili, p. 49 : «La citadelle de Birthwis, bâtie sur le roc, environnée de rochers à un *edj* [=un parasange] et demi de distance et inaccessible.» Brosset, I/2, p. 397, laisse l'identification Kürtün = Birt'vis sur la responsabilité de l'auteur. A l'époque safavide on trouve dans l'histoire de Šāh 'Abbās 'Ālam-ārā, Téhéran, 1314, p. 64, le nom d'une forteresse برتیس \*Bartīs = Birt'vis? Au nom کورتی correspond dans Ibn 'Arab-šāh, II, کلکورتی, c'est-à-dire en turk *gāl, gēr, git*, interprété en arabe تعال انظر ارجع «viens, regarde, va-t-en». Il est donc possible que کورتی doive être lu کورتی. La forteresse de Šakki portait un nom pareil mais elle n'est pas «au milieu du pays». Elle a pu recevoir ce nom en l'honneur de la forteresse plus ancienne dont parlent les historiens de Timūr. Voir mon article Šakki dans l'*Enc. de l'Islām*.

(2) En persan نزال, var. نزوال. Serait-ce «natsval», nom de dignité géorgien?

(3) La tribu Merkit vivait à l'est de Baïkal, voir Rašīd al-dīn, éd. Bérézine, dans les *Trudi Vost. Otd.*, V, 70, et VII, 90. L'habileté des Merkit à escalader les rochers est plusieurs fois mentionnée dans le *Zafar-nāma*, I, 339, مکریتان, et I, 766, avec une erreur, تکریت.

(4) *Histoire de Timur-bec de Chérif-ed-din* (sic), Paris, 1722.

Cependant l'original même de Šaraf ad-Dīn contient des points obscurs. Tel par exemple l'épisode de l'expédition contre la vallée de Ĥamsā (حَمْسَا), *Zaṣar-nāma*, II, 222-229, dont par quelque accident la *Chronique* ne fait aucune mention. Cette opération est étroitement liée aux événements qui avaient eu lieu sous les murs d'Alinjak.

S 2. Le nom ancien arménien de cette citadelle est Ernjak <sup>(1)</sup> que النجى Alinjak rend exactement. Plus usuelle toutefois est la forme postérieure Alinja qu'emploient déjà Ibn 'Arab-šāh <sup>(2)</sup> et Clavijo <sup>(3)</sup>. La rivière Alinja-čai se jette dans l'Araxe à l'est de Naḥiçevan. Près de son embouchure était située l'ancienne ville Julfa <sup>(4)</sup>. La forteresse Alinja s'élevait sur la hauteur inaccessible de sa rive droite près du village actuel Ĥan-aga (خانقاہ « couvent » ?) <sup>(5)</sup>.

Les géographes arabes, y compris Yākūt, ignorent Alinjak, mais Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi le mentionne parmi les dépendances de Naḥiçevan <sup>(6)</sup>.

Dans l'histoire locale la forteresse a joué un rôle considérable. En 915 le Sājide Yūsuf b. Dēvdād « était allé attaquer la place forte d'Ernjak, où les femmes des nobles [arméniens] avaient cherché un refuge avec leurs trésors; il la prit et rentra à Dvin » <sup>(7)</sup>.

(1) HÜBSCHMANN, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 347, 426.

(2) النجا lui fournit un jeu de graphies avec النجا al-naǧā « la fuite ».

(3) Ed. Sreznjevsky, p. 162 : Alinga (lire : Alinja).

(4) Arm. *Julfa* > *Juǧa*; *Zaṣar-nāma*, I, 399, جولاهه, Jūlāha.

(5) Sur la carte russe la montagne de la forteresse est marquée à vingt-six verstes en amont de l'embouchure d'Alinja-čai. I. ЧУПИН, *Istor. pamiatnik armian. oblasti*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1852, p. 324, dit que dans l'enceinte de la forteresse on voit le couvent de Saint-Grégoire, lequel, d'après ALIŠAN, *Sisakan*, Venise, 1893, p. 348-351, servit de siège épiscopal depuis le 1<sup>er</sup> siècle. (Le passage m'a été aimablement interprété par M. Kévorkian.)

(6) *Nuzhat al-ḥulub*, éd. Le Strange, p. 79 et 89. L'auteur nomme un autre النجى près de Tabriz.

(7) Asoljik, trad. Macler, p. 18-19.

Lorsqu'en 1177 les survivants de la famille Orbelian durent se sauver de Géorgie, un d'eux (Elikum) se réfugia auprès de l'atābek ildegizide d'Āzarbaijān (Pahlavān) et celui-ci lui donna un fief dont Ernjak faisait partie<sup>(1)</sup>. A l'approche du Ḥvārizm-šāh Jalāl ad-dīn, l'atābek Ōzbek se réfugia à Alinja et y mourut de chagrin en 622/1225<sup>(2)</sup>.

Alinjak est souvent mentionné à l'époque des Kara-Köyünlü (voir *addenda* à la fin de cet article).

Aucune des innombrables places fortes auxquelles Timur s'attaqua, ne lui résista aussi opiniâtement qu'Alinjak : à quelques interruptions près elle tint quatorze ans durant.

La forteresse relevait de l'ennemi acharné de Timūr Sultān Aḥmad Jalāyir, dont le fils Tābir resta longtemps assiégé dans la citadelle. Il est possible qu'il y eût pénétré dans un moment d'accalmie car d'après Ibn 'Arab-šāh la véritable âme de la résistance était un certain Altun<sup>(3)</sup>. Lui même originaire de ces parages, il connaissait bien la localité et ayant à sa disposition une garnison de trois cents hommes courageux harassait l'ennemi par ses sorties. Pendant une de ses absences, Tābir convainquit sa mère de commerce illicite avec le frère d'Altun, et les mit à mort tous les deux. Ensuite, craignant la vengeance d'Altun, il ne le laissa pas rentrer dans la forteresse. De désespoir Altun se rendit à Marand où le gouverneur local lui fit couper la tête qu'il envoya à son souverain. Mais Timūr fut mécontent de cette trahison et fit exécuter le gouverneur à son tour.

§ 3. Selon le *Zafar-nāma* la marche des événements fut la suivante :

La première attaque dirigée par Timūr contre Alinjak occupé par « les hommes de Sultān Aḥmad » eut lieu en 789/

(1) Brosset, I/2, p. 318-319, d'après Étienne Orbelian.

(2) Juvaini, ed. Gibb. *Memorial*, II, 157; Nasawī, ed. Houdas, p. 118.

(3) Ed. Manger, *Leovardiae*, 1767, I, 275-301. Cf. A. K. MAZOUZ, *Katalog*



1387. Les fortifications inférieures (فصيل زيرين) furent prises mais les défenseurs s'enfermèrent dans la citadelle (بالای قلعه). Le manque d'eau allait les contraindre à la reddition lorsqu'une averse vint remplir les citernes. Timūr ordonna à Muḥammad Mirākā de commencer les travaux d'investissement (قلعه را), mais à la suite de l'offensive de Kara Muḥammad le Kara-Koyunlu, Mirākā fut rappelé dans le camp de Timūr, *op. laud.*, I, 416-417. Le siège fut repris en 796/1394, lorsque, de Mūs, Timūr expédia dans cette intention. Muḥammad Darviš et le fit suivre de renforts, *ibid.*, I, 687, 691<sup>(1)</sup>. Vers la fin de 796 le prince Mirān-Šāh arriva dans le camp de Timūr venant des environs d'Alinjak (از ظاهر النجق). En 797 une nouvelle offensive de Kara-Yūsuf le Kara-Koyunlu, menée du côté d'Ala-Tağ<sup>(2)</sup> entraîna la concentration à Tabriz de toutes les troupes de la région, *ibid.*, 757, et il est possible qu'à ce moment le siège fut relâché, sinon levé. En 798/1396 Mirān šāh nommé en Āzarbaijān, reçut l'ordre d'assiéger Alinjak, *ibid.*, 784. Sous l'année 799/1399, notre source mentionne la présence de Ṭāhir dans la forteresse investie « depuis longtemps ». Les assiégeants avaient déjà érigé autour de la forteresse un mur qui mit fin aux communications des assiégés avec le monde extérieur, mais à ce moment-là le blocus fut forcé par les Géorgiens (voir plus bas), et la place de Ṭāhir dans la forteresse fut prise par Sidi Aḥmad Ogulšai (اغلشائی ou اغلشانی) en compagnie de trois *aznāurs* (« nobles géorgiens »).

La forteresse continuait à résister même après la dévastation de la Géorgie en 802/1400. Encore quittant Mārdin à la fin

*Jalair. monet*, Saint-Petersbourg, 1897, p. xxviii, qui utilise les histoires manuscrites de al-'Ainī (mort en 1451) et de al-Janābī (mort en 1590).

<sup>(1)</sup> Ibn 'Arab-šāh, p. 282, mentionne (après 795) l'envoi contre Alinjak d'un Kutluğ Timūr, accompagné de trois autres généraux et de quarante mille hommes. Altun faillit tomber entre leurs mains mais échappa grâce à son courage et même tua Kutluğ Timūr et un de ses compagnons.

<sup>(2)</sup> Campements d'été au nord-est du lac de Van.

de 803/1401 Timūr envoya trois princes royaux et trois généraux de haut rang avec l'ordre de mettre fin à la résistance d'Alinjak, avant de continuer la marche sur la Géorgie. Mais à ce moment la forteresse « assiégée depuis dix ans »<sup>(1)</sup> et réduite à toute extrémité avait déjà capitulé et son commandant fut mis aux fers (بند) et envoyé auprès de Timūr, *ibid.*, II, 354-355. La même année, Timūr rentrant de Bagdād visita en détail la place forte, « conquise si rapidement », selon l'expression épique de Šaraf al-Dīn, *ibid.*, II, 377.

Parmi les nombreuses péripéties du siège, le déblocage d'Alinjak par les Géorgiens vers 799/1397 nous intéresse spécialement<sup>(2)</sup>. Sa date ne peut être fixée qu'approximativement. En automne de 798/1366 le fils de Timūr Mirān-šāh, maître du vaste « fief de Hūlāgū », qui s'étendait de Derbend et du Gilān jusqu'à l'Asie Mineure, eut un accident de cheval qui le laissa fou<sup>(3)</sup>. En été (de 1397?) il partit soudain contre Sultān Aḥmad Jalayir, mais, ayant séjourné deux jours sous les murs de Bagdād, revint sur ses pas en apprenant le mécontentement qui régnait parmi la population de Tabriz<sup>(4)</sup>. Par des mesures sévères il réprima l'opposition et en automne (1397), sans aucune enquête préalable, envoya des troupes contre le maître de Šakkī Sīdī 'Alī Arlat, dont les possessions furent mises à sac, *ibid.*, II, 202<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) On a vu que la première tentative d'investissement date de 789/1387.

(2) Ibn 'Arab-Šāh n'en sait rien. La fin de sa narration est très confuse. D'après lui, l'histoire d'Altun avait compromis la situation de Tāhir. Ses hommes commencèrent à désertir et lui-même dut se retirer de la citadelle, dont Timūr s'empara sans peine (من غير معارضة). Pour des raisons de « voisinage », il la confia à son partisan fidèle Šāh Ibrāhīm de Šīrvān. L'auteur ajoute que la forteresse avait résisté pendant douze ans. A le croire, Alinjak aurait capitulé en 795, *op. laud.*, p. 298!

(3) Du moins momentanément.

(4) D'après Janābī, voir Markov, p. xxiii, Mirān fut battu à plate couture et se sauva avec trois cents cavaliers.

(5) Šakkī, à l'ouest du Šīrvān, voir mon article *Šakkī* dans l'*Encyclopédie de*

A Tiflis on devait attentivement suivre la marche des événements. D'après une chronique syrienne, Tāhir, assiégé à Alinjak, était uni aux Géorgiens par des liens matrimoniaux <sup>(1)</sup>. Du reste le désir de s'emparer des trésors jalayirides <sup>(2)</sup>, déposés dans la citadelle, devait aussi jouer un rôle. Le roi Giorgi VII (Gūrgin), escomptant l'absence de Timūr qui guerroyait dans l'Inde et le mécontentement que suscitait Mirān-šāh, attira à son côté Sidi 'Ali et (probablement dans l'hiver de 1397-1398) envoya des troupes pour libérer Tāhir. Non seulement cette tâche fut accomplie avec succès, mais, lorsque sur son chemin de retour l'expédition rencontra les renforts envoyés par Mirān-šāh, elle leur infligea une défaite, bien que Sidi 'Ali fût tombé dans la bataille, *ibid.*, II, 203-205. Tāhir libéré s'était réfugié à Tiflis, et plus tard le refus de Giorgi VII de le livrer à Timūr servit de prétexte à la terrible dévastation de la Géorgie dans l'été de 802/1400, *ibid.*, II, 235-241.

S 4. La victoire géorgienne sous Alinjak mit à son comble le désarroi dans les domaines de Mirān-šāh <sup>(3)</sup>. A peine rentré de l'Inde au commencement de 802 (automne 1399), Timūr partit vers l'ouest. Il envoya des enquêteurs à Tabriz et lui-même par Sultāniya, Kara-dārā, Ardabil et Mūgān gagna au début de l'hiver les campements de Kara-bāg, *ibid.*, II, 222.

*l'islam.* Déjà vers la fin de 796/1393-1394, Sidi 'Ali, ayant eu peur d'une expédition de Timūr qui traversait ses possessions, s'enfuit de Šākhī, après quoi sa résidence fut brûlée et ravagée, *ibid.*, I, 731-732.

(1) BAHRICH, *Rerum seculi XV in Mesopotamia gestarum*, etc., 1838, p. 6, sous les événements de 1712 A. G. (= 1400).

(2) Ibn 'Arab-šāh, I, 284 : ما كان عليه.

(3) La femme de Mirān-šāh était aussi arrivée à Samarqand dénonçant les intentions de révolte (الحيضة طالوت) de son mari, *Zafarnāma*, II, 206. Šaraf ad-Din, *ibid.*, II, 213, parle ouvertement des « crimes » de Mirān-šāh. Voir le tableau de la situation que trace Barthold dans *Ulugh-bek et son temps* (en russe), *Zapiski Ross. Akad. Nauk*, 1918, vol. XIII, n° 5, p. 30.

Ici Timūr s'occupa de la liquidation finale de l'épisode d'Alinjak.

Grâce à l'intervention de Šeiḥ Ibrāhīm de Širvān, Sidi Aḥmad, fils de Sidi 'Alī, trouva auprès de Timūr un accueil bienveillant et obtint la confirmation de ses droits héréditaires : les malheurs qui avaient frappé le Sākki ne laissant plus de place à la rancune.

Mais ensuite l'ordre fut donné de choisir sur chaque dizaine de soldats trois hommes et de les munir de provisions pour dix jours. Après quoi, accompagné de tous les princes royaux, ainsi que de Šeiḥ Ibrāhīm et de Sidi Aḥmad, Timūr marcha vers le nord. Un pont de bateaux fut construit sur le Kour et, après le passage de ce fleuve, l'expédition se dirigea par Šākki vers la « vallée de Ḥamšā »<sup>(1)</sup>.

Cette localité était peuplée d'infidèles (کبران) et couverte d'une forêt épaisse (چنگستان), à travers laquelle même le vent ne pouvait passer. Pendant dix jours l'armée de Timūr travailla avec des cognées, des haches et des scies pour frayer un chemin qui permit à cinq ou six hommes d'avancer de front<sup>(2)</sup>. En même temps la neige tomba sans interruption pendant vingt jours. Tous les infidèles qu'on avait rencontrés furent passés par les armes. Leur chef Ḥamšā<sup>(3)</sup> se sauva en abandonnant sa maison. L'armée de Timūr le poursuivit jusqu'à la vallée de Ak-su (دره اقسو) et s'empara d'une grande quantité de bétail et de biens. Ḥamšā, « tel un chacal », se cacha dans la forêt, tandis que les envahisseurs brûlaient les maisons et les villages.

(1) چها peut se lire également Ḥumšā, Ḥimšā, etc. On trouve la même forme du nom dans le *Ḥabīb as-siyar*, édit. de Bombay, vol. III, partie 3, p. 52.

(2) *Ibid.*, II, 224 : پنج تش قوشون. Mon savant ami Moḥammad khan Kāzvinī a partagé mon opinion sur la nécessité de traduire *košan* par « homme, troupier ».

(3) *Ibid.*, II, 224 : ده سالر آبی زمرد بود.

D'après l'historien de Tīmūr, les habitants de ces parages « sans vin ne voyaient pas d'agrément dans la vie, voire, n'enterraient même pas leurs morts ». Aussi, pour « leur occasionner des dommages et pour empoisonner leur existence », leurs jardins et les vignes furent partagés entre les troupes qui, montant sur les coteaux, arrachèrent les ceps avec racines, coupèrent une partie des arbres et décortiquèrent les autres. Les constructions, surtout les églises, furent rasées. Pendant un mois les sabots des chevaux foulèrent le sol de ce pays. Une multitude d'*aznāurs* et de bas peuple furent exterminés. Le gouverneur (حاکم) Hamisā errait on ne savait où. Finalement le froid devint excessif et la neige obstrua les routes. Les soldats perdaient leurs forces et les chevaux, qui ne trouvaient à manger que l'écorce des arbres, périssaient.

Timur fit battre en retraite et ayant retraversé le Kour entra à son camp de Kara-bāg. Ici la cour suprême (دیوان بزرگ) <sup>(1)</sup> se réunit sous la présidence du prince Šābroh pour examiner l'affaire des chefs qui avaient pris la fuite près d'Alinjak. D'après sa décision, confirmée par Tīmūr, Hājjī 'Abdullāh 'Abbās et Muḥammad Kazgan reçurent la bastonnade par devant et par derrière (پیش و پس با چوب یلساق زدند), et Yumn (?) Hamza Apardī, qui le premier avait quitté le champ de bataille, fut condamné à mort (یلساق), mais sur l'intercession des princes sa peine fut assimilée à celle de ses deux collègues. Chacun des trois dut en outre offrir trois cents chevaux. L'amende des autres généraux de Mīrān-šāh variait de cinquante à trois cents chevaux. Le troupeau ainsi formé fut ensuite réparti entre les fantassins. Mirzā Abū-Bakr, fils de Mīrān-šāh, dont la flèche avait terrassé Sidi 'Alī, reçut diverses distinctions.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Yargu* consistait en application des lois de Čingiz-kan; voir MELJONANSKI, *Zapiski*, XIII, 015-023, sur l'organisation du *Yargu* sous les Jalāyirides.

§ 5. Telle est la relation de Šaraf al-Din (II, 222-229) dont on peut résumer ainsi les points clairs :

a. « Hamšā » peut être compris seulement comme le nom personnel du chef local. « La vallée du géorgien Jāni-bek », *ibid.*, II, 242, peut servir de parallèle à la « vallée de Hamšā ». Il est donc inutile de chercher Hamšā sur la carte<sup>(1)</sup>.

Or c'est justement la faute que commet Brosset, et qui est encore aggravée par les graphies fantaisistes de Pétis de la Croix. Ce dernier rend خشا par « Comcha », et cela suffit à Brosset, I/2, p. 390, pour chercher cette localité à « Boughaz Com » au Daghestan; cf. *Zafar-nāma*, I, 772 : بوغاز قم *Boğaz Kum*.

De tels malentendus sont nombreux. Šaraf al-Din, I, 766 et 768, mentionne au nord-est du Caucase la forteresse de « Kulā et Tā'ūs », mais ensuite explique que ces deux noms étaient ceux des deux commandants (سرداران قلعه); Brosset, I/2, p. 389, écrit : « Cependant Cherif ad-Din dit clairement que Coulat ou Coula était du côté du Terek, non loin de Taous (?) le Thoucheth ». La localité بلقان ou بلقا au Daghestan, *Zafar-nāma*, I, 768, ne peut avoir aucun rapport avec Belakan (بيلقان dans le canton Zakāt-'Alī, au nord de l'Alazan), comme le suppose Brosset, I/2, p. 589, note. Dans le passage du *Zafar-nāma*, I, 773, il ne s'agit pas des « îles de la Géorgie » (II) qui ont tellement embarrassé Brosset, I/2, p. 390, note, mais des îles où s'abritaient les pêcheurs (*balikci*), c'est-à-dire, probablement, des îles à l'embouchure du Terek, car, après les avoir prises, l'expédition partit contre Astrakhan.

b. Le prince Hamšā, qui avait subi le premier choc de l'armée de Timūr, devait certainement avoir un intérêt direct au déblocage d'Alinjak, bien que Šaraf ad-Din omette de le dire<sup>(2)</sup>. Comme la participation personnelle de Giorgi VII à cette incursion n'est nulle part mentionnée, il est possible que

(1) Par conséquent, toutes les autres objections à part, on ne saurait rapprocher « Hamšā » de Hāmi, village sur le Ior.

(2) Il parle de l'expédition comme d'un simple gāza dicté par la religion.

Hamšā eût conduit l'attaque, ou qu'il l'eût préparée en assurant le concours de son voisin, le maître de Šākkī.

c. Ses possessions étaient situées au nord de l'Alazan, car après que les troupes de Timūr eurent traversé le Kour et la région de Šākkī, on n'apprend rien sur leur passage d'une rivière aussi considérable que l'Alazan<sup>(1)</sup>.

d. L'abondance de neige pouvait être un phénomène particulier à l'année de l'expédition de Timur. Plus importante est la mention de la richesse du pays en vignes et du rôle que le vin jouait dans la vie de la population chrétienne. Ce détail ne permet pas de placer la vallée de Hamšā au delà de la chaîne du Caucase<sup>(2)</sup>.

e. Assez embarrassante à première vue est la percée d'une route « de dix jours », car durant dix jours une armée, surtout à cheval<sup>(3)</sup>, aurait facilement pu parcourir quatre à cinq cents kilomètres et même plus. Toutefois, le terme de dix jours, pour lequel les troupes s'étaient approvisionnées, correspond

<sup>(1)</sup> On peut se rappeler les difficultés qu'en 1578 éprouva l'armée de Mustafā Lālā pāšā au passage de l'Alazan, HAMMAM, *G.O.R.*<sup>2</sup>, II, 483. Les Musulmans appellent l'Alazan Kanuh ou Kanīh. Ce nom se trouve dans la *Chronique Géorgienne*, Brosset, I/1, p. 360 et 364 : Ganuh (sous les années 1118 et 1120). Toutefois le village Kanuh, s'il est identique à Γεῆνυx, Γιοῦνυx des cartes russes, se trouve sur un affluent droit de la rivière Agričai, laquelle, venant de l'est, se jette dans l'Alazan du côté gauche. Les indications d'Evliyā Čelebi, II, 289, sont très vagues.

<sup>(2)</sup> Brosset, I/2, p. 390, avoue les difficultés de son interprétation : « En tout cas Comcha [lire Կոչ] n'est pas dans la Géorgie proprement dite, mais dans le Daghistan... Sans le mot *aznaour*, qui est souvent employé par Chérif-ed-Din, je ne pourrais croire que Timour eût trouvé des Géorgiens dans les contrées si éloignées du Karthli, car toute histoire de la Géorgie montre que ces peuples n'ont jamais colonisé ni fait d'établissement solide hors de leur territoire ».

<sup>(3)</sup> Šaraf ad-Din mentionne des fantassins qui reçurent des chevaux après le retour de l'expédition, mais, selon toute probabilité, c'était justement les cavaliers dont les montures étaient mortes à cause du manque de fourrage.

exactement aux dix jours qu'il fallut pour ouvrir une route dans la forêt. Ainsi donc, en comptant dix jours jusqu'à la vallée de Ĥamšā, on doit penser à la progression des bûcherons dans une forêt dense et non à la distance que peut franchir normalement une troupe en marche.

f. Le seul nom géographique précis qu'on trouve dans le récit de Šaraf ad-Dīn est Ak-su « Eau Blanche », point jusqu'auquel Ĥamšā fut poursuivi. Il est vrai que bien des rivières descendant de la chaîne du Caucase s'appellent dans la terminologie turco-musulmane « blanches » ou « noires », mais à l'ouest de Šākkī, le nom d'Ak-su appartient à une des sources les plus septentrionales de la rivière Kūrmuḥ qui descend dans l'Alazan par la vallée d'Eli-su (vieux géorgien Eliseni). Cet Ak-su sort du col <sup>(1)</sup> de la chaîne du Caucase qui le sépare du bassin de la rivière Sāmūr (dans le Dagestan méridional).

Cette mise au point projette quelque lumière sur la situation, mais le fait même que la *Chronique géorgienne*, dans l'exposé de l'époque de Timūr, dépend directement du *Zafarnāma*, nous prive de l'aide qu'on pourrait attendre d'une source locale.

§. 7. Provisoirement on doit se borner à formuler deux séries de considérations.

a. La solution la plus simple serait d'identifier la vallée de Ĥamšā au canton Eliseni des sources géorgiennes, situé immédiatement au nord-ouest de Šākkī, dans les limites de la

<sup>(1)</sup> Sa source sort de la montagne Aḥ-bulabān-yal, au nord de laquelle se trouve la vallée de Kūrdul, affluent droit du Sāmūr. Un peu en aval, la rivière d'Eli-su [°Eliseni] — Ak-su reçoit du côté droit la rivière Aḥ-čai (près du village du même nom). Ainsi donc l'épithète « blanc » (ak, aḥ) s'applique systématiquement aux cours d'eau de la vallée d'Eli-su, et ce fait est encore relevé par le contraste avec la vallée voisine vers l'ouest, où coule un Kara-su (« Eau Noire »).



région de Zakât-'Ali de nos jours<sup>(1)</sup>. Le centre de l'Eliseni [forme turquisée Eli-su] est formée par la vallée de Kurnuh, sur le cours moyen duquel se trouve une bourgade ancienne appelée en géorgien Kaki (actuellement Kaḫi). D'après la tradition Kaki servait autrefois de résidence au gouverneur local et comptait environ mille maisons<sup>(2)</sup>. Dans son voisinage on trouve de nombreuses ruines géorgiennes<sup>(3)</sup>.

Au ix<sup>e</sup>-xi<sup>e</sup> siècle cette localité faisait partie d'une principauté à part, la Héréthie<sup>(4)</sup>, qui avait ses propres rois, *Histoire de Vahūst*, Brosset, II/1, p. 140. Au x<sup>e</sup> siècle la population locale qui appartenait au rite arménien fut convertie à l'orthodoxie géorgienne, *ibid.*, 141. Au commencement du xi<sup>e</sup> siècle la Héréthie perdit son indépendance. Ensuite le roi de Kaḫéthie (le *korikoz*) Kvirike III (1011-1029), ayant affirmé son indépendance, annexa la Héréthie à la Kaḫéthie, et y nomma quatre *eris-tav*, dont deux avaient leur résidence sur la rive gauche (septentrionale) de l'Alazan : l'un à Štor, et l'autre à Mač'a (sur la rivière Mazim-tai, à l'ouest de Belakan). La juridiction de ce dernier s'étendait jusqu'à Šakih (Šakki ?), *ibid.*, p. 143. A l'époque de Timūr toute la Kaḫéthie faisait partie du royaume géorgien uni. Seulement après que la Kaḫéthie eut formé un royaume séparé (vers 1466 ?) son roi Giorgi, fils de David (1471-1492), remplaça les *eris-tav* d'au delà de l'Alazan par trois gouverneurs de rang inférieur (*mo'arav*) ayant pour résidence Eliseni, Ts'uk'et'i et Čiauri, *ibid.*, p. 148. D'après Vahūst, *ibid.*, p. 156, Šah 'Abbās en 1602 enleva Kaki au roi de Kaḫéthie Alexandre II et y établit comme « sultān »<sup>(5)</sup> un certain Vahāḫišvili devenu musulman en 1587<sup>(6)</sup>. Il est toutefois possible que ce fût un épisode passager, car les « sultāns » d'Eli-su faisaient remonter leur origine aux beks de Tsa-

(1) En russe : *Zakatalskii okrug*.

(2) Voir les notes de Jmašvili dans sa traduction de la *Géographie* de Vahūst, p. 116.

(3) On ne doit pas confondre ce Kaki avec la forteresse Gag, *Tārīḫ-i guzida* édit. Gibb Memorial, p. 471 : كاك, qui était située dans la Sompéthie à l'ouest de la rivière Eklets (Tā'ūs-tai, Aḫstafa ?); cf. la *Chronique géorgienne*, Brosset, I/1, p. 390-391.

(4) Her-et'i, où -et' est un pluriel géorgien, « Pays des Hers ».

(5) « Capitaine », d'après la terminologie safavide, voir plus haut, p. 76.

(6) Vaguer, *Géographie*, trad. Brosset, p. 307.

ğur<sup>(1)</sup>. Ce «sultanat» fut aboli par les Russes en 1844 lorsque le dernier de cette dynastie Daniel-bek alla rejoindre Šāmil révolté au Dagestan<sup>(2)</sup>.

Ainsi donc à l'époque de Timūr l'Eliseni était un canton géorgien et chrétien. La distance à parcourir de Šākkī<sup>(3)</sup> jusqu'au centre de la vallée de Kūrmuḡ ne devait pas dépasser 40 kilomètres. Toutefois la lenteur du mouvement de l'armée, à raison de 4 kilomètres par jour, est facilement explicable si l'on se rappelle que l'Eliseni, jusqu'au cours inférieur de ses rivières, était recouvert d'une forêt épaisse<sup>(4)</sup>, et que l'abatage des arbres était une opération compliquée et pénible, surtout à l'aide des instruments dont on disposait vers l'an 1400. D'autre part la vallée de Kūrmuḡ, longue de 45 à 50 kilomètres, et ses ramifications étaient autrefois assez peuplées. De les dévaster et de poursuivre Ḥamšā put bien occuper les troupes expéditionnaires pendant un mois. Finalement la fuite de Ḥamšā vers Ak-su est parfaitement compréhensible, car de là il pouvait sans difficultés gagner le Tsaḡur (au nord du col), ou les sources des vallées adjacentes à l'Eliseni vers l'ouest.

Que Timūr ait dévasté précisément l'Eliseni, c'est ce qu'on

(1) Le Tsaḡur, situé aux sources du Sāmūr, et l'Eli-su, étaient réunis en une seule possession, mais le Tsaḡur était plus ancien que l'Eli-su. On connaît un firman de Šāh Tahmāsp au nom du bek de Tsaḡur Adī-Kurḡul(?) daté de 1562.

(2) Voir D. BAKRABE, *Notes sur la région de Zakāt'Alī* (en russe), *Zap. Kavk. Otd. Geogr. Obšč.*, XIV/1, 1890, p. 248-281.

(3) Le nom de Nūḡī, chef-lieu actuel du Šākkī, apparaît seulement au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. L'ancien centre du Šākkī était probablement situé au sud-ouest de Nūḡī, plus près de l'Alazan, aux environs du village ruiné Šākili, voir YAKOVSKI, *Sur l'Albanie ancienne* (en russe), *Žurnal Min. Naroda. Prosv.*, II, 1846, p. 17-136, 161-293.

(4) BAKRABE, *op. laud.*, p. 278 : «lorsque Sari-baš fut colonisé, le cours inférieur d'Eli-su et de Kara-su était couvert de forêts épaisses et n'avait pas de population»; *ibid.*, p. 272, sur les forêts qui couvrent la partie supérieure de la vallée d'Eli-su.

pourrait trouver confirmé par une tradition locale, selon laquelle Sari-baš, le premier établissement des Lezgī musulmans aux sources du Kurmuḥ, fut fondé vers la fin du xv<sup>e</sup> siècle. La pénétration<sup>(1)</sup> des Lezgī au sud de la chaîne du Caucase aurait pu être facilitée par le dépeuplement de l'Eliseni après les événements de 1399-1400.

Par conséquent, l'ensemble des conditions géographiques est favorable à l'hypothèse, selon laquelle l'expédition de Timūr était dirigée contre l'Eliseni, mais cette supposition ne suffit pas à expliquer le nom de Ḥamšā.

b. Si d'autre part on cherche des analogies au nom خمشا (Ḥamšā, Ḥimšā, Ḥumšā, Ḥamašā, etc.), sa ressemblance avec le nom de famille géorgien Ḥimšia est évidente.

Or, un des documents décrits par Brosset, II/2, p. 453-454, serait susceptible d'éclairer la question de « Ḥamšā ». Il s'agit d'un acte de donation en faveur de la cathédrale de Mtshet, daté du 13 avril 1405. La traduction rectifiée que m'a très aimablement communiquée M. E. Takaïchvili, porte : « Moi, d'abord Abazadze Maraleli<sup>(2)</sup>, et maintenant . . . très exalté et installé à la place d'Abuletisdze, amilaḥor et Ḥimšia . . . je t'ai fait don<sup>(3)</sup> à Dzagnakorna du paysan Šergilašvili. »

Le savant traducteur donne le commentaire suivant de ce curieux document féodal : « Cela veut dire que Abazadze Ḥimšia reçut le fief d'Abuletisdze après l'extinction de cette famille et hérita de son nom avec ses biens . . . Ḥimšia fait don à la cathédrale d'un vilain, évidemment en signe de reconnaissance, pour avoir reçu un fief si important, et il faut croire que ce vilain était un habitant de ce nouveau fief et originaire du village de Dzagnakorna . . . qui est situé dans le canton de T'ia-

(1) Qui ensuite a entraîné l'islamisation de toute la région de Zakāt'Alī.

(2) C'est-à-dire, originaire de Marali.

(3) En s'adressant à la cathédrale.

net'i, dans le voisinage du T'ezam »<sup>(1)</sup>. D'autres documents montrent que le fief des Abuletisdze se trouvait en effet aux environs du défilé de T'ezam. En ce qui concerne l'appellation de Ĥimšia « Maraleli », ce nom d'origine, contrairement à Brosset, doit appartenir au Marali de Suram<sup>(2)</sup>, dont les Abazadze étaient originaires.

La dignité d'amilahor (pers. امیرآخور « grand écuyer ») était très élevée dans la hiérarchie géorgienne. Dans l'*Ordonnance de la cour royale*<sup>(3)</sup>, on lit : § 18. L'armée et le vézirat dans les affaires militaires sont de la compétence de l'*amirspasalar* (pers. امیر سپهسالار) . . . l'*amirahor* est le vézir de l'*amirspasalar* . . . ». On ignore à quelle date Ĥimšia avait reçu le titre d'amilahor mais il est sûr que huit ans avant 1405 il jouait déjà un rôle militaire assez important pour pouvoir prendre une part active à l'expédition contre Alinjak (1397?). Toutefois l'acte de donation de 1405 devait suivre de près l'établissement de Ĥimšia dans le fief d'Abuletisdze. Il ne pouvait donc pas résider au défilé de T'ezam au moment de l'incursion de Timūr (hiver de 1399-1400?). Comme d'après Šaraf al-Din « Ĥamšā » était étroitement associé à une vallée, dont il était le chef militaire (*sālār*) et le gouverneur (*ḥakim*), on pourrait supposer que ce même Ĥimšia (\*Ĥimšā) était à cette époque un des *eris-šav* d'au delà l'Alazan, et plus particulièrement de l'Eliseni.

Lorsque Timūr quitta finalement la Géorgie au commencement de 1404, ses adversaires durent relever la tête, et il serait

<sup>(1)</sup> Voir la liste de Vagušv, *Géographie*, trad. Brosset, p. 481, n° 104. Sur la carte IV annexée à cet ouvrage, Dzaglakorna est situé dans le Saguramo, au nord du défilé du T'ezam, dont les eaux se jettent dans l'Aragva (du côté gauche, entre Mtašet et Dubet).

<sup>(2)</sup> Sur la face est de la montagne qui sépare la Géorgie orientale de la Géorgie occidentale.

<sup>(3)</sup> Document géorgien du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, publié par M. Takaïchvili, Tiflis 1930, p. 9 (communication de M. Avaliçhvili).

tout à fait naturel que la personne qui avait subi le premier assaut en 1399 obtint une compensation dans les mêmes parages, c'est-à-dire toujours en Kakhétie.

Pour conclure : ces deux séries de considérations sont parfaitement conciliables et nous pouvons maintenir l'hypothèse : la vallée de Hamšā (\*Himšā) — Eliseni, en laissant la solution définitive aux savants qui possèdent la totalité des sources géorgiennes.

## V. MIN-GÖL ET LES EXPÉDITIONS DE TIMUR.

Après le Kara-bāg, le campement favori de Timūr en Transcaucasie était à Min-Göl. Telle doit être certainement la prononciation du nom منگول qui se rencontre dans la deuxième partie du *Zafer-nāma*, II, 250-252, 356, 399, 512, 514, tandis que dans la première partie, I, 720, 725, on lit sans équivoque ميڭك كول \*Ming-kul<sup>(1)</sup>.

La graphie منگول avait embarrassé le rédacteur de cette partie de la *Chronique géorgienne*. Suivant de très près, comme d'habitude, la narration de Šaraf ad-Dīn il rend mécaniquement منگول par Manglis<sup>(2)</sup>. Cette dernière localité est située sur Alget, à 30 kilomètres à l'ouest de Tiflis, et ne s'accorde aucunement avec la description de Šaraf ad-Dīn (voir plus bas). Brosset connaissait trop bien les choses géorgiennes pour ne pas avoir compris<sup>(3)</sup> que « Mancoul » devait se trouver « au voisinage de Kars, et non à Manglis », mais il n'a pas approfondi la question.

(1) Que l'éditeur indien a défiguré en ميڭكول.

(2) Par deux fois, Brosset, *op. laud.*, I/1, p. 669 = *Zafer-nāma*, II, 249-250, et Brosset, *ibid.*, p. 670 = *Zafer-nāma*, II, 356.

(3) Brosset, I/2, 395, n. 1; toutefois après des hésitations, I/1, p. 669, n. 1 et 4, et I/2, p. 393, n. 7.

La situation de Min-göl (منكول) est déterminée par les données suivantes :

a. Au printemps de 796/1394, Timūr, venant du côté d'Ala-tag, arriva à Kars, d'où il passa à Min-göl (دشت مينك كول). Il quitta cette localité en automne (le 18 di-'l-ka'da 796/14 septembre 1394) et descendit sur le « col » (عقبه). Ensuite il s'engagea dans la région montagneuse de la Géorgie (کوهستان گرجستان), fit une expédition contre les « Boucliers Noirs » (*kara-kalkanklik*) et finalement descendit de la montagne pour arriver à Tiflis, *Zafar-nāma*, I, 720, 725, 730 <sup>(1)</sup>.

b. En 802/1399, Timūr, après avoir dévasté les domaines de l'atābeg Ivané (la région Samtshe) et fait une expédition contre les « Boucliers Noirs », arriva aux campements d'été de Min-göl, d'où il conduisit l'armée contre Farasgird (P'anas-k'ert). Ensuite pour laisser paître les chevaux, les troupes passèrent encore deux mois dans cette prairie herbeuse (حلب زار) de Ming-göl. De là elles partirent vers Sivas par la route d'Avnik (forteresse à l'est d'Erzeroum et au sud-ouest de Hasan-kal'a), *Zafar-nāma*, II, 250, 252, 263.

c. En 803 (été de 1401), Giorgi VII, évidemment effrayé par la chute d'Alinjak, fit sa soumission aux fils de Timūr, qui d'Avnik se dirigeaient vers la Géorgie. Les princes s'arrêtèrent alors dans la région de Min-göl et de ses environs, « qui était un *yaylak* commode », *Zafar-nāma*, II, 356.

<sup>(1)</sup> Les données du *Zafar-nāma* sont insuffisantes. Le « col » (سر عقبه) en question doit être celui qui se trouve entre Kola et Ardahan. Comme l'historien ne dit rien sur le passage du Kour, Timūr dut faire un demi-cercle en suivant la rive gauche de ce fleuve pour arriver dans les cantons géorgiens situés au sud de la grande chaîne du Caucase. Selon Brosset, I/2, p. 388, n. 4, le terme « Boucliers noirs » désigne chez les musulmans les montagnards géorgiens habitant près des cols de la grande chaîne, les Pšavs, les Hovsurs et les Gudaməşars. Ces peuplades ont en effet gardé jusqu'au xix<sup>e</sup> siècle leurs anciennes armures (cottes de mailles, boucliers, etc.).

a. En 804 (été de 1402), Timūr arriva du Kara-bāg à Min-göl par Barda', Ganja, Šamkūr et les rives de la rivière Tbd̄r (Debeda) sur la frontière de la Géorgie <sup>(1)</sup>. De Min-göl une expédition fut envoyée contre la forteresse de Tortum qui se trouvait « dans ces parages-là » (در ان نواحی). Ensuite, par Avnik, Timūr marcha contre le Sultān Bāyezid, *Zafar-nāma*, II, 398-401.

a. En 805, rentrant de la campagne de l'Asie Mineure et ayant décidé d'attaquer Giorgi VII, Timūr se dirigea d'Erzeroum à Min-göl, où l'atābeg de Samtshe Ivané et le frère de Giorgi VII, Constantin (کوستندیل) vinrent le saluer. Après cela Timur assiégea la forteresse de Kūrtin (کورتنی) qui se trouvait « au milieu du pays ». Parlant de cette dernière campagne, Šaraf ad-Dīn dit clairement que Timūr était parti « des environs de Kars », *ibid.*, II, 512, 514, 521.

Pour résumer : Min-göl était une localité riche en pâturages et particulièrement favorable aux campements d'été; elle était située dans le voisinage de Kars, mais à l'écart de la route qui y conduit directement, et plus près de la Géorgie; elle se trouvait entre le centre des possessions de l'atābek de Samtshe <sup>(2)</sup> et les affluents gauches du Ćoroh, sur lesquels sont situés P'anask'ert et Tortom. Par ces vallées, elle était en communication directe avec Erzeroum.

Or, immédiatement au nord-ouest de Kars est situé un petit canton verdoyant, où se rejoignent les nombreuses sources du Kour, disposées en éventail. En géorgien il s'appelle Kola

(1) Probablement la rivière Debeda, qui traverse la vallée de Bortala pour se jeter dans le Ktsia (Hram), avant son confluent avec le Kour. Le bassin de Debeda est en effet considéré par Valjušt comme la limite de la Géorgie.

(2) Le Samtshe est la Géorgie du sud-ouest, comprenant les sources du Kour et le bassin du Ćoroh. Son chef-lieu est Ahal-tsihe « la Forteresse Nouvelle », que les musulmans appellent Abjakh.

(گول), en arménien Kol, et son nom est d'habitude mentionné conjointement avec celui d'Artan (Ardahan) situé plus en aval, c'est-à-dire vers le nord<sup>(1)</sup>. Sa situation correspond exactement aux particularités de Min-göl. Immédiatement au sud-ouest se trouve le canton d'Olti<sup>(2)</sup>, par lequel passent les communications de Kola avec Erzeroum, en laissant Kars vers l'est. A l'ouest Kola touche à la région montagneuse des affluents droits du Çoroh. Au nord, au delà d'Ardahan, la vallée du Kour conduit au centre de Samtshe, d'où l'atābek Ivané était venu auprès de Timūr. Encore plus au nord et vers l'est passent les voies d'approche de la Géorgie Orientale (K'art'lie) avec sa capitale Tiflis.

En turk, Kola porte le nom de Göle<sup>(3)</sup>. Cette adaptation phonétique a dû en préparer la transformation ultérieure en Min-göl « Mille Lacs », d'autant plus que dans le voisinage immédiat de Kola (vers le nord-est dans la direction d'Aḥalk'alak'i) s'étend la région des lacs de montagne. Elle devait également être comprise dans le terme de Min-göl : Šaraf ad-Din parle de Min-göl « et de ses environs ».

Il nous reste à dire quelques mots de l'évolution مینک گول > منکول. Lorsque pour la première fois les gens de Timūr conquirent ces parages, ils durent, par étymologie populaire, en entendre le nom sous une forme familière aux originaires de l'Asie Centrale, \*ming-kül<sup>(4)</sup>. Plus tard il s'est adapté à la prononciation locale (turkmène?) : Min-göl, et les deux termes

<sup>(1)</sup> Vaguet, *Geographie*, p. 107.

<sup>(2)</sup> Où est situé P'anask'ert et par où on va à Tortom.

<sup>(3)</sup> Voir la carte dans LUCE, *Armenia*, et le *Türkiye jümhuriyeti devlet sal-namesi*, 1925-1926, p. 330 : le kaza de Göle du vilāyet Ardahan (cette région se trouve parmi les cessions faites à la Turquie par l'U. R. S. S. en vertu du traité du 6 mars 1921).

<sup>(4)</sup> Birūnī, *الآثار الباقية*, p. 264, parle d'un lac situé sur une montagne au pays des Güz Kimāk qu'il appelle منکول. MARQUART, *Über d. Volkstum d. Komnenen*, p. 101, l'interprète par min köl (tag).



furent probablement sentis comme un seul complexe rendu par la graphie منکول<sup>(1)</sup>.

# VI. BĀB AL-LĀL = LALVAR.

Dans son ingénieuse étude *Das Itinerar von Artaxata nach Armastica auf der römischen Weltkarte*<sup>(2)</sup>, Markwart a montré que l'itinéraire de la *Tabula Peutingeriana* (segm. XI, 5) partant d'Artasat et orienté vers l'Est, doit être en réalité orienté vers le Nord pour aboutir à Armastica, qu'il faut identifier à Armazis-tsihe, près de Mtshet (en amont de Tiflis).

De cette réadaptation de l'itinéraire résultent des conséquences intéressantes pour la localisation des points intermédiaires, et Markwart prouve que Lalla mentionné dans la *Tabula* doit correspondre à Lal que la *Chronique géorgienne*, Brosset, I/1, p. 228, cite sur la route de l'empereur Héraclius au sud de Berduj, à la passe (« porte ») de Lāl (*bāb al-Lāl*), que Balāduri, p. 203, mentionne parmi les conquêtes de Habib b. Maslama, et à la ville A'al (?) Lāl, qui, d'après Ibn al-Aṭir, X, 25-8, fut prise par Malik-šāh en 456/1064.

Avec sa perspicacité habituelle, Markwart cherche l'endroit de ce nom en Somhétie (« l'Arménie géorgienne »), sur la rivière de Berduj ou Debeda (actuellement Borčala), mais s'étonne de ne pas le trouver dans la *Géographie* de Vahūšt.

Or justement Vahūšt, trad. Brosset, p. 143, 146, mentionne en Somhétie la montagne de Lelvar. Sur la carte russe, elle figure comme Lalvar. Cette importante montagne, qui

(1) Cette graphie peut être contaminée par le nom de la localité منکول, que Ibn Isfandiyār nomme au Māzandarān, trad. E. G. Browne, p. 255. Ni l'époque, ni la région ne permettent de voir dans ce \*Mankūl(?) un nom turk.

(2) *Handes Amsorya*, 1927, n° 11, col. 825-866, et comme tirage à part.

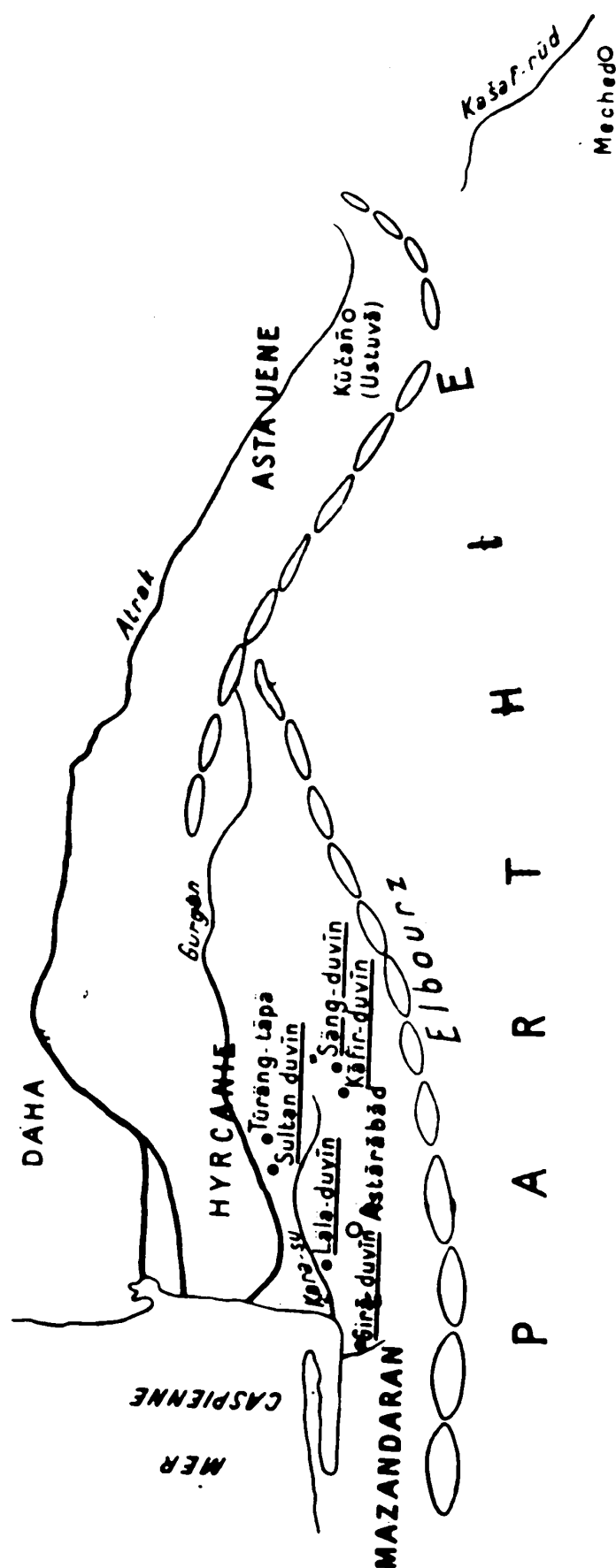
domine toute la localité (altitude 8.386 pieds, soit 2.642 mètres), s'élève sur la rive gauche de Debeda, en face du célèbre monastère de Sanabin. Sur le versant sud-est du Lalvar se trouvent les mines de cuivre d'Allaverdi. En toute probabilité, Allaverdi (\*Allāh-verdi, en turk « Dieu a donné ») n'est qu'une étymologie populaire et tardive de Lalvar.

C'est ici qu'il faut chercher l'ancien Lalla/Lāl. L'importance économique et militaire de cet endroit est évidente. La vallée de Debeda, rétrécie par le Lalvar, fait un coude, et ce passage a bien pu valoir au défilé le nom arabe de « porte de Lal »<sup>(1)</sup>.

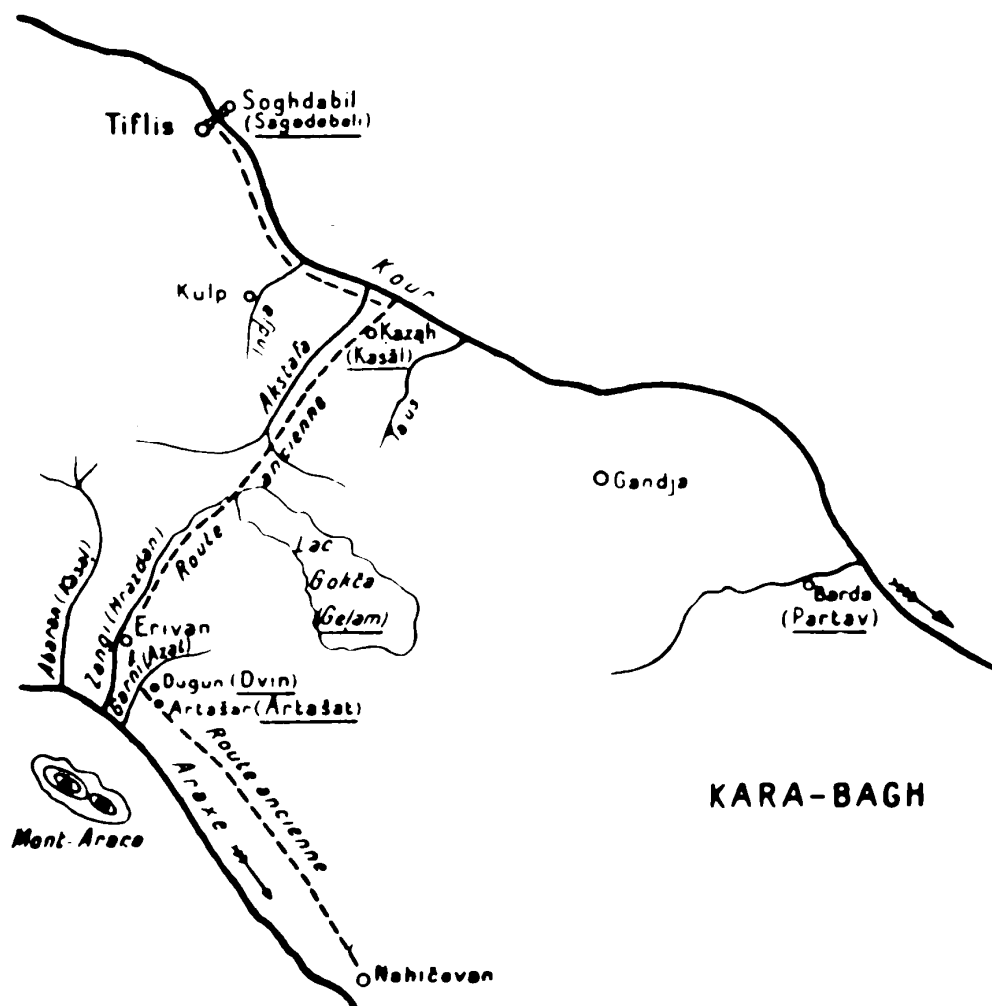
#### ADDENDA À LA PAGE 94.

Alinjak est fréquemment mentionné dans l'inédite *Ta'rih al-Turkmīniya* de 'Ibād-allāh b. 'Abd-allah Nisāpūri, dont l'exemplaire unique appartient à l'India Office (cat. Ethé, n° 573). Après la prise d'Alinjak, Timur l'aurait fortifié pendant sept ans. La forteresse fut confiée à Kaḍī 'Imād al-dīn Ahmad de Nahīcevan. Les Turcomans que ce dernier avait admis dans la forteresse se révoltèrent contre lui et ses « Tajiks » et Alinjak tomba entre les mains d'Iskandar, fils de Kara-Yūsuf, le Kara-Köyunlu (fol. 153-159).

<sup>(1)</sup> Le mystérieux A'āl Lāl d'Ibn al-Aṭīr peut trouver une explication dans le nom de la montagne Agal (Aḡal?), que la carte russe place à une quinzaine de kilomètres au sud du Lalvar. En caractères arabes, un seul point distingue اعال de اعال Agāl.

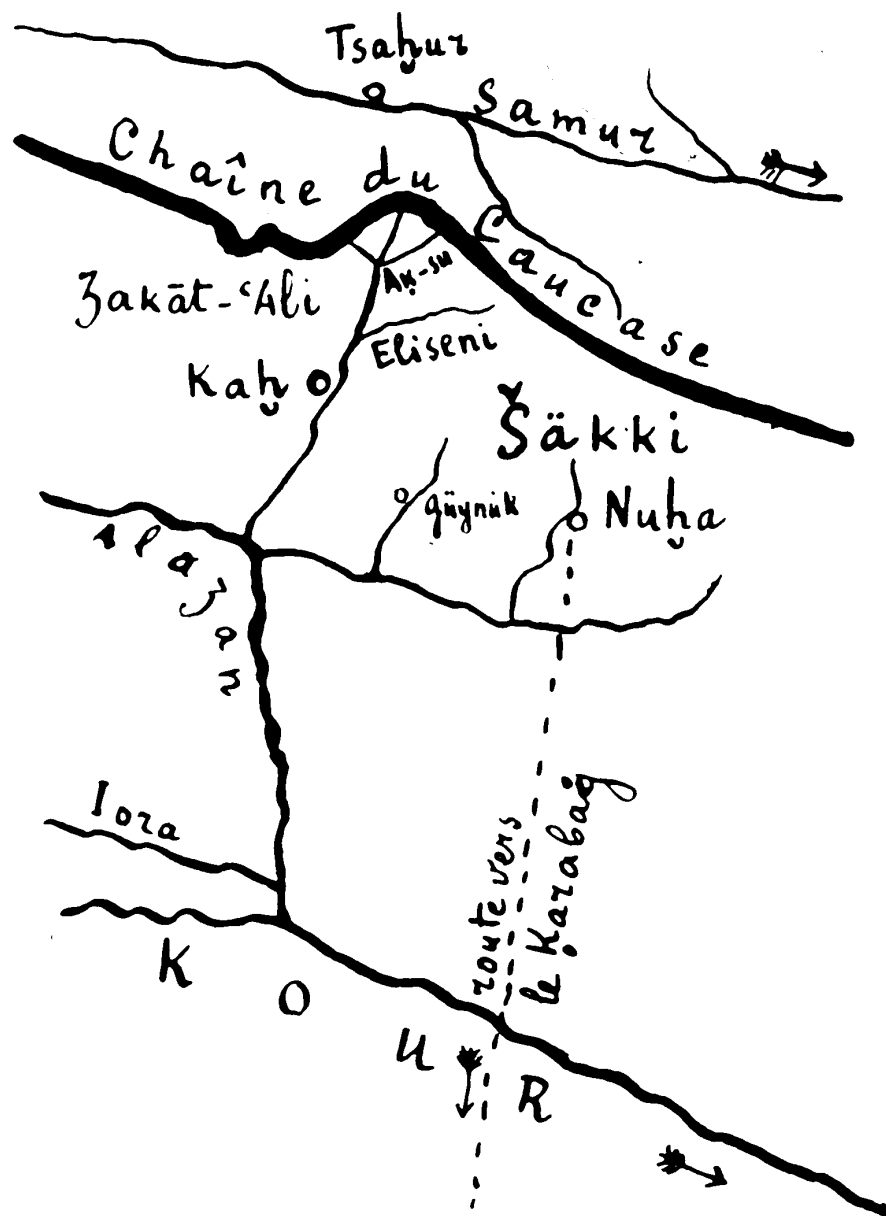


Carte n° 1.



KARA-BAGH

Carte n° 2.



Carte n° 3.

# SOCIÉTÉ DES ÉTUDES IRANIENNES

## ET DE L'ART PERSAN

---

### La domination des Dailamites

par V. MINORSKY

La région du Dailam\* est peut-être moins inconnue que ses habitants; et encore Dailam fait-il tout d'abord penser au petit canton Dailamān, situé dans le Gīlān au sud de la ville de Lāhīdjān, bien que ce canton (1) ne soit qu'un restant, ou même une colonie, de l'ancien Dailam. Quant aux Dailamites, leur rôle dans l'histoire de la Perse commence à se dessiner avec clarté seulement depuis très peu de temps, grâce surtout à la publication de l'ouvrage d'Ibn Miskawaih, l'historien de la dynastie Būyide (2).

La renaissance persane, qui sous l'égide des Samanides (875-999) s'était opérée à l'extrême est de la Perse, a éclipsé pour les générations postérieures la vie de la Perse occidentale. On ne pouvait certainement pas ignorer l'importance de la dynastie Būyide, mais ses liens avec l'élément dailamite dont elle était sortie et qui constituait son appui principal, n'ont pas été suffisamment mis en évidence.

Or cette tribu iranienne qui, entre 928 et 1055, exerça son influence sur la vaste aire s'étendant de l'Océan Indien jusqu'aux confins de la Syrie, mérite pleinement notre attention. En partant de cette base ethnique, nous chercherons surtout à montrer que pendant plus de cent ans les Dailamites étaient les porte-étendards de l'iranisme dans toute la partie de l'Iran qui est située à l'ouest du grand désert central.

\* *Dailam* n'est que la transcription arabe de ce nom, dont la prononciation véritable était probablement *Dēlam*, et même *Dēlim*.

## I.

Tout d'abord parlons du pays des Dailamites. Au x<sup>e</sup> siècle, alors que le pouvoir des Būyides était à son apogée, le terme Dailam avait désigné toutes les provinces de la côte méridionale de la Caspienne ; et le grand géographe Muqaddasi (985 après J.-C.), dans son ardeur de réformer la terminologie géographique, comprend, sous la rubrique « Dailam », la totalité des territoires autour de la Caspienne (3). Toutefois le Dailam proprement dit (4), ce véritable berceau des Dailamites, était une région montagneuse déterminée qui formait une sorte d'antichambre du Gīlān.

Tous ceux qui de Téhéran sont allés vers la Caspienne ont dû suivre la grande trouée par laquelle le Sefid-rūd, né au sud de la grande muraille de l'Elborz, s'échappe vers la mer. Après Qazvīn la route gravit l'obstacle secondaire qui sépare le plateau iranien du bassin du Sefid-rūd et ensuite descend vers le pittoresque pont de Mendjil, bâti en aval de la jonction ~~confluent~~ du Sefid-rūd avec son affluent de droite le Chāh-rūd, et en amont du défilé par lequel leurs eaux réunies franchissent la chaîne principale. C'est dans l'avant-montagne de l'Elborz, située au sud de la chaîne principale mais arrosée par les eaux qui ensuite trouvent une issue vers le nord, que se trouvait une partie des terres Dailamites. Sur le versant nord de l'Elborz les mêmes tribus occupaient les cantons montagneux entre le Sefid-rūd et la rive gauche de la rivière Tchālūs qui se jette dans la mer à environ 180 km. à l'est de l'embouchure du Sefid-rūd (5).

Par contre la partie plate et marécageuse du littoral était occupée par les Gil-s dont le nom explique celui de la province de Gīlān.

Au point de vue du climat le pays élevé de Dailam avait tous les avantages, tant sur le Gīlān, avec ses marais et ses paludismes, que sur le plateau central, avec sa grande sécheresse énervante. Ce pays « ni trop grand, ni trop beau » (Muqaddasi), avait produit une race forte et très nombreuse, renommée pour son courage extraordinaire (*djālādātun 'adjībatun*) et sa grande endurance, et dont les représentants avaient une belle prestance et de belles barbes. Une source arabe



1. — HAUTE VALLÉE DE KALĀR-DACHT



2. — VALLÉE DU CHĀH-RŪD

*Photographies de Mlle F. Stark.*



appelle les Dailamites *achqar* « au teint vermeil » (6). Les cheveux longs et en désordre des Dailamites ont de tout temps fait les frais des métaphores des poètes. Ces derniers mentionnent également une calote dailamite de couleur noire (7).

## 2.

Il est malaisé de se prononcer sur les origines lointaines de ces montagnards. On sait que, dans les provinces Caspiennes, il existait dans l'antiquité des peuples probablement non-iraniens qui avaient disparu depuis (les Tapur-s, les Amard-s, etc.). Peut-être les Dailamites étaient-ils apparentés ou issus d'un de ces peuples. Le géographe Istakhri, qui écrivait en 951, constate tout d'abord que la langue des Dailamites est différente de l'arabe, du persan et de l'arranien, et ensuite que dans leur montagne il y a une tribu qui parle une langue différente même de celles des Dailamites et des Gil-s (8). La survivance sporadique des anciennes langues était possible ; mais il est sûr qu'à l'époque musulmane la plupart des Dailamites étaient déjà iranisés, à en juger par leurs noms propres que nous connaissons : Mākird, Mākān, Māfannah, Vehsūdān, Marddūst, Mardāvīdj (« qui s'attaque aux hommes »), Lachkarsitān, Lachkarvarz, Vandādkhurchīd, Vuchmgīr (« preneur de cailles »), Gōrgīr (« preneur d'onagres »), Asfār (« cavalier »), Chīrasfār, Bilasuvār (« grand écuyer »), Chīrzīl « cœur de lion », (*zīl* = *dīl* en persan) etc. La toponymie du pays dailamite (*Purdasar* « tête de pont », où *purd* = *pul* en persan) corrobore l'impression que la langue des Dailamites à l'époque arabe était un dialecte iranien du nord assez distinct du persan (*fārsī*), lequel est un dialecte du sud et tout d'abord de la province de Fārs (9). Les Persans devaient éprouver quelque difficulté à comprendre ce patois, comme actuellement il leur est malaisé de comprendre le kurde et même le *gilaki*.

## 3.

Déjà Polybe au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère parle du peuple Delymaïoi et le géographe Ptolémée au II<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C. connaît leur pays Delymaïs.

Leur pays paraît n'avoir jamais été conquis, du moins d'une façon solide, par les anciens rois de Perse : Achéménides, Parthes et Sāsānides (10). Mais les Dailamites s'engageaient volontiers comme mercenaires et c'est ainsi que les Byzantins, qui, depuis le IV<sup>e</sup> jusqu'au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle, étaient constamment en guerre avec les Persans, mentionnent les contingents dailamites dans les troupes persanes (11). Les Dailamites organisaient aussi pour leur propre compte des expéditions lointaines ; et le géographe Yāqūt (II, 711) signale l'existence au Chāhrazūr d'un endroit Dāilamistān, lequel sous les anciens rois de Perse aurait servi aux Dailamites de point d'appui lorsqu'ils descendaient vers la plaine mésopotamienne, et de dépôt du butin qu'ils rapportaient de leurs razzias (12).

Les Dailamites avaient certainement des princes, car au moment de la conquête musulmane leur chef Mūtā (ou Mūrthā) organisa la résistance aux Arabes sur la rivière Vādj-rūd (entre Hamadān et Qazvīn), et il devait avoir un rang élevé car les autres chefs des provinces caspiennes lui étaient surordonnés.

Les Dailamites avaient une organisation de clans qui s'appuyait sur l'autorité des chefs de famille. Du moins le grand savant al-Bīrūnī reproche à l'Alide Nāzīr al-Utrūch (c'est-à-dire Hasan al-Utrūch, vers 914) d'avoir décomposé l'ancienne organisation du Dailam qui datait du roi légendaire Farīdūn et dont l'élément essentiel était les katkhudā (« maître de la maison », *pater familias*) : ceux-ci auraient été remplacés par un système de collaboration des rebelles (brigands) avec le peuple (13).

La religion des Dailamites était d'un caractère assez vague. Le zoroastrisme et probablement le christianisme pénétraient chez eux, mais Mas'ūdī déclare formellement qu'au Dailam il y avait des gens qui vivaient dans l'ignorance de toute religion établie (14). Les auteurs musulmans enregistrent parmi les Dailamites de nombreux usages et coutumes qui les frappaient beaucoup. D'après Muqaddasi ils pratiquaient une stricte endogamie, c'est-à-dire, se mariaient toujours dans leur tribu ; et un jour l'auteur vit de ses propres yeux un homme qui un glaive à la main poursuivait une femme pour la punir d'avoir épousé un étranger. En ceci les Dailamites

se distinguaient de leurs voisins du Gīlān chez qui les mœurs étaient assez relâchées. Du reste les femmes dailamites étaient les égales des hommes et au même titre participaient aux affaires (15). Les jours de marché les Dailamites s'exerçaient à la lutte devant tous les habitants du village. Tous les auteurs parlent des lamentations auxquelles les Dailamites se livraient sur leurs morts. Nous reviendrons encore sur ce point important (16).

## 4.

Encore au temps des Sasanides Qazvīn était le grand rempart contre les Dailamites ; la forteresse Tchālūs, à l'est du Dailam, avait aussi une importance considérable. Les musulmans n'eurent qu'à fortifier ces points dirigés contre la peuplade turbulente. Mais « dans la montagne de la ville de Tchālūs et au delà d'elle vivait la nation dailamite qui n'avait jamais manifesté d'obéissance » (17).

Les nombreuses expéditions contre le Dailam n'obtinrent pas de résultats durables. Pourtant la montagne des Dailamites n'était pas totalement inaccessible au point de vue géographique. On raconte que le célèbre Hadjdjādj avait fait préparer une carte du Dailam et la montra au chefs dailamites pour leur prouver l'inutilité de la résistance, une fois que les secrets de leur pays étaient connus. Mais les Dailamites regardèrent la carte avec indifférence : « O amīr », dirent-ils, « la carte est incomplète, on n'y voit pas les cavaliers qui gardent la montagne » (18).

L'historien contemporain Seyyid Ahmad Kasrawī, non sans quelque exagération du reste, remarque à propos des Dailamites : « Les musulmans avaient déjà pénétré jusqu'à la Loire en France, tandis que cette poignée d'hommes résistait encore » (19).

Toutefois l'Islam s'infiltra au Dailam d'une manière paisible. Par crainte de persécutions des Abbāsides certains descendants d'Ali cherchèrent refuge au Dailam (175/791) où ils furent reçus comme des alliés éventuels contre les califes de Bagdad.

A partir de 250/864 ces Imams jouèrent un rôle important, faisant du Dailam un nouveau centre de résistance, également

hostile à Baghdad et aux dynasties du Khorasan qui, s'étant émancipées de Baghdad, cherchaient à étendre leur domination dans les provinces caspiennes.

## 5.

Pour mieux comprendre le rôle des Dailamites dans l'histoire de la Perse il nous faudra rappeler brièvement les destinées de l'iranisme depuis le VII<sup>e</sup> siècle de notre ère.

Les derniers succès iraniens dataient d'environ 614, lorsque les armées des Sasanides, déjà en possession du Yemen, s'étaient avancées jusqu'à Jérusalem, l'Egypte et Constantinople.

Vers 628, par un coup de théâtre, tous ces succès furent neutralisés par le jeune et vaillant empereur de Byzance, Héraclius, qui occupa l'Azarbaïdjan et brûla le grand temple du feu de Ganzak (20). Le roi Khosrou II, déposé par son fils Chiroyé, fut assassiné dans sa prison. Les fleuves mésopotamiens avaient débordé cette année-là ; et l'inondation fut suivie d'une terrible épidémie de peste à laquelle succomba Chiroyé. En quatre ans, douze personnes se succédèrent sur le trône et lorsque finalement le juvénile Yazdagird prit le pouvoir, il était trop tard, car les Arabes — jouant le rôle du troisième larron — étaient aux portes de la Perse. Battu dans toutes les batailles, Yazdagird s'enfuit à Merv et y périt en 651, tandis que son fils Firūz chercha asile à la cour de Chine.

Pour environ deux siècles, le nom de la Perse allait se fondre dans celui du califat et la renaissance persane fut lente et pénible.

Les deux systèmes d'administration — celui des Califes Omayyades et celui des 'Abbāsides — étaient très différents.

Sous les Omayyades (660-750) l'état était purement arabe et les indigènes n'existaient que pour être gouvernés par les Arabes.

Sous les 'Abbasides, qui eux-mêmes étaient sortis du Khorasan, l'iranisme pénètre dans toutes les administrations et dans tous les domaines de la vie culturelle bien que l'idée arabe trouve des défenseurs très convaincus parmi les Persans

eux-mêmes. Ces derniers sont partout les bienvenus, naturellement à condition qu'ils consentent à marcher dans la voie impériale du califat et même à se servir de l'arabe comme langue officielle et littéraire !

Toutefois, même pour un tel système mitigé, les territoires soumis aux califes étaient trop grands : tandis qu'à l'ouest toute l'Afrique septentrionale s'émancipe de Bagdad, à l'extrême est trois dynasties d'anciens gouverneurs du calife acquièrent successivement l'autonomie :

les Tāhirides (821-873) ;

les Saffārides (867-903) ;

les Sāmānides (875-999).

Les Samanides étaient déjà de véritables souverains persans et on connaît les splendeurs de leur cour à Bokhārā et leur rôle dans le développement de la littérature persane.

Le morcellement du califat ne s'était pas arrêté au Khorasan. Plus à l'ouest des Sāmānides se dressa une deuxième zone de territoires autonomes et c'est ici que dominèrent les Dailamites qui s'étaient emparés des territoires entre les Sāmānides et le califat.

## 6.

A la lumière de cette digression nous sommes maintenant à même d'apprécier l'avènement des Dailamites à sa juste valeur.

Nous les avons laissés (p. 5), au moment où les Alides chassés par les 'Abbāsides s'étaient établis parmi eux. Graduellement la propagande alide obtint ce que les armes n'avaient pas réussi à imposer — la conversion de la majorité des Dailamites à l'Islam sous sa forme chi'ite-zaidite (21). A leur tour les imāms se dailamisèrent et embrassèrent la cause des populations locales. Tant que les Dailamites résistaient aux tentatives de conversion, leur pays était considéré comme un « territoire de guerre » (*dār al-harb*), ce qui permettait aux musulmans d'organiser la chasse aux esclaves. L'Alide Hasan ibn Alī al-Utrūch (302/914) mit fin à ces pratiques et fit détruire la forteresse de Tchālūs dirigée contre le Dailam.

Pour protéger les droits des Dailamites sur les pâturages communaux que les gouverneurs Tāhirides voulaient s'approprier, les Alides s'allièrent d'abord à la dynastie des princes locaux (de la dynastie **Djustānide**). De Dailam les imāms conduisent leurs ouailles à travers toutes les provinces caspiennes. Ainsi ils habituent les Dailamites à l'idée d'expansion et les rendent conscients de leur force. Plus tard, vers 302/914 les Alides, donnant à leur mouvement un caractère démocratique, ameutent la population contre les princes Djustānides et prennent eux-mêmes le pouvoir. D'après Tabari (III, 2292) les hommes n'avaient jamais vu un gouvernement plus juste que celui de Hasan al-Utrūch.

Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawi a pu tracer l'existence de six princes de la maison djustānide entre les années 804 et 927 (22). Leur centre était à Rūdbār, sur le Sefid-rūd, en aval de Mendjil, et on se demande si la forteresse dont on voit encore les ruines au milieu du fleuve n'a pas quelque rapport avec les Djustānides (23). Des rejetons obscurs de la famille purent exercer un pouvoir éphémère même jusqu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, mais l'avenir appartenait aux éléments nouveaux.

## 7.

Encore au temps où régnaient les Djustānides, la famille des **Kangari** (Musāfirides) qui leur était apparentée par mariage, apparut à Chamirān sur le Sefid-rūd, en amont de Mendjil, pour rayonner de là vers l'Azerbaïdjan et même en Transcaucasie (24).

Mais l'effort principal des Dailamites fut dirigé vers le sud, vers la grande et célèbre ville de Rey (Rhages) dont les ruines, comme on sait, sont situées à 7-8 km. au sud de Téhéran.

Une série d'anciens chefs aguerris au service des Alides s'avance maintenant au large pour commencer la conquête de la Perse occidentale et méridionale.

Tout d'abord, vers 308(920) parut le Dailamite **Leili ibn Nu'mān** (25), qui s'empara de Nichāpūr en Khorasan mais l'année suivante les Samanides envoyèrent sa tête à Baghdad.

Vint ensuite le courageux général des Alides **Mākān ibn**

**Kāki** (26) qui prit Rey mais dut la quitter pour passer au service des Samanides et finalement tomber dans une révolte contre ses nouveaux maîtres (en 329/941).

Il fut remplacé à Rey par le farouche **Asfār ibn Chirōyé**, qui était natif de Lāridjān et appartenait au clan Vardād-āwandan (27). Mais bientôt il fut mis à mort par son général Mardāvīdj ibn Ziyār.

Ce dernier est le fondateur de l'importante dynastie des **Ziyārides** qui avait débuté à Rey, à Isfahān et à Ahwāz pour aller se cantonner finalement dans la région de Gurgān, près d'Astarābād, où de nos jours on voit la tour funéraire du Ziyāride Qābūs. Les Ziyārides, issus du clan Arghich, étaient originaires de Gīlān et par conséquent n'étaient Dailamites qu'au sens large de ce mot, car les Gīl étaient les cousins des Dailamites (28), et de plus les Ziyārides étaient entourés de Dailamites. La dynastie des Ziyārides (928/1042) fut la première dynastie iranienne qui d'une façon stable s'établit à l'ouest des Samanides.

La succession des chefs aux noms bizarres qui apparaissent sur la scène après 920 est intéressante comme un indice de la force qui bouillonnait dans le réservoir trop étroit de Dailam et qui devait finalement aboutir à l'avènement de la plus importante des dynasties dailamites, celle des Būyides.

## 8.

Ses fondateurs étaient les trois frères : 'Alī (le futur 'Imād al-daula), Hasan (Rokn al-daula) et Ahmad (Mo'izz al-daula). Leur père Būya (d'où leur nom patronymique), appartenait au clan Chirzil-āvand et résidait dans le village Kīyākālīch au Dailam (29). Plus tard on a inventé pour lui une généalogie fictive remontant au roi sasanide Bahrām Gōr (30). Les trois frères étaient de véritables condottieri et avaient débuté au service de Mākān. Lorsque ce dernier, passé au service des Samanides, fut envoyé comme gouverneur à Kirmān, les trois frères, très candidement, lui demandèrent l'autorisation de le quitter en faisant valoir un argument assez spécieux : « Il est mieux pour toi, disaient-ils, que nous te quittions pour

alléger ton budget et pour faire tomber cette charge sur le dos de quelqu'un d'autre » (31). Ce « quelqu'un d'autre », c'était justement les Ziyārides, rivaux plus fortunés de leur ancien maître.

Bientôt l'aîné des trois frères 'Alī se fit apprécier par le Ziyāride Mardāvidj qui lui donna le petit gouvernorat de Karadj (31a), d'où, d'une façon inattendue pour lui-même, il s'empara d'Isfahan après en avoir battu le gouverneur. Ce dernier avait 4.000 hommes, tandis que 'Alī ne disposait que de 700, mais les mercenaires du gouverneur étaient les Dailamites, compatriotes de 'Alī.

Mardāvidj courroucé envoya contre Isfahan son frère Vuchmgīr. 'Alī se retira vers l'ouest à Arradjān mais de nouveau eut la chance de remporter une grande victoire sur le gouverneur de la province de Fārs qui relevait encore directement du calife. En 322/934 le jeune Husain, qui n'avait que 19 ans, occupa Kirmān. De ce fait le calife ne gardait que la bordure occidentale de la Perse : au Khorasan dominaient les Samanides, à Rey et à Isfahan les Ziyārides, et le sud était entre les mains des frères Būyides.

Mais le règne de Mardāvidj ne dura pas longtemps. C'était un homme de caractère difficile et peu aimé de ses proches. La veille de son assassinat, il devait célébrer l'ancienne fête zoroastrienne Sadhak, qui pendant longtemps fut maintenue par les musulmans. La cérémonie consistait en un festin accompagné d'illumination et d'embrasement. On avait préparé de grands tas d'arbustes, rassemblé du naphte et des tubes pour le lancer, et pris deux mille corbeaux et milans qui devaient s'envoler avec de petites torches attachées à leurs serres. Mardāvidj voulait faire grand, mais lorsqu'il eut examiné ces préparatifs il fut pris de dégoût pour l'effet mesquin que ce spectacle produirait dans le cadre de la vaste plaine. Il s'enveloppa la tête de son burnous, se coucha sous sa tente et tourna le dos aux invités, qui devant un tel affront se retirèrent. Toujours de mauvaise humeur, Mardāvidj s'emporta contre ses palefreniers turks, leur fit attacher au dos les selles de leurs chevaux et les fit conduire à l'écurie en les tenant par le licou. Les Turks trouvèrent cette insulte intolérable et assassinèrent leur maître dans son bain (32).



C'était en 323/935. Le Būyide Hasan, gardé comme otage à la cour de Mardāvīdj, se rendit auprès de son frère 'Alī, et, tirant avantage de la disparition de leur rival, les Būyides s'empressèrent d'occuper Isfahān et Rey. En 329/940 Hasan poussa même une pointe vers le Tabaristān.

D'autre part l'expansion des Būyides vers l'ouest continuait. Dès 326/937 Ahmad était descendu dans le Khūzistān, qu'il garda malgré toutes les oppositions qu'il y rencontra. Les plans des Būyides devenaient de plus en plus ambitieux. Sous l'année 328/939 on apprend pour la première fois que l'aîné des trois frères se propose de marcher vers la Mésopotamie. Mais c'est le cadet Ahmad qui, par cinq fois (entre 942 et 945), envahit les possessions du calife, pénétrant chaque fois plus profondément en Mésopotamie (33).

## 9.

A cette époque le califat traversait une profonde crise. Il suffit d'énumérer le sort des califes depuis le commencement du iv<sup>e</sup>/x<sup>e</sup> siècles.

Le calife Muqtadir, qui régnait depuis 295/908, fut accusé d'avoir gaspillé pour ses menus plaisirs 70 millions de dinars d'or et déposé en 929 par l'eunuque Mu'nis. Remis sur le trône quelques jours après, il fut tué en 932 dans une révolte par les soldats berbers du même Mu'nis.

Son successeur Qāhir (932-4) était un homme dont la bigoterie couvrait de multiples faiblesses. Il fit exécuter deux dignitaires pour avoir acheté les musiciennes sur lesquelles il avait jeté son dévolu. Malgré les bienfaits que lui avait fait la mère de son prédécesseur, il la fit suspendre par un pied et la flagella de sa main pour qu'elle lui révélât les cachettes où étaient gardés les trésors. Deux ans après, Qāhir fut déposé par le soldats qui envahirent son palais, et ensuite aveuglé dans sa prison.

Sous son successeur Rādī (934-40), de toute la Perse seuls quelques cantons occidentaux restaient au califat. A Baghdad, depuis 324/396, le pouvoir avait passé aux mains d'Ibn al-Rā'iq qui ouvre la série des maires du palais parmi lesquels déjà

en 329/941 on voit un Dailamite Kūrankīdj (34). Les vézirs du calife ne sont plus que des exécuteurs de la volonté de ces militaires.

Le calife suivant, al-Muttaqī (940-4), avait dû quitter Baghdad par peur de son amīr al-omarā le Turk Tuzun, qui finalement s'empara de son maître et le fit aveugler, non sans s'être d'abord prosterné devant lui.

Son successeur Mustakfi (944-6) dut son élection à la recommandation d'une dame de Chīrāz appelée Husn et qui devint l'intendante du palais (*qahramāna*) (35).

# 10.

C'est alors que l'heure sonna pour les Būyides de s'établir à Baghdad. Lorsque la dynastie des astucieux Barīdīs disparut de la Basse Mésopotamie (Wāsīt-Basra) et que le brave soldat Tuzun mourut d'une attaque d'apoplexie, le Būyide Ahmad entra en pourparlers secrets avec Mustakfi et occupa Baghdad sans coup férir le 17 janvier 946.

Le calife vint à sa rencontre à la porte de Chammāsiya. Ahmad jura de ne pas persécuter les dignitaires de l'entourage de Mustakfi, lequel de sa part conféra à Ahmad le titre de Mo'izz al-daula et à ses frères ceux de 'Imād al-daula et Rokn al-daula.

Mais la situation se gâta rapidement. Tout d'abord l'intendante du palais donna un festin en l'honneur des chefs dailamites. Mo'izz y vit une intrigue destinée à détacher de lui ses généraux (36). D'autre part le calife mit aux arrêts le chef des Chiītes de Baghdad, oubliant que son nouveau maire du palais était leur coreligionnaire.

Le 29 janvier — douze jours après l'entrée à Baghdad — Mo'izz se rendit à l'audience au palais.

Le calife était assis sur le trône et les dignitaires avaient pris place autour de lui suivant leur rang. « Alors, dit l'historien Ibn-Miskawaih, Mo'izz al-daula entra et, ayant selon la coutume baisé la terre et la main de Mustakfi, resta debout en conversation avec le calife. Ensuite il s'assit sur une chaise et ordonna d'introduire les ambassadeurs arrivés de Khorasan...

A ce moment deux Dailamites s'avancèrent tendant leurs mains vers Mustakfi et parlant en persan. Le calife croyant qu'ils désiraient lui baiser la main l'étendit vers eux. Mais ils le saisirent par cette main, le précipitèrent par terre, placèrent son turban sur son dos et continuèrent à le traîner. Alors Mo'izz al-daula se leva. La confusion devint générale et des cris s'élevèrent. Les Dailamites arrêtrèrent l'intendante et sa fille. Le peuple courut vers la porte et il y eut grande bousculade et grand pillage. Les deux Dailamites traînèrent Mustakfi à pied au palais de Mo'izz où il fut enfermé. Le palais du calife fut pillé jusqu'à ce que rien n'y fut laissé. » (37). Mo'izz fit venir Abul Qāsim, fils de Muqtadir, et le même jour le proclama calife, sous le nom de Muṭī'lillāh, ce qui veut dire « Obéissant à Dieu » !

Tels étaient les événements dans toute leur brutalité. On ne saurait se méprendre sur leur portée : après trois siècles d'assujettissement politique les Iraniens allaient s'installer dans la capitale de la Mésopotamie. Un « commissaire » iranien contrôlait maintenant l'administration du chef suprême de l'état islamique et, fait plus étrange encore, un adhérent du chiisme, lequel allait un jour devenir la forme nationale persane de la religion arabe, commandait au centre même de l'orthodoxie musulmane.

Plusieurs fois les califes essayèrent de secouer la tutelle des Būyides mais en somme la lettre du calife al-Muṭī' datée de 361/971 peut donner une idée de la situation. Invité par le Būyide Bakhtiyār à contribuer au succès d'un projet de guerre sainte, le calife répondit : « Tout ce que j'ai est une pitance qui ne suffit même pas à mes besoins, tandis que le monde est entre vos mains et entre celles des gouverneurs des provinces. Ni la guerre sainte, ni le pèlerinage, ni aucune autre matière demandant l'attention du souverain n'est de mon ressort. Tout ce que tu peux me réclamer est mon nom prononcé dans la prière publique (*khuṭba*)... Et si tu veux que je renonce à ce privilège là aussi, je suis prêt à le faire et à t'abandonner tout à toi » (38).

## II.

Nous ne pouvons pas suivre en détail le sort de la dynastie būyide. La famille resta partagée en plusieurs fiefs avec les

grands centres à Chiraz, à Rey et à Baghdad, mais les premiers Būyides se distinguaient par le sens profond des liens de famille et ne manquaient pas de sentiments chevaleresques. Lorsque Mo'izz al-daula mourut à Baghdad son fils et successeur Bakhtiyār se montra prince adonné aux plaisirs et dépourvu de toute habileté. Mécontent de ses mercenaires turks Bakhtiyār s'avisa de les exterminer. Une terrible révolte éclata et le chef turk saisit le pouvoir à Baghdad. La domination des Būyides en Mésopotamie était ébranlée.

Le chef de la famille, Rokn al-daula, restait à Rey, tandis que son fils 'Aḍud al-daula gouvernait à Chiraz. D'accord avec son père, 'Aḍud al-daula partit en 364/974 pour Baghdad et y rétablit l'ordre ; mais en même temps, par une pression discrète, il fit abdiquer Bakhtiyār afin d'occuper sa place. 'Aḍud al-daula crut toutefois de son devoir d'obtenir de son père la sanction de cette combinaison. Des ambassadeurs habiles furent envoyés à Rey mais dès qu'ils eurent ouvert la bouche, le vieux Rokn sursauta, saisit une lance et en la brandissant chassa les émissaires. Il fit dire à 'Aḍud al-daula : « Ton expédition avait-elle pour but d'aider mon neveu ou de t'emparer de son royaume ? Plusieurs fois moi-même je suis allé secourir Ḥasan ibn Firūzān (de la famille de Mākān) qui n'était pas mon parent et chaque fois je lui ai abandonné ses possessions bien que j'eusse risqué ma vie en combattant ses puissants ennemis (le Ziyāride Vuchmgīr et les Samanides)... Je n'ai même pas accepté de me faire rembourser un seul dirham, et je n'ai fait tout cela que pour acquérir une bonne renommée et maintenir la chevalerie » (39).

La protestation fut si énergique que 'Aḍud al-daula se vit obligé de rétablir Bakhtiyār ; et ce fut seulement lorsque cet insensé lui-même marcha contre Chiraz que 'Aḍud réoccupa Baghdad en 367/977 et pacifia tout le pays jusqu'à Āmid (Diyar-Bekir).

'Aḍud al-daula était le plus célèbre des Būyides et régna 34 ans (au Fars 949-978 et à Baghdad 978-983). Sous lui les troupes buyides occupèrent le Balūṭchistan et le Makrān et même opérèrent avec succès dans le 'Omān, sur la côte septentrionale de l'Arabie (40). 'Aḍud était un grand constructeur. Son magnifique palais à Chiraz est décrit en détail par

Muqaddasi qui dit que les murs de ses 300 salles tantôt imitaient la porcelaine de Chine (*al-ghaḍār al-ṣīni*), tantôt étaient revêtus de marbre, tantôt étaient dorés et couverts de peintures. Dans la province de Fars 'Aḍud al-daula fit construire le fameux barrage appelé en son honneur Band-i Amīr et la ville Sūq al-Amīr ; en Mésopotamie, les sanctuaires de 'Ali et de Ḥosain, l'hôpital de Baghdad, le palais de Sarāy Sultān également à Baghdad ; en Arabie — le mur de Médine, etc. (41). 'Aḍud al-daula décéda en Mésopotamie et fut enterré à Nadjāf.

Les deux frères de 'Aḍud, Moayyid al-daula et Fakhr al-daula (dont le centre était Rey), étaient surtout connus à cause de leur vézir, le célèbre lettré Sāhib Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād, mort en 385/995.

Fakhr al-daula mourut (997) laissant un fils de neuf ans. Le gouvernement était exercé par sa mère, une personne très énergique et sage, connue sous le nom de Seyyida « Madame » (42). Lorsque son fils grandit et lui enleva le pouvoir, elle s'en alla auprès du prince kurde Badr ibn Hasanōyé et avec l'aide de ses troupes réoccupa Rey. De son temps la première dynastie turke apparut à l'horizon. Maḥmud de Ghazna somma la Seyyida de frapper la monnaie à son nom, sous peine d'une expédition, mais la Seyyida lui envoya le message suivant : « Le sort des armées est incertain. Si le sultan me bat, la victoire sur une veuve ne lui vaudra pas une grande gloire ; si au contraire, il essuie une défaite de ma part, la marque de cette flétrissure ne disparaîtra pas du front de sa fortune jusqu'au dernier jugement » (43). Et lorsque la Seyyida mourut (410/1019) ce fut la fin. Son fils, Madjd al-daula lui-même invoqua le secours de Maḥmūd : en 420 (1029) le grand conquérant se rendit à son appel mais seulement pour exiler la branche de Rey dans l'Inde et pour accaparer leurs possessions.

Dans le midi il convient de signaler le règne agité mais prolongé du fils de 'Aḍud al-daula, Bahā al-daula (989-1013), qui de Baghdad étendit son pouvoir au Fars et à Kerman. Grâce aux continuateurs d'Ibn Miskawaih, Rudhrāvari et Hilāl ibn Muhassin, on connaît en détail l'histoire de ce prince.

Les dernières années de la dynastie se passèrent en luttes entre les épigones, tandis qu'à l'est les Turks préparaient leur

équipée vers la Perse. Après les Samanides, balayés par les Turks Qara-khanides et Ghaznavides, les Būyides furent écrasés par les Seldjuks. En 447 (1055) Toghrul beg entra à Baghdad et, proclamé sultan, rétablit l'orthodoxie sunnite tandis que le dernier buyide (al-Malik al-Raḥīm) fut enfermé dans la forteresse de Ṭabarak, près de Rey, pour y terminer ses jours. En 448 (1056) son frère (al-Malik al-Manṣūr) perdit le Fārs qui lui fut enlevé par la dynastie rivale de Chabānkara. Les Seldjuks qui étaient arrivés peu de temps après traitèrent honorablement un autre frère d'al-Malik al Manṣūr et lui laissèrent l'usage des tambours et des étendards, mais lorsque ce dernier rejeton des Būyides mourut en 487 (1094) un gouverneur turk prit sa place.

Ainsi disparurent successivement les branches de Rey, de Baghdad et de Chiraz.

## 12.

Nous avons déjà parlé des précurseurs des Būyides mais la domination dailamite avait permis à d'autres éléments iraniens de s'organiser et de relever la tête.

La dynastie **Kākōyide** était directement liée aux Būyides. Le mot *kākōyé* veut dire « oncle maternel » et il est certain que c'étaient des cousins de la fameuse Seyyida, mère de Madjd al-daula, elle-même fille d'un roitelet de Tabaristān. On suit les destinées des Kākōyides (Hamadān, Isfahān) entre 398-519 (1007-1119), mais, à titre d'atabeks, leurs rejetons gardèrent Yazd jusqu'à 673 (1274).

Au nord-ouest dans l'Azerbaïdjan oriental et dans l'Arrān les Dailamites **Musāfirides** (voir plus haut) dominèrent environ jusqu'à l'an 1000. Les Kurdes **Chaddādides** régnèrent dans l'Arrān (capitale Gandja) entre 340 et 409 (951-1018), et leur branche occidentale posséda Ani de 451 à 559 (1065-1194). Plus au sud, à Tabrīz et ensuite à Marāgha, les Kurdes **Ravvādites** s'étaient maintenus à partir de 344(955) non seulement jusqu'à l'apparition des Seldjuks, mais même jusqu'à l'invasion mongole (vers 1221) (44).

Dans le Zagros, entre Kermanchāh et Qasr-i Chīrīn, les

Kurdes formèrent deux principautés, celle de Barzikān avec la dynastie des **Hasanvaihides** de 348 à 406 (959-1015) et celle des Chādandjān avec la dynastie des **Banū'Annāz** de 387 à 550 (997-1155) (45).

Même dans la région éloignée de Diyār-Bakr un chef de la tribu Humaidī, Bādh, réussit à créer vers 372 (982) une principauté, qui, sous ses parents **Marvānides**, joua un rôle important dans l'histoire des Kurdes occidentaux et ne disparut qu'en 489 (1096) sous la poussée seldjûke (46).

Ainsi partout, sur toute l'étendue de la Perse et sur sa périphérie, les éléments iraniens reprenaient courage, réapprenant à se gouverner eux-mêmes. Mais bientôt les invasions turkes et mongoles allaient liquider les principautés iraniennes et leur substituer une nouvelle organisation de fiefs militaires. Les Dailamites qui s'étaient expatriés de leur pays en restèrent séparés et finirent par s'amalgamer aux peuples qui les entouraient. Le Dailam proprement dit fut attiré dans l'orbite de la vie locale des provinces caspiennes et plus spécialement dans la sphère d'influence de la dynastie des princes (*kārkiyā*) du Gilān oriental (Biyāpīch) dont la résidence était à Lāhīdjān. Au x<sup>e</sup> siècle les *kārkiyā* réprimèrent sévèrement les Dailamites et en tuèrent un grand nombre (47).

Néanmoins on peut toujours espérer que les recherches révéleront un jour des flots dailamites tant dans leur ancienne métropole que dans ses colonies. Il suffit de mentionner ici l'ingénieuse théorie de F. C. Andreas sur l'origine dailamite des tribus zaza (Dimla), sur laquelle je compte revenir ailleurs.

### 13.

Il est sûr que les Dailamites étaient d'abord des gens très simples et mal dégrossis. Voici le récit d'un homme que le Ziyāride Mardāvidj, après ses succès, envoya au Dailam pour ramener son frère Vuchmgīr (« preneur de cailles ») : « Je le trouvai entouré de gens qui cultivaient le riz. Quand ils m'aperçurent, ils s'approchèrent de moi ; c'étaient des hommes sans chaussures, nus, revêtus de caleçons rapiécés de chiffons de diverses couleurs et de vêtements en loques. Je transmis à

Vuchmgīr le message de Mardāvīdj... Alors il fit le geste de cracher sur la barbe de son frère et s'écria : « Voilà qu'il a revêtu les vêtements noirs (des 'Abbāsides) »... J'ai constaté chez lui une telle ignorance que j'aurais honte d'en parler... (Mais) plus tard il devint l'un des rois connaissant le mieux l'administration de ses états et la politique à suivre à l'égard de ses sujets » (48).

En ce qui concerne Rokn al-daula, l'historien des Būyides explique ainsi les échecs des réformes de son grand ministre Ibn al-'Amīd : « Rokn al-daula, quoique supérieur aux princes dailamites contemporains, restait toujours au niveau du soldat pillard qui n'avait rien de plus pressé que le pillage, sans considérer les effets de sa conduite sur l'avenir de ses sujets. Pour rémunérer ses troupes, il leur permettait de commettre des actes dont personne autre ne pouvait les retenir et qui plus tard devenaient irréparables. Il était obligé d'agir ainsi parce qu'il n'était pas un prince royal et n'avait pas parmi les Dailamites l'autorité d'un autocrate » (49).

Mais le même historien cite de nombreux traits de noblesse des Būyides. On a vu les protestations de Rokn al-daula contre la mauvaise foi de son fils. Lorsque en 322/934, après la prise de Chiraz les officiers de 'Imād al-daula lui proposèrent de faire parader les prisonniers chargés de fers, leur chef répliqua : « Non, pardonnons plutôt aux ennemis que Dieu a mis en notre puissance. Remercions-le plutôt de cette bonne grâce » (50).

Il est clairement visible que les Dailamites s'inspiraient des gloires passées de l'Iran et voulaient se poser en continuateurs de l'ancienne tradition. Même le fantasque et barbare Mardāvīdj s'était fait fabriquer un trône d'or et avait commandé une mitre ornée de pierres précieuses « sur le modèle de celle de Chosroès Anūchīrvān ».

Déjà en 404 (1013) Bahā al-daula avait obtenu du calife le titre de *chāhinchāh* que personne n'avait porté depuis les Sasanides. Ses fils eux aussi briguerent la même distinction. Les juristes de Bagdad furent interrogés sur la légalité de cette distinction et finalement, malgré la divergence de leurs opinions, le nom de Djalāl al-daula fut prononcé, avec l'adjonction de ce titre à la prière publique en 421 (1030) (51).



Les Būyides étaient les protagonistes du chiïsme iranien. A cette époque même les voisins immédiats des Dailamites, les habitants du Gilān, étaient sunnites. Les Buyides avaient anticipé sur la politique des Safavides qui 500 ans plus tard érigèrent le chiïsme en religion nationale persane, lorsque cette forme de l'Islam s'adapta bien au caractère national persan, en approfondit et en souligna les tendances inhérentes.

La première mention des cérémonies publiques au mois de Moḥarram se rapporte justement au temps des Būyides. Voici ce que dit l'historien Ibn al-Athīr : « Le 10 Moḥarram de l'année 352 (963) Mo'izz al-daula donna l'ordre de fermer les boutiques à Baghdam et de tenir des lamentations publiques (*niyāḥa*). Des tentes (*qibāb*) couvertes de tissus grossiers devaient être érigées et les femmes ayant défait leurs cheveux, noirci leurs figures et déchiré leurs vêtements devaient parcourir Baghdam en poussant des cris et en se frappant la figure en signe de deuil pour Ḥasan fils de 'Alī. Les sunnites ne pouvaient pas empêcher ces manifestations car les chiïtes étaient nombreux et le pouvoir public (*sullān*) était avec eux » (52).

Comme les lamentations sur les morts étaient de tout temps une des coutumes connues des Dailamites (53), et que, d'autre part, des lamentations publiques décrites par Ibn al-Athīr sont évidemment sorties les *ta'ziya* persanes (deuil, processions de Muḥarram et représentations de mystères) nous pouvons considérer les Būyides comme les promoteurs de ces pratiques typiquement persanes.

Les Samanides éclipsaient les Būyides par la splendeur de leur cour et par le nombre des talents littéraires ; mais parmi les vézirs des Būyides il y avait aussi des hommes remarquables comme Abul Faḍl ibn al-'Amīd (vézir de Rokn al-daula) et Ṣāhib Ismā'il ibn 'Abbād (vézir de Moayyid al-daula et de Fakhr al-daula, lui-même natif de Talaqān). Avicenne, dont la philosophie ne le préservait pas de niaiseries politiques, fut fait vézir par Madjd al-daula, quoique bientôt il dût partager le sort de son maître, emprisonné par l'énergique Seyyida. On sait que Firdausi dédia son poème *Yūsuf et Zulaikhā* au Būyide Bahā al-daula (54). Les poètes persans des Būyides étaient : Ustād Manṭiqī, protégé

d'Ismā'il b. 'Abbād, Bundār qui écrivait en dialecte de Rey (997-1029) et Kiyā Ghaḏā'iri (« le faïencier ») mort en 1034 (?). Le grand panégyriste Qaṭrān (mort en 1073 ?) qui vécut en Azerbaidjan peut être également considéré comme un écho de l'époque buyide. Parmi les Arabes al-Mutanabbi composa des odes en l'honneur de 'Adud al-daula. Au moins trois parmi les princes Būyides étaient très connus comme poètes (en arabe) et les cours des Būyides attiraient de nombreux littérateurs et savants (55).

## 14.

Les Būyides étaient tombés victimes d'une invasion étrangère, mais, à part les dissensions qui marquèrent les dernières années de leur règne, il faut relever une cause intérieure et perpétuelle de leur faiblesse.

Leur armée manquait de discipline et, pour contenter la soldatesque, il fallait avoir recours à toutes sortes d'expédients, et surtout distribuer des terres dont l'entretien perdait ensuite tout intérêt pour le bénéficiaire. A cette époque tout le monde voulait jouir de l'avantage de se nommer Dailamite. Le recueil d'anecdotes de Tanūkhī contient une histoire amusante d'un jeune adhérent du célèbre Maṣṣūr al-Ḥallādī qui voulait à tout prix faire une carrière à la dailamite ; à cet effet il avait appris la langue dailamite et s'était habitué à avaler de grandes quantités d'ail (56). Il fallut plusieurs fois reviser les listes des détenteurs de fiefs pour biffer les noms des personnes qui n'avaient jamais vu le Dailam (57).

D'autre part l'armée était minée par la discorde qui existait entre ses deux éléments constitutifs : l'infanterie dailamite et la cavalerie turke (58).

Les Dailamites étaient surtout des fantassins. Ils se battaient en formant une haie de leurs boucliers peints de couleurs éclatantes, et en accablant l'ennemi de leurs javelots à deux pointes (*jūpīn*) (59). Pour développer plus d'initiative il leur fallait l'aide de la cavalerie et ici les Turks leur rendaient des services inappréciables. Pour la défensive également les Turks étaient plus solidement armés.

Les princes dailamites étaient impuissants à arrêter les conflits qui éclataient à chaque instant (60). On a vu le projet insensé de Bakhtiyār, d'exterminer tous ses Turks. En 385/995 Šamsām al-daula ordonna le massacre de tous les Turks dans le Fārs. D'autres princes, à bout de patience avec leurs compatriotes, essayaient de s'appuyer sur les Turks (61). Mais comme le chiisme était la base du pouvoir des Būyides (62) ils ne pouvaient d'une façon durable se détacher des Dailamites. Aussi étaient-ils voués à des crises continuelles.

## 15.

Tels sont les traits essentiels qui caractérisent l'époque intéressante de la domination des Dailamites. Nous avons essayé de présenter la naissance et le développement des dynasties sorties de la petite région caspienne. Le temps qu'elles ont régné n'a pas été très grand, moins d'un siècle et demi. Mais on ne peut suffisamment insister sur ce fait : sans l'intermède iranien, représenté par les Sāmānides à l'est et les Būyides à l'ouest, la tradition iranienne eût été interrompue ; et, plus tard, la Perse aurait eu infiniment plus de peine à rétablir sa conscience nationale, après tant d'épreuves qu'elle allait encore subir jusqu'à l'avènement des Safavides.

## NOTES

(1) Le canton Dailamān est situé à l'altitude de 1400-1300 m. entre la montagne Nātech-kūh, qui le sépare au nord de Lahidjan, et le haut pic Dalfak qui commande la rive droite du Sefid-rūd. On cherche dans « Dalfak » une survivance du nom du peuple ancien *Derbik*.

(2) Ibn Miskawaih, *Tad̲j̲rīb al-umam*, dont les volumes I, II et VI ont été reproduits photographiquement dans le *Gibb Memorial*, et dont les volumes V et VI et la continuation ont été édités et traduits par H. A. Amedroz et D. S. Margoliouth sous le titre : *The eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate*. Nos références (*The eclipse*) se rapportent partout au texte arabe de cette excellente édition qui comprend les années 295/907-393/1002. Il faut également mentionner ici les études minutieuses et pénétrantes du savant persan Seyyid Ahmad Kasrawī, *Chahriyārān-i gumnām*, I-III, Téhéran 1928-1930, qui traitent en détail de l'histoire des dynasties du nord-ouest de la Perse avant l'arrivée des Seldjuks.

(3) Muqaddasi, *Bibliotheca geogr. arabicorum*, éd. de Goeje, vol. III, pp. 353-373, énumère les cinq provinces du « Dailam » : Qūmis, Gurgān, Tabaristān, Dailamān et Khazar (!).

(4) Istakhri, *Bib. geogr. arab.*, I, 204, *al-Dailam al-mahd* ; le *Hudūd āl-'ālam* (écrit en 372/982), éd. Barthold, Leningrad, 1930, f. 30b, *Dailam-i khāṣṣa*.

(5) D'après Istakhri, p. 204, la résidence du roi de Dailam était à Rūdbār (sur la rive gauche du Sefid-rūd). D'après Muqaddasi, p. 360, le chef-lieu (*qasaba, chahristān*) était Barvān et les autres points habités étaient : la forteresse Samīrūm dans le canton Salārvand (actuellement ruinée de Chamirān, à 3 farsakhs en amont de Mandjīl) ; la ville Khachm, où vivait le chef alide ; (la ville ?) Tārim (actuellement le canton Tārom) et le canton at-Tālaqān (sur le Chāhrūd). Le chef-lieu de ce dernier devait être Chahristān, au nord-est d'Alamūt. La courageuse exploratrice Miss F. Stark, qui a parcouru le Dailam en 1931, me confirme l'importance de ses ruines. Le chef-lieu des Gil-s était Dūlāb. Au sens plus large Muqaddasi, p. 207, mentionne déjà Rey comme la plus grande ville du Dailam.

(6) *Sīrat 'Antar*, III, 29, cité dans Goldziher, *Muhamm. Studien*, I, 268, qui toutefois croit que *achgar* se rapporte au teint clair de la peau (?).

(7) Muqaddasi, p. 360, 368 ; *The eclipse*, II, 141 (sur la frugalité des Dailamites). Khāqānī, *Jour. As.*, 1865, vol. V, p. 346, dit : *Rūy-i dailam dīdam az gham mūy jūpīn chud marā ; hamtchu mūy-i Dailam andar-ham chikast a'dā-yi man*. « J'ai vu la face du malheur (*dailam*, ici mot arabe), et à cause de la douleur mes cheveux se sont dressés comme des javalots (dailamites) ; mes membres se sont recroquevillés, pareils aux cheveux d'un Dailamite. » Nizāmī mentionne le bonnet dailamite (*kulāh-i dailamī*) de la Nuit. L'instrument musical des Dailamites était le *fanbūr*, « sorte de mandoline », Mas'udi, *Murūdj*, VIII, 91.

(8) Istakhri, p. 204, Ibn Hauqal, p. 267.

(9) Les noms dailamites Zoanab et Saramēs que cite Théophylacte Simocatta ont également une allure iranienne. Dans les historiens arabes on trouve quelques mots dailamites isolés : *luk* « bon », Muqaddasi, p. 359 (cf. *lauk* « jeune homme » en kurde) ; *uchtulum*, cri de guerre des Dailamites (le mot est donné dans les dictionnaires persans avec le sens « violence, oppression ») ; selon Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane II, 263, le nom *Chādbuchtī* est d'origine dailamite, cf. *The eclipse*, I, 301, mais en toute probabilité il est dérivé de quelque nom de lieu \*Chāpucht. Certains emprunts aux dialectes du nord-ouest qu'on trouve en persan sont évidemment dus aux Dailamites (*jūpīn*).

(10) Depuis le commencement du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle le Dailam paraît s'être trouvé sous la dépendance des Sāsānides. Marquart, *Erānshahr*, p. 126, croit que le représentant

sāsānide au Dailam portait le titre de *vakris*. Balādhuri, p. 280, mentionne des Dailamites à la cour de Khusrau Parviz.

(11) On trouve les données grecques groupées dans Marquart, *Erānsahr*, p. 126-7, et dans Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, IV, col. 2432-3 (article de Weissbach). Agathias appelle les « Dilmmites » la plus importante peuplade parmi celles qui vivent sur la frontière persane en deçà (?) du Tigre. Procope dit que les « Dolomites » sont les barbares qui, bien que vivant parmi les Perses, ne se sont jamais soumis aux rois de Perse.

(12) Les colonies dailamites devaient contrôler la plupart des cols dans la chaîne-frontière turco-persane, cf. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten*, pp. 245 et 207. Le chef-lieu actuel de Salmās s'appelle Dilmān (Dilmaqān). De la même origine dailamite doit être le nom du canton Lāhidjān (au sud-ouest du lac d'Ourmiah), homonyme du canton du Gilān, lequel était le fief des princes dailamites de la famille de Vehsūdān, Yāqūt, III, 149, cf. Kasrawi, I, 131. En Géorgie on trouve un Dilama-chen (chen en arménien = persan *ābād*), Prince Vakhoucht, *Description géogr. de la Géorgie*, trad. Brosset, St. Pétersbourg, 1842, p. 467, n° 297.

(13) *Al-ūthār al-bāqiya*, p. 224 : *wa qad azāla al-Nāzir al-Utrūch dhalika wa a'āda ichtirāk al-marāda ma'a al-nās fil-kadhkhudhāhiya*.

(14) *Murūdj*, IX, pp. 4, 8, 279.

(15) *The eclipse*, III, 313 (sous l'année 388) : « les femmes égalaient les hommes en force de décision, en justesse de jugement et en participation aux affaires ».

(16) Muqaddasi, p. 368, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, f. 29b-31a (beaucoup de détails curieux sur les mœurs). Cf. plus bas note 51.

(17) Ibn Rusta, p. 151, d'après lequel les points fortifiés dirigés contre le Dailam étaient Tchālūs, fondé (rebâti !) par Ma'mūn, et Muzn. Plus souvent que ce dernier est mentionné Kalār, situé à une étape à l'ouest de Tchālūs vers la montagne, Tabari, III, 1524, Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, IX, 5, Istakhri, p. 206. Sur l'importance de Qazvin voir les sources citées dans Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 707.

(18) Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 283. La mention des cavaliers (*fursān*) est assez inattendue, voir plus haut p. 20. Il est vrai que dans *The eclipse*, III, 427, on trouve une fois la mention de « cavaliers dailamites et turks ». *Ibid.*, III, 423, il s'agit de fantassins transportés à dos de mulets et de chameaux.

(19) Kasrawi, I, 6. Mais les Arabes étaient restés très peu de temps dans le bassin de la Loire, et en 759, furent délogés même de Narbonne.

(20) On cherche Ganzak à Takht-i Sulaimān ou à Lailān (au sud-est du lac d'Ourmiah).

(21) Istakhri, p. 205 ; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, p. 4, mais du temps de Mas'ūdī, *ibid.* p. 10, l'hérésie s'était propagée parmi les Dailamites (*alḥada akitarukum*).

(22) Kasrawi, I, 23-37.

(23) Vers la fin du x<sup>e</sup> siècle Muqaddasi, voir plus haut note 5, mentionne Barvān au lieu de Rūdbār.

(24) Le document cité dans Yāqūt, III, 149, *sub verbo* Samirān, fait supposer que les Kangarī s'étaient aussi emparés de al-Ustāniya (Rūyān, fief des Ustundār ?) tandis que les anciens rois Djustānides furent réduits à se contenter de al-Lā'idjīya (Lāhidjān). Cf. Kasrawi, I, 133.

(25) Leili (LIII ?) paraît être issu de la dynastie ancienne, *Tārīkh-i gušida*, p. 414, ligne 5, cf. Tabari, qui sub 216/831 cite un « Abū La'il, roi de Dailam ». Le nom pouvait être héréditaire dans la famille. Cf. le village Leil au S. de Lāhidjān.

(26) La famille de Mākān était native d'Achkavar (dans le Rānikūh). Cf. le nom d'un chef dailamite Achkavardj, probablement \**Achkavar-idj*, « natif d'Achkavar » (?), *The eclipse*, II, 84.

(27) Hamza Isfahāni, éd. Gottwaldt, pp. 241-2. D'après Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, IX, 8, Asfār n'était pas musulman : *wa kāna la ya'ilnu bi-millati 'l-Islām* ; à Qazvin il fit précipiter du haut du minaret le muezzin qui disait la prière, *ibid.*, IX, 10.

(28) D'après Muqaddasi, p. 353, la plupart des gens distinguaient à peine (*la yakādūna yufarriqūna*) entre les Dailamites et les Gil-s. Toutefois les historiens nomment séparément les Djl (Gil) à côté des Dailamites, cf. *The eclipse*, I, 301, III, 377, etc. Cf. al-Tanūkhī, *Nichwār*, p. 156 (trad. 171). Sur les discordes entre les deux

peuplades voir Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, IX, 7. Les Dailamites étaient chiites et la plupart des Gil's sunnites, Muqaddasi, p. 367, ligne 2 ; cf. *The eclipse*, III, 305.

(29) *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, éd. Gibb Memorial, p. 414. Miss F. Stark (lettre du 23 mars 1932) me suggère l'identification de Kiyā-K. lich (?) avec Kiyā- Kalayā, un faubourg de Chahristān. Un village dans le canton Somām porte le nom de Būya.

(30) Hamza, p. 241, Ibn Khallikān, tr. Slane, I, 155 (sous Mo'izz al-daula). mais déjà Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, p. 31-8, critiquait cette généalogie factice en disant que le premier membre de la famille connu était Buwaih b. Fanākhusra. Cf. Marquart, *ZDMG*, 1895, p. 660 : Der Stammbaum d. Būjiden.

(31) *The eclipse*, I, 277.

(31 a) Il s'agit du Karadj Abī Dulaf, près du Sultānābād de nos jours, entre Isfahan et Hamadan.

(32) Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, XLII, 1922, pp. 377-384.

(33) *The eclipse*, II, 37 et suiv., sous les années 331-4.

(34) *Ibid.*, II, 17.

(35) *Ibid.*, II, 75, 89 : la dame Husn, plus tard surnommée 'Alam.

(36) Selon Mas'ūdī, *Murūdī*, VIII, 410 Mo'izz soupçonnait le calife de solliciter l'aide des Hamdānides de Mossoul.

(37) *The eclipse*, II, 86-87.

(38) *Ibid.*, II, 307.

(39) *Ibid.*, II, 350 : *tāliban lil-dhikr-il-djamil wa muḥafizatan 'ala'l-futuwwa* Cf. *ibid.*, II, 230 et II, 362.

(40) *Ibid.*, II, 213 : déjà en 354/965 le gouverneur de 'Omān s'était soumis à Mo'izz al-daula.

(41) *Ibid.*, II, 404-408 et III, 69 (constructions à Baghdad) ; Muqaddasi, pp. 210, 430-1, 449. Cf. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, p. 48-50, 311, 321, 405, 482. Pour les constructions à Baghdad voir Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, 1900, chap. XVII : The Buyid palaces, et G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Baghdad*, Paris, 1904 (traduction d'une partie de l'*Histoire de Baghdad* de al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī), à l'index.

(42) Son nom était Chīrīn ; elle était la fille de l'isphahbad Rustam II (1006-1028), roi de Tabaristān (de la dynastie Bāvandide).

(43) *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, p. 428 ; Wilken, *Geschichte d. Sultane aus d. Geschlechter Buwch* (le texte de Mirkhond) 1835, p. 42. Toutefois la version la plus ancienne, *The eclipse*, III, 291, attribue le succès de la « seyyida » aux sages conseils du prince Hasanwaihīde Badr.

(44) Voir Huart, *Les Musāfirides de l'Adherbaidjan* dans *A volume... presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge 1922, pp. 228-56 ; sur les atabeks de Maragha, Minorsky, l'article *Marāgha* dans l'Encyclopédie de l'Islam et surtout Kasrawī, *Chahriyārān-i gumnām*, II et III.

(45) Huart, *Les Banou-'Annūz*, Syria, 1922, pp. 265-279 et pp. 66-79.

(46) On pourrait également mentionner les aventures du Dailamite Lachkarī à Isfahān, *The eclipse*, I, 213 ; celles d'un Gil Lachkarī b. Mardī en Azerbaidjān, *ibid.*, I, 398 ; celles du Kurde Daisam, *ibid.*, I, 398, II, 161.

(47) Etendant leur pouvoir de la plaine de Gilān vers la montagne les seyyids *kārhiyā* délogèrent graduellement : d'Achkavar, les princes locaux Hazāraspī (en 776/1364), d'Alamūt, les rejetons des grands-maîtres ismā'iliens, et de Dailamān et de Rūdābr le clan de Kūchūlj. En 819/1416 le seyyid Rāzī de Lāhidjān et son frère seyyid Mohammad, sous prétexte de mobilisation firent venir les Dailamites sur la rive du Sefid-rūd, et lorsqu'ils s'y présentèrent, donnèrent ordre aux troupes de Gilān de les exterminer (*Qatl-i 'āmm*) à l'improviste. 2-3.000 Dailamites, y compris leurs chefs, périrent dans ces Vêpres siciliennes, voir Zahīr al-dīn, *Tārīkh-i Gilān va Dailamistān*, éd. Rabino, Racht, 1330, pp. 57 et suiv., 118 et 122-6.

(48) Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 182. Huart, *Les Ziyārides*, p. 370.

(49) *The eclipse*, II, 279.

(50) *Ibid.*, I, 283.

(51) Hilāl ibn-Sābi, *Kitāb al-wuzarā*, éd. Amedroz, p. 388 (= *The eclipse*, III 358) : le vézir Muwaffaq dans une lettre à Bahā al-daula, datée du 4 juin 1000 l'appelle *chāhinchāh*. Le *Tchahārmaqāla*, p. 17, donne le titre *chāhinchāh* au patron de Ismā'il ibn 'Abbad (voir plus haut p. 15). Yāqūt, *Irvchād al-arīb*, II, 120 : le titre de *chāhinchāh* attribué à Djalāl al-daula sous 403. Amedroz, *The assumption of the title Shāhānshāh by Buwaihīd rulers*, *Numism. Chronicle*, 1905, vol. V, pp. 393-9. Cf. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, p. 21. Dans le *Tchahārmaqāla* de Nizāmī 'Arūdi, p. 82, le titre *chāhinchāh* est donné au Kākōyide 'Alā al-daula.

(52) Ibn al-Athīr, VIII, 407. Voir des remarques similaires sous les années 353, 357 et 358, *ibid.*, pp. 413, 435 (le deuil du 10 Muharram et les réjouissances du jour du Ghadīr), 443. Comme l'a remarqué Krymski, *Théâtre persan*, Kiev, 1925, p. 7, la source d'Ibn al-Athīr doit être Hilāl ibn-Sābi, qui justement dans le fragment sur l'année 389 (éd. Amedroz, p. 371) parle de « l'habitude des chiites : de célébrer le *yaum al-ghadīr* ».

(53) Muqaddasi, p. 369 ; *The eclipse*, II, 137 (Rokn al-daula lamente son frère pendant 3 jours), 182 (Mo'izz al-daula étant malade se lamente lui-même), III, 260 (Šamsām al-daula après sa défaite jeûne et revêt des habits noirs). Cf. Ibn Isfandi-yār, p. 233 : le deuil dailamite est de 3 jours.

(54) Le Muwaffaq que Firdausi loue dans la préface de son poème doit être le vézir de Bahā al-daula : Abū 'Alī b. Ismā'il al-Muwaffaq.

(55) Tha'ālībī consacre un chapitre spécial aux poésies arabes de 'Aḍul al-daula, de son fils Tādī al-daula et de Khusrau b. Firūz b. Rukn al-daula, *Yalimat al-dahr*, livre II, chapitre 1. Les chapitres suivants, 2 et 3, sont consacrés aux vézirs būyides al-Muhallabī et Abū-Ishaq al-Sābi : le chapitre 4 aux écrivains de l'époque būyide (éd. de Damas II, pp. 1-105). Le chapitre 9 cite les vers de 15 poètes dédiés au vézir de Bahā al-daula Sāpūr b. Ardachīr (*ibid.*, pp. 290-7). Le livre III contient des chapitres sur le vézir Ibn 'Amīd (*ibid.*, pp. 2-25), sur son fils Abul-Fath (*ibid.*, pp. 25-31), sur Sāhib Ismā'il b. 'Ablād (*ibid.*, pp. 31-118) et sur les panégyristes de ce dernier (*ibid.*, pp. 163-194). Très connu est le poète Mihyār ibn Marzūya al-Dailamī qui écrivait en arabe ; ce zoroastrien, mort en 428 (1037), fut converti à l'Islam seulement en 394 (1003), voir Ibn Khallikān, trad. de Slane, III, 517, ses œuvres ont été récemment publiées au Caire. Sur les poètes persans voir *Tchahārmaqāla*, pp. 28, 80 et le commentaire de Mirzā Muhammad Khan Qazvīnī. Sur les célébrités du temps de 'Aḍul al-daula voir aussi Ibn Isfandi-yār, pp. 90-91. Sur les maîtres de 'Aḍul al-daula voir Abul-Paradj, *Mukhtaṣar*, éd. Pocock, p. 325 (trad. latine p. 214). Voir l'éloge de 'Aḍul al-daula, *ibid.*, p. 320 (trad. p. 211) et dans l'historien arménien Asolik, II, chap., XVI, trad., Macler, 1917, p. 63. Les chrétiens devaient être reconnaissants à 'Aḍul al-daula d'avoir autorisé le vézir Nasr b. Hārūn (qui lui-même était chrétien) de construire des églises. *The eclipse*, II, 408. Un des secrétaires de Mo'izz al-daula était aussi un chrétien de Rey, Sa'd Isrā'il b. Mūsa, *ibid.*, I, 298. Un détail curieux de la tolérance religieuse des Būyides : le gouverneur de l'important port de Strāf en 379/989 était un Juif, *ibid.*, III, 155.

(56) Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-muḥādḍara*, éd. Margoliouth, p. 88, trad. p. 95.

(57) *The eclipse*, III, 312 : en 388/998 Šamsām al-daula vérifia les registres des Dailamites et en exclut à Fasā 650 hommes et à Kermān 400, « dont les généalogies n'étaient pas irréprochables ». Cf. *ibid.*, III, 361.

(58) Subsidiellement les Būyides se servaient d'autres nationalités. Sous 360/971 Ibn Miskawaih, *The eclipse*, II, 300, mentionne dans les troupes de 'Aḍul al-daula : les Dailamites, les Gīl-s, les Turks, les Arabes, les Kurdes et les Zuṭṭ (Indiens), et sous 360/970 et 366/976 les fantassins Quṣṣ (Kūfitch, montagnards de Kerman) et Balūṭch, *ibid.*, II, 298 et 368.

(59) Tabarī, III, 1693. Le poème de *Vīs-o Rāmīn* (écrit en 1048), cf. Kasrawī, I, 2, parle des boucliers dailamites « pareils au mur et peints de cent couleurs ». Les boucliers étaient portés par des pages, *The eclipse*, II, 153. Les Dailamites se servaient de lances spéciales pour projeter du naphte enflammé (*mazārīq al-naṭṭ wal-nīrān*), *The eclipse*, I, 272. Toutefois leurs adversaires étaient parfois plus habiles dans l'emploi du naphte, Tabarī, III, 1693.

(60) *The eclipse*, III, 132, en 376/936 sous Šamsām al-daula 19.000 Dailamites et 3.000 Turks se sont battus sur l'hippodrome à propos des écuries. Cf. *ibid.*, III, 265.

(61) *The eclipse*, II, 166 : en 346, après la révolte de Rūzbihān, Mo'izz néglige les

Dailamites et choie les Turks ; *ibid.*, III, 158, en 379 Bahā al-daula transfère sa tente parmi les Turks qu'il trouve plus loyaux. Cf. la critique du caractère dailamite par le célèbre vezir ibn al-'Amīd, *ibid.*, II, 272.

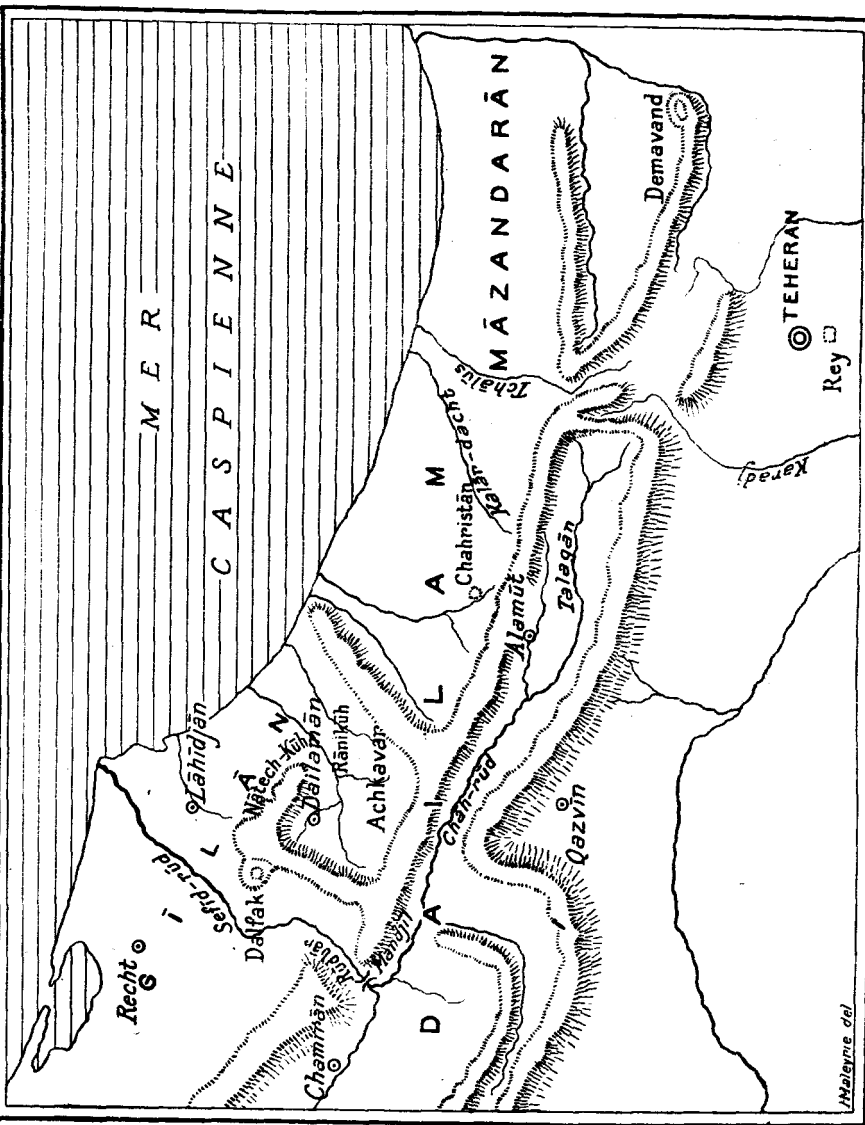
(62) Ibn-al-Athīr, VIII, 177 : « Les Dailamites étaient chiïtes et (dans le chiïsme) ne connaissaient pas de mesure. » Kasrawī a justement relevé le fait qu'Alamūt, le célèbre centre des Assassins-Ismā'īlites, surgit plus tard sur le territoire dailamite ! D'après un *Tārikh-i Djīl wa Dailam* dédié à Fakhr al-Daula, la construction de la forteresse d'Alamūt fut commencée par un ancien roi de Dailam en 246/860, voir Djuwaini, III, 105 (éd. de la Royal Asiatic Society, 1931).

## ADDITIONS

*ad* p. 17. Rabino, *Le Guilan*, Rev. du Monde Musulman, 1915-6, XXXII, 280, écrit : « quelques descendants des anciens Dailamites ne se trouvent que dans les villages de Kelārdeh et de Tchoousal, dans la plaine, en hiver, et à Kelātch-Khānī, en été. Les habitants du village de Deilemān étaient aussi Deilemites, mais ils ont vendu leurs terres et vivent à Barfdjān ».

*ad* note 27. D'après le *Farq bain al-firaq*, p. 267, Asfār fut converti à l'ismaélisme. (Je dois cette référence à Mohammad Khan Qazvini.)





CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Jul., 1933), pp. 643-650

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25194840>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:31

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Remarks on the Romanized Kurdish Alphabet

By V. MINORSKY

MR. C. J. EDMONDS'S "Suggestions for the use of Latin characters in the writing of Kurdish" merit the attention of all those interested practically and theoretically in Kurdish, for no one probably has had better opportunities for studying the practical side of the question than Mr. Edmonds in his surrounding of Kurdish intelligentsia.

The inconvenient side of all Semitic alphabets is their disregard of vowels (not only short ones, but some of the long ones and the diphthongs). Those alphabets are sufficiently adapted to the languages for which they were invented and in which the consonantic frame (cf. Arabic, mostly trilateral, roots) forms the real backbone of the word of which the basic sense is more or less recognizable from the consonantic symbols.

This system is entirely unsuitable for languages with a developed vocalic system where vowels are not accessories of the consonantic frame but integral parts of the stem. In Kurdish *dār* "tree," and *dūr* "far" have nothing to do with each other in spite of their similar consonantic frame (*d.r*). Here the vowels make all the difference of the basic meaning, whereas the vocalic system itself is considerably complicated by the existence of *ē*, *ō* (> *üē*) which the Arabs in their own terminology call *majhūl*, i.e. "unknown" to themselves.

The Arabic script has been occasionally used for writing many different languages (Albanian, Turkish, Malay, numerous Caucasian, African, and Indian idioms and occasionally even Spanish and Serbian), but whenever the considerations of direct convenience of the writing were no more obscured by any reflexions of political and religious order, phonetic alphabets have triumphed all along the line.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We leave for the moment out of the question such languages with developed literatures closely associated with Muslim (Arabic) culture, as Persian, for instance.

Nothing can be said against the special phonetic alphabets of long standing, such as Greek, Russian, Armenian, Georgian, well adapted to their object, but as the Latin script is the most widespread in the world and has reached the highest technical perfection in its printed form (artistic consistency of the outer form of the whole scale of signs, lack of confusion in characters, existence of different varieties of type), only Latin script comes into question when a new form of phonetic script is under consideration for a language just acquiring a literary importance.

For the success of the reform in Kurdish it is essential that the Latin alphabet should be utilized in its most simple form with as few additions of conventional signs as possible. In this respect Mr. Edmonds's effort to remain within the possibilities of the ordinary type seems quite comprehensible and well founded. The Kurdish alphabet as a practical instrument need not aim at an absolutely rigorous application of the principles: "Each sound to have a single and non-compound sign, each sound to be pronounced only in one way." For example, there is no practical inconvenience of writing *sh* (ش) instead of the Czecho-Slovakian *š* (whatever its well-known scientific convenience in connection with the other special signs), or the Turkish *ş* (borrowed obviously from Rumanian).

I should formulate the principles underlying Mr. Edmonds's scheme as follows:—

(1) Avoidance of any unusual signs which would embarrass the Kurdish presses.

(2) Use of double signs for "long" vowels [only in Mr. Edmonds's first article !].

(3) Use of *h* after some consonants to connote some aberrant use of these characters.

(4) To these points I should add the desideratum of the slightest possible variance from the established use of the original Latin script. All alphabets are conventional and even if instead of *a*, *b*, *c* we write respectively *k*, *l*, *m* (as in

some unsophisticated schoolboys' cipher) it can be learnt after some practice, yet any queer functions of the familiar signs are apt to mislead the Kurds in the scientific study of their language in comparison with the other Iranian languages. In this respect the new Turkish alphabet, which gives a practical solution for local use, is certainly inconvenient for comparative purposes, such words as *gelecek* necessitating their retranscription into *gelejek*, etc. It is likewise undesirable to introduce new peculiar spellings for the words belonging to international scientific vocabulary.

The following are my more detailed observations on, and suggestions in regard to, the systems proposed by Mr. Edmonds in his two articles which hereafter will be respectively referred to as E 1 and E 2.

As regards the "long" vowels their exact duration as compared to that of the "short" ones may need some further investigation, but there is no doubt that the respective sounds of the two classes—*ā*, *ī*, *ū* and *a*, *i*, *u*—are felt as distinct phonemes, and, in the case of *ā* and *a*, differ in timbre; *ē* (closed sound palatalizing the preceding consonant) has no corresponding short sound; and *o* in *dost* and *xosh* (*xwosh*?) (though entirely of distinct origin) seems to be confused in Kurdish while the typical treatment of the original long *ō* in Kurdish is the diphthong *üē* (with palatalization of the preceding consonant), e.g. *k'üēr* (< *kōr*) "blind", *g'üēz* < *gōz* "nut". There is consequently no practical need for introducing a distinction of *ō* and *o* but the sign *ö* (E 2) will be quite welcome as a comparatively simple conventional expression for *üē*, and find its justification in the etymological origin of this sound (from *ō*).

Following the principle of reduplication of the characters in order to express the length of a vowel, I should write *aa* for Kurdish long *ā* and leave simple *a* for its corresponding short sound. Such a system is one of the practical characteristics of the Dutch script. As a matter of fact, short Kurdish *a* sounds like *ä* (cf. English "man"), or even

as a real short *ă*, while with the use of *e* (E 1 and E 2) we are distinctly drifting to a different class of sounds. The proposed use of *aa* and *a* will allow us to restrict the use of *e* to the real *e* (see above). This unique *e* will be written without any diacritical sign (as against E 1 and E 2: *ê*), just as in Sanskrit transcriptions *e* stands exclusively for a long *ē*.

The signs *ii* and *i* are quite natural, but there exists in Kurdish a characteristic sound of an extra-short *i* perfectly distinguishable on account of its dull timbre. It somewhat reminds one of Russian *ы* (Polish *y*) and Turkish *ı* (*î*) in *aldı* (الدى), but is a furtive intermediate sound which for an untrained English ear would perhaps resemble the vowel in "but". In E 1 and E 2 it is conveniently expressed by *y* (cf. Polish *y* !), but it would be very desirable to reserve to *y* the obvious function of *ی* (English and French *y*). One could think then of the new Turkish *ı* (without dot), but even the Turks admit now that this sign is conducive to confusion and seem disposed to replace it by *î*. As we have obtained the elimination of one character with diacritic sign (*ê*) by a simple one, we could afford to introduce in the present case *î*<sup>1</sup>, but perhaps it would be more advantageous to adopt for our case *ı* (with a dot underneath) which would be better distinguishable from both *ii* and *i* and in case of emergency could be easily improvised by the printers; it would suffice for them to place an ordinary *i* upside down.

I should rather not follow E 2 in transcribing *û* by *uw* and *î* by *iy* for the "Dutch" principle of doubling letters of the long sounds seems to me to possess all the advantages of clearness,<sup>2</sup> but I should admit the use of *uw*- and *iy*- in the cases when the long *û*- and *î*-, being followed by a vowel, phonetically become a group composed respectively of

<sup>1</sup> The special signs in our alphabet would consequently remain restricted to two: *î* and *ô*.

<sup>2</sup> In E 2 *y* has a threefold use for expressing consonantic *y*, short *ı*, and the length of *î* (*iy*).

*u + w* or *i + y*. This orthographical rule would be conditioned in this special case by the phonetic modification.

Coming to the consonants I should reserve simple *j* and *c* respectively for ج and چ, in conformity with the very clearly established use (see the hallowed Sanskrit transcription) and the historical tradition of *c* which in all the systems derived from Latin stands for voiceless *k*, *ç*, or *ts*. The only exception is the new Turkish alphabet, but we have mentioned its philological inadequacy for scientific purposes.

*Zh* and *sh* seem to be quite suitable expressions of ژ and ش logically consistent with *z* and *s* for ز and س.

The use of *h* as an auxiliary sign in *lh* and *rh* as differentiated from *l* and *r* is a happy idea already realized in Albanian script. Kurdish *lh* is a hard cerebral *l* pronounced with the tip of the tongue upturned (a characteristic very distinct from Turkish and Russian hard *l* (л); *rh* is the rolled *r* pronounced with the tip of the tongue (a similar distinction between *r* and *ṛ* exists in Armenian and Albanian).

As regards the harsh guttural sounds, the use of *x* for خ (as in Spanish, Greek, Russian) would be consistent with the general scientific practice. As we connote the corresponding voiced غ by *gh*, it was first suggested (E 1) to express this sound with *xh*, but as خ is frequent in Kurdish the new simplification (E 2) will be very welcome. On the other hand, Mr. Edmonds feels inclined to disregard the ح sound, occurring in Kurdish, and not only in Arabic loan-words, but also in some purely Iranian words as حوت *hawt* "seven". This sound, though rare, is very characteristic of Kurdish and I should allot to it precisely the conventional *xh*, where *-h*, following our practice, will indicate an aberrant use of the original symbol *x*.

Contrary to the Turks and Persians, the Kurds very naturally pronounce ع (and prefix it even to such an

Iranian word as *asp* "horse" which in Kurdish sounds عسب). It would be helpful to express ع with an apostrophe whenever the Kurds pronounce it: 'ajbat عجت but there is of course no question of simply reproducing Arabic forms: if عباس and عثمان are pronounced Habbās and Watmān they will be spelt accordingly.<sup>1</sup> On the contrary, there is no need to transcribe the Arabic *hamza* in the beginning and at the end of words (أنس رجا), though in the middle of words it would be helpful to express it by a hyphen هيت hay-at.

Likewise no special mark of elision seems to be necessary in such words as *lērā* < *l'ērā*, any more than in separating the locative ending -*da*, but, if so desired, the same hyphen could be used for such purposes as well.

We need not be more precise about Kurdish sounds, as time will show what particular nuances and *sandhi* phenomena will be discovered by specialists in phonetics. Under this ruling come the Sulēmānī spirants δ (ذ) and θ (ث), which can hardly be considered as real phonemes and do not represent a general phenomenon even in southern Kurdish.

It must be finally well understood that the suggested Kurdish alphabet has in view principally the convenience and development of printing. As regards the writing in Kurdish considerable simplifications will be introduced in due course: for instance, double vowels *aa*, *ii*, *uu* will be easily replaced by some signs like *ā*, *ī*, *ū* or *á*, *í*, *ú*. Many people in Europe instead of double consonants still write only one with a dash over it (as a substitute for an Arabic *tashdīd*). Kurdish orthography and calligraphy will follow their own ways, while we are trying to find some practical and simple solution of the fundamental problem of the basic alphabet.

<sup>1</sup> In handwriting ع could be expressed still better by spiritus asper '.



The following is the comparative table of Kurdish sounds as figured in Mr. Edmonds's two articles and in my additional remarks :—

## A. VOWELS

	E 1.	E 2.	M.
<i>ā</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aa</i>
<i>ă</i> ( <i>ä</i> )	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>ī</i>	<i>ii</i>	<i>iy</i>	<i>ii</i>
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>ĩ</i> (dull)	<i>y</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ĩ</i> (or <i>?</i> )
<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>üē</i>	<i>uy</i>	<i>ö</i>	<i>ö</i>
<i>ū</i>	<i>uu</i>	<i>uw</i>	<i>uu</i>
<i>ũ</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>

B. CONSONANTS (disposed by groups) <sup>1</sup>

<i>b</i>	—	—	—
<i>p</i>	—	—	—
<i>v</i>	—	—	—
<i>f</i>	—	—	—
<i>w</i>	—	—	—
<i>d</i>	—	—	—
<i>t</i>	—	—	—
<i>ð</i> ( <i>ð</i> )	<i>dh</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>?</i>
<i>θ</i> ( <i>θ</i> )	<i>th</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>?</i>
<i>ʃ</i> ( <i>ç</i> )	<i>c</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>
<i>ç</i> ( <i>ç</i> )	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>c</i>
<i>k</i>	—	—	—
<i>g</i>	—	—	—
<i>q̣</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>	<i>q</i>
<i>h</i>	—	—	—

<sup>1</sup> — means "no change", and ? "not expressed".



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

The Khazars and the Turks in the Ākām al-Marjān

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1937), pp. 141-150

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of the [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608182>

Accessed: 22/03/2013 18:35

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## The Khazars and the Turks in the *Ākām al-Marjān*

By V. MINORSKY

IN 1929 Professor Angela Codazzi published a careful edition, with an Italian translation, of a geographical compendium by Ishāq ibn al-Ḥusayn entitled *Kitāb ākām al-marjān fī dhikr al-madā'in al-mashhūra fī kull makān*.<sup>1</sup> According to Professor Nallino's suggestion the author may be identical with one of the sources mentioned by Idrīsī ("Ishāq ibn al-Ḥusayn al-munajjim") and by Ibn-Khaldūn ("Ishāq ibn al-Ḥasan (?) al-Khāzinī"). As regards the date of the text, the editor takes as its terminus *a quo* 262/875 and as its terminus *ad quem* 454/1062. Most probably he belongs to the eleventh century. Several indications suggest that the author was a native of the westernmost part of the Islamic world (Spain?). He seems to have used (directly or indirectly?) Khuwārizmī's *rifacimento* of Ptolemy and Ya'qūbī's *Kitāb al-buldān*. Some single points of likeness have been discovered by the editor in I. Khurdādhbih (a legend on Alexandria and another on the Seven Sleepers)<sup>2</sup> and in Ibn-Rusta (Ṣan'ā, Saba', Miṣr, and the Khazar lands). Very judiciously Professor Codazzi (p. 461, note 5) points out some confusion in our author, who, under *al-Khazar*, quotes a feature<sup>3</sup> which in Ibn-Rusta belongs to the Burdās (Burtās), and we shall see that such cases are much more numerous in our text!

On the whole, the compendium, though not very original, gives some curious facts regarding the towns of the Islamic countries. It shows a marked predilection for historical data relating to their conquest, local risings, etc. Quite isolated are the two last paragraphs, on the Khazars and the Turks, where the description becomes very vague and some puzzling and misunderstood forms of names occur. These two passages will form the subject of the present article with a view to explaining the facts quoted, and ascertaining the sources from which they were borrowed by the author.

<sup>1</sup> *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, Classe di scienze morali, Novembre-Dicembre, 1929, pp. 373-463.

<sup>2</sup> Under several towns our author quotes the amount of taxes paid by them. I. Kh., 35, quotes the taxes only for Khorāsān [and 'Irāq]. Our author seems to have rounded off I. Kh.'s sums, e.g. Bokhārā, 1,189,200 dirhams > 1,000,000; Nishāpūr 4,108,900 > 5,000,000; Gurgān 10,176,800 > 10,000,000. But some of the sums are apparently false: for the insignificant Sarakhs 1,000,000 (instead of I. Kh.'s 307,440) and for the enormous Khorāsān 10,000,000 (instead of 44,846,000).

<sup>3</sup> Freedom of the women.

The quotations below reproduce the text as it stands in the unique MS. belonging to the Ambrosiana of Milan. Asterisks mark some of Professor Codazzi's emendations of obvious character. My own corrections will be found in my translation.

### بلاد الخزر والشاوش

وهي بلاد واسعة عظيمة في حدود السند وملكهم الاعظم على دين اليهودية وهم يحاربون الاتراك ويحاربونهم اهل السند وملكهم جيوش عظيمة وفي بلادهم المزارع والبساتين والفواكه ولها مدائن كثيرة فمن مدائنهم بلكار وهي في طاعة ملك الخزر يخرج منها عشرة الاف مقاتل ولها (sic. V.M.) مناظر واجسام هلي (\*على V.M.) هيئة الاتراك فاذا ادركت المرأة عندهم تختار من ارادت من الرجال وتخرج من طاعة ابيها وامها وهي في سهل من الارض واكثر شجرها \*الخلنج ومنه يجاب الى خراسان وهو اكثر اموالهم ولهم مزارع واكثرهم ينتحلون [...]. ومن مدائنها مدينة الطانينو وهي عظيمة جليلة على \*النهر الاعظم الخارج من بحيرة الحرد الى بحيرة خراسان ولهم مقابر مثل مقابر المسلمين واكثرهم يحرقون موتاهم تكفيرا لهم

“THE LANDS OF THE KHAZAR AND \*SĀRIGHSHIN.

*Ibn-Rusta*

1. “These are vast and extensive lands on the confines of \*al-Sarīr.

p. 147<sub>5</sub>. “You travel from al-Khazar [i.e. from the capital of the Khazar] to (the Sarīr) 12 days.”

2. “Their supreme king professes Judaism.

p. 139<sub>12</sub>. [The Khazars]: “their supreme chief professes the religion of the Jews.”

*Ibn-Rusta*

3. "They (i.e. the Khazars) fight the Turks and (in their turn) are attacked by the (people) of \*al-Sarīr.

p. 140<sub>5</sub>. "Every year the Khazars lead an army against the Pechenegs."

p. 143<sub>1</sub>. "It is said that the Khazars had previously built fortifications to protect themselves against the Majgharī and other neighbouring nations."

4. "Their king has a great army.

5. "In their country there are (numerous) fields, gardens, and fruits [v. i. 9].

p. 141<sub>5</sub>. "[The Burdās] possess fields."

6. "To it belong many towns, among which is \*بلنچار Balanjar, which is in subjection to the Khazar king. And from it come out 10,000 fighters.

p. 140<sub>16</sub>. "[The Burdās] are in subjection to the Khazar king and from them come out 10,000 horse."

7. "Their appearance and bodies (*manāẓir wa-ajsām*) are like those of the Turks.

p. 140<sub>20</sub>. [The Burdās]: "their religion resembles that of the Ghuzz and they have fine appearance and bodies (*la-hum ru'ā' wa-manẓar wa-ajsām*)."

8. "With them, when a woman reaches (maturity) she chooses whomsoever she wants of men; (then) she ceases to be in subjection to her father and mother.

p. 141<sub>1</sub>. "When a girl of theirs reaches (maturity) she ceases to be in subjection to her father and chooses for herself whomsoever she wants of men . . ."

9. "(This country) is situated in the plains and most of its trees are *khalanj* (the wood of which) is exported to Khorāsān, and this is their greatest wealth. They possess fields [v. s. 5].

p. 141<sub>5</sub>. They live in the plains. Most of their trees are *khalanj*. They possess fields. Most of their goods are honey, martens (*dalaq*), and furs.

10. "Most of them profess (*yantahilūna*) . . . (?).

p. 141<sub>16</sub>. [The Bulkār] "Most of them profess (*yantahilūna*) the religion of Islām."

*Ibn-Rusta*

11. "And among their towns is \*al-Bayḍā-\*Hab-baligh, which is great and beautiful and lies on a great river flowing from the \*Khazar lake (?) to the Khorāsān lake.

p. 139<sub>14</sub>. [The Khazar]: their capital is \*Sārighshin and by it (*biḥā*) is another town called *هبلنع* or *حبنع*.

12. "Their graves are like those of the Muslims.

p. 142<sub>1</sub>. [The Bulkār]: "their graves are like those of the Muslims."

13. "Most of them burn their dead as atonement for them." [Cf. under *Turk*, point 6.]

p. 141<sub>4</sub>. [The Burdās]: "They are of two classes: the ones burn their dead and the others bury them."

The foregoing analysis has clearly shown that the paragraph on the Khazars is a patchwork of data found in Ibn-Rusta's chapters on al-Khazar (139<sub>4</sub>–140<sub>13</sub>), Burdās (140<sub>14</sub>–141<sub>7</sub>), and Bulkār (141<sub>7</sub>–142<sub>4</sub>). The extraordinary confusion of the characteristics of the three nations<sup>1</sup> may be due to the fact that, in the compiler's source, the headings of the chapters were omitted, as is often the case when spaces are left in blank for subsequent rubrications. Another source of confusion must be connected with the desire to fit in Ibn-Khurdādhbih's short passage (p. 124) on the Khazar towns: *ومدن الخزر خليج (مخليج) وبلنجر والبيضا*. The second name *بلنجر* in Arabic script looks very much like *بلكار* and the epitomator substituted the latter (found in Ibn-Rusta) for the former (found in Ibn-Khurdādhbih). But Ibn-Rusta nowhere says that the Bulkār (Kama Bulghars) were subjects of the Khazar king, and this item undoubtedly refers to Balanjar, which lay to the north-east of the Caucasus range and belonged to the Khazar.

*الشوش* mentioned in the heading of the paragraph is doubtless the name of the Khazar capital, or rather of the part of it situated on the western bank of the Volga, which appears in I. Rusta as *سارعشن*, in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* as *ساوئر*, in Bakrī as *بارغيش*. I think that the unusual name of the second town mentioned in our text is nothing but a combination of two names found respectively in

<sup>1</sup> *Burdās* (or *Burḥās*) stands probably for the ancestors of the present-day Mordva, and Bulkār for the Kama Bulghars.

I. Khurdādhbih and I. Rusta. In order to make the comparison clear we shall place these names under the form found in the *Ākām* :—

الطابا ن ينو  
البيضا هب نلع

Of these, *al-Bayḍā* “the White one” is the name given by I. Kh. to the western part of the capital, which I. Rusta calls by its native name of سارغشن\* “The Yellow [town?]”. On the other hand, هب نلع or حبلع quoted by I. Rusta is evidently the name of the eastern part of the capital which I. Kh. spells خليج or خليخ.

The “Khazar lake”, out of which the river is said to flow, may reflect some confusion of the meanings of Arabic *baḥr* and Persian *daryā*, which both stand for “a sea, and a large river”. The original may have referred to the fact that the canal on which the capital stood was a part of the Khazar river (*baḥr*). *Buḥayra* may then be a secondary Verschlimmbesserung for *baḥr*.

The name السند must certainly be restored as السرير “The Throne”, i.e. “the possessions of the Master of the Throne”, a well-known designation of a kingdom in the northern Daghestan, of which the nucleus must have been the present-day Avar territory (on the Qoy-su). The *Ṣāhib al-Sarīr* was quite rightly the immediate southern neighbour of the Khazar king. The mention of wars between them is probably a mere amplification of the epitomator's.

We shall leave aside for the moment the extraordinarily close analogies of our Khazar paragraph with I. Rusta's text and shall consider the question of borrowings more completely after we have examined the second paragraph describing the “Turks”.

### بلاد الترك

وهي بلاد عظيمة واسعة تتصل بالبحر الشامي بالشمال وبلاد  
\*التغزغز في الشرق وهم اهل بأس ونجدة ولهم مناظر واجسام  
وهم احذق الناس \* بعمل اللبود لانها ملابسهم وعندهم الالبان  
والصيد كثير وبلادهم كثيرة البرد والثلج ولهم اسراب في



الارض يدخلونها من شدة البرد وهم عيدة الاوثان قبحهم الله تعالى وهم يحرقون موتاهم ويصلون مرتين في النهار ويصومون يوما واحدا ونهرها ينصب في بحر طبرستان وفيه سمك يتعلق بالارجل ويحلف في الصيف ولا يشربون الا من بطائح وفيها جبل عظيم وفيه شجرة فيها اثار يدين ورجلين وركبة كانه ساجد فكل خاطر عليها منهم يسجد لها وفيها خيل ممتعة قد توحشت في القفار

“LAND OF THE TURKS.

1. “These are extensive and vast lands which, in the north, adjoin the \*Northern Sea, and, in the east, the lands of the Toghuzghuz.

2. “The Turks are courageous and valiant and have a (fine) aspect and (fine) bodies.

3. “They are the most skilful of people in the preparation of felts, for the latter serve them as garments.

4. “They have milk (in plenty) and game is plentiful.

5. “Their country is very cold and snowy. They possess underground dwellings (*asrāb fi'l arḍ*) which they enter to escape the rigours of the cold.

[Cf. under Khazar, point 7.]

Gardīzī, 84 : “In summer the Kimāk drink mare's milk . . . they hunt sable-martens and grey squirrels . . .”

Gardīzī, 84. “In the land [of the Kimāk] falls much snow. They have underground tanks (*chāy-hā* < *chāh-hā*) made of timber for the winter. When the snowfall is heavy they drink that water stored in the month of Tīr, for their horses cannot go through the snow to the watering place.”

6. "They are idol worshippers, may God Almighty humiliate them. They burn their dead. They pray twice in the daytime and fast (only) one day.

7. "Their river flows into the sea of Ṭabaristān and in it are found fish which stick to the feet (of the bathers?). The river dries up in summer and the (Turks) drink only from lakes (or marshes).

8. "In their country there is a mighty mountain with a tree (شجرة) on it. On the tree (?) are the marks of two hands, two feet, and a knee, as if (some one had been) worshipping there. And everyone of them who notices those traces worships them.

9. "And in (their country?) there are herds of untamed horses which have become wild in the desert."

Gardīzī, 87: "the Khirkhīz [neighbours of the Kimāk] burn their dead, like the Indians; and they say that Fire is the purest thing and whatever falls into it becomes pure." [Cf. under *Khazar*, point 13.]

Gardīzī, 83. [On the way to the Kimāks, beyond the mountain Kāndā'ūr, is the river Asus (?)] : its water is black, it flows from the east, until it joins the sea [*dar*, read: *daryā*] of Ṭabaristān. After this, the river Artush (Irtish) is reached where the land of the Kimāk begins.

Bīrūnī, *c<sup>1</sup>-Āthār al-bāqīya*, p. 264<sub>5</sub>: "And similar to this lake (بحيرة) [of Ṭūs] is a spring of fresh water in the land of the Kimāk in a mountain called M. nkūr, as large as a large shield. The level of the water in it is up to the brim, and sometimes an army drinks from it and it does not dwindle a finger's breadth. Near this spring, there is a trace of a man's foot, of his palms with their five fingers and of his knees, as if he had been worshipping; and also traces of the steps of a child and of the hooves of a donkey. And whenever the Ghuzz Turks see (that place) they worship it."

Gardīzī, 83. "On both banks of the Irtish pasture wild horses. Their race is from the king's horses which have become wild," etc.

Though the description of the “Turks” is very general and no tribes are distinguished among them, it is curious that the territory of the Toghuzghuz, the most celebrated of the Turkish tribes,<sup>1</sup> is said to lie to the east of, and consequently separate from, the “Turk” land. The analysis of the text shows that what the author really means by *Turk* is the particular tribe of Kīmāk (\**Kimāk*),<sup>2</sup> which lived near the Irtish, but, “when there was peace between them and the Ghuz,” visited the latter’s territory in winter, cf. *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, § 18. These periodical movements are a source of great confusion in our sources in which two different territories are usually telescoped into one “Kimāk land”. Therefore one might improve our *Baḥr al-shāmī* (شامی) into *Baḥr al-Shāsh* (شاش). The latter term would be quite possible for the Aral sea into which disembogues “the Shāsh river” (Jaxartes), and the Ghuz territories are usually associated with the Aral sea. On the other hand, Professor Codazzi’s correction *Baḥr al-shamālī* (شمالی) “Northern sea” has the advantage of suiting the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, according to which the Kimāk territories extended in the north up to the Northern Uninhabited Lands.

The river mentioned in the text belongs to the region between the Irtish and the Caspian Sea, of which Muslim authors (Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, i, 213; *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, § 6, 41; Gardizī, 83) give very entangled descriptions. Our sources do not know the lower course of the Irtish: the *Hudūd al-‘Ālam* takes the latter for an affluent of the Volga; moreover, the authors mentioned have a vague idea of the existence of some other river flowing to the Caspian, to the west of the Irtish. The Ural (Yayīq) river and the Emba, disemboguing into the Caspian, the rivers of the steppes to the north-east of the Aral sea (such as the Irghiz and Turghai), and even some left affluents of the Irtish may be partly responsible for the confused descriptions of the course of this second river. The new detail added by the *Ākām*, namely that the river dries up in the summer, points to the steppe region.

The two last paragraphs, which stand isolated in the text of the *Ākām*, refer to the north-eastern territories lying pretty close to each other, and it would be strange if their description were due to two

<sup>1</sup> By *Toghuzghuz* Muslim writers mean both the tribes which originally belonged to the ancient Turkish (in Chinese *Tu-ch’üeh*) Empire, and the later Uyghur possessions in the eastern T’ien-shan.

<sup>2</sup> According to Idrīsī (Jaubert), ii, 221, the *Kīmākiya* border on the Toghuzghuz in the south, but the bearings in Muslim authors constantly vary up to 90°.

different sources. After all, one might suppose that Ibn-Khurdādhbih's original work contained a more complete account of the Kimāk land than the bare mention of a road to this tribe (*BGA.*, vi, 28 = Qudāma, 209). But then the bulk of our data on the Khazar-Burṭās (Burdās)-Bulghār (Bulkār) cannot be explained from I. Khurdādhbih. More probably, therefore, the description of the Kimāk territory was only one of the items in Jayhānī's description of the Turkish lands (as reflected in the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, §§ 12–22). The Khazar-Burdās-Bulkār chapters undoubtedly existed in Jayhānī.

The latter's *Kitāb al-mamālik wal-masālik* has not come down to us, but, by quotations and analogous passages in I. Rusta, I. Fāqih, I. Ḥauqal, the *Hudūd al-Ālam*, Muqaddasī, 'Aufī, etc., we know how great was the authority and influence of the Sāmānid vazīr who systematically utilized his exceptional opportunities for collecting relevant information. However, the size of Jayhānī's work (seven volumes !) rendered it difficult to make and distribute copies, and there are no indications that it was directly accessible in the extreme west of the Muslim world where our epitomator lived.

We have, then, to suppose that Jayhānī's data were used by our author through the work of some other author. The obvious person to come to mind is al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), whose countryman our Ishāq b. Ḥusayn presumably was, and whose work enjoyed great esteem among his contemporaries. Indeed, the Gayangos MS.<sup>1</sup> of Bakrī's *al-Mamālik wal-masālik* contains chapters on the Khazar-Furdās (Burṭās, Burdās)-Bulkār, but in an abridged form omitting several items which appear in our compendium.

Consequently the latter must be independent of Bakrī, and, as the two possible transmitters of Jayhānī's data, we might in principle consider I. Rusta or Ibn al-Fāqih.<sup>2</sup> Both authors' works, as reproduced in de Goeje's edition, are incomplete. Even the copy of Ibn al-Fāqih discovered in Mashhad by A. Z. Validi contains neither the chapters on the Khazar-Burdās-Bulkār nor the items on the Kimāk quoted in our analysis. In I. Rusta's text, as printed by de Goeje in *BGA.*, vii,

<sup>1</sup> All traces of it seem to have been lost, but the relevant passages from it bearing on Eastern Europe were published by Defrémery in *Journ. As.*, 1849, t. 13, pp. 460–477, and re-edited with commentary by Baron Rosen and Kunik, *Izvestiya al-Bakrī*, etc., *SPb.*, i, 1878, ii, 1903. [I hear from M. W. Marçais that a very complete MS. of al-Bakrī has been discovered in Morocco and that M. Colin has undertaken its publication.]

<sup>2</sup> Al Bakrī quotes as his source (in Jayhānī matters) a certain Aḥmad. Baron Rosen, *op. cit.*, 17, thought that the person meant was Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Hamadhānī (= Ibn al-Fāqih), but, as a matter of fact, Ibn-Rusta's name also was Aḥmad b. 'Omar.

the chapters on the Turks are lacking, but, at least, his Khazar-Burdās-Bulkār passages account for our text almost verbatim. Still disbelieving the possibility that two different sources were used by Ishāq b. al-Ḥusayn, I feel inclined to admit that at the bottom of the two passages in the *Ākām* there must be a more complete manuscript of Ibn-Rusta.

As regards the parallel texts quoted in the paragraph on the Turks, we must add that Gardīzī, in his extremely valuable chapter on the Turks,<sup>1</sup> expressly mentions Jayhānī among his sources. Bīrūnī does not unfortunately indicate the origin of the story about the spring in the Kimāk land, but almost immediately after, and in the same paragraph, he quotes Jayhānī's testimony on a spring between Bukhārā and Qaryat al-ḥadītha, and, further, on the columns of the Qayrawān mosque. If only the items on the Kimāk in Bīrūnī (300/1000) and Gardīzī (c. 442/1050) were borrowed from Jayhānī, the earlier Ibn-Rusta and Ibn al-Faḡīh<sup>2</sup> (both writing in the earlier part of the tenth century) could not have failed to know them through the same author, whom they certainly did utilize.

Our examination of the two last paragraphs of the *Ākām al-marjān* may appear to be merely destructive. Yet the Textkritik of our composite geographical texts is one of the very urgent problems, and by disentangling the data of a fresh source and defining the measure of its trustworthiness some useful purpose is served. It is necessary, too, to obviate any eventual speculation with misspellings which might be taken for novelties. Indirectly our analysis gives a new weight to the important unknown source (Jayhānī ?) which is at the bottom of so many older geographical works.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Barthold, in *Mémoires de l'Ac. de St.-Petersbourg*, viii<sup>e</sup> série, I, No. 4, 1897.

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Fihrist*, 154, Ibn al-Faḡīh "plundered (*salakha*) Jayhānī's book".

<sup>3</sup> See V. Barthold's and my own Prefaces to the *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, Gibb Memorial, new series, vol. 17, 1937.

# WILEY

**Royal  
Geographical  
Society**  
with IBG

Advancing geography  
and geographical learning

---

A Persian Geographer of A. D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 90, No. 3 (Sep., 1937), pp. 259-264

Published by: [Wiley](#) on behalf of [The Royal Geographical Society \(with the Institute of British Geographers\)](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1787615>

Accessed: 22/03/2013 18:39

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Wiley and *The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Geographical Journal*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## A PERSIAN GEOGRAPHER OF A.D. 982 ON THE OROGRAPHY OF CENTRAL ASIA

V. MINORSKY

IT is a matter of regret that the achievements of Muslim geographers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. are still very insufficiently known outside a narrow circle of orientalists. The fault lies to a considerable extent with those who keep this treasure <sup>1</sup> without thinking of rendering it accessible in European languages. No partial adaptations, even so excellent as le Strange's 'The lands of the Eastern Caliphate' <sup>2</sup> and P. Schwarz's 'Iran im Mittelalter,' <sup>3</sup> can give an adequate idea of the prodigious wealth of accurate information collected by the early Muslim scholars and travellers. Marco Polo's exploration is an outstanding event but it must not be forgotten that, three centuries before him, Muslims possessed most detailed descriptions of the countries, peoples, roads, and products of the area extending from Spain and Morocco to the outskirts of China and Tibet. The object of the present paper is to analyze the ideas of the Muslims on the orography of Central Asia, as they appear in the Persian geography written in A.D. 982, and bearing the title of *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, which may be translated as "The regions of the World." The author, whose name is unknown, dedicated his work to the local ruler of Gozgan (Northern Afghanistan) and presumably himself lived in the same region. From the point of view of Persian literature, the importance of the book is obvious, for it is earlier than Firdausi's famous 'Shah-nama' (A.D. 994). As regards its contents, the 'Hudud al-'Ālam' is a compilation based chiefly on earlier books in Arabic, but the writer has preserved to us some very valuable data on such countries as China, Tibet, India, and Central Asia which are not found elsewhere. There are good reasons for believing that the original authority for these particular data is Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad ibn-Ahmad Jayhani, of whom it is known that in A.D. 913-4 he became Vazir during the minority of the Samanid king Nasr ibn-Ahmad. Jayhani's famous work, which consisted of seven volumes, is now lost and only known to us from occasional quotations. Owing to his high position in Bukhara, Jayhani was able to gather much new and valuable information. According to Muqaddasi (about A.D. 985) "he assembled foreigners, questioning them on the kingdoms, their revenues, the kind of roads leading to them, the height of the stars and the length of the shadows in their land in order in this wise to facilitate the conquest of provinces, to know their revenues," etc.

The author of the 'Hudud al-'Ālam' <sup>4</sup> often mentions a map prepared by

<sup>1</sup> See 'Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum,' ed. by J. de Goeje, Leiden, 1870-94, 8 volumes (of which only one is translated). 'Bibliothek arabischer Historiker und Geographen,' ed. by H. von Mžik, Leipzig, 1926-31, 4 volumes published (only a few chapters translated).

<sup>2</sup> London, 1905, reprinted 1930.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, 1896-1929; vol. II in progress.

<sup>4</sup> 'Hudud al-'Ālam,' translated and explained by V. Minorsky, published by the "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial," New Series, vol. 17, 1937. The text of the translation has been divided into paragraphs, and the system of references has been retained in this paper. Signs of length have been used in rarer names when they are first mentioned.

himself, on which he evidently transferred the details found in Jayhani and the other sources accessible to him. This map has unfortunately not come down to us, but some idea of the "Face of the Earth" as represented by the author may be derived from the general chapters (§§ 3-7) in which he enumerates and describes the seas, islands, mountains, rivers, and deserts existing in the world.

The chapter on the mountains (§ 5) opens with the mention of [1] some Far-Eastern peninsula called *al-Tā 'in fil-bahr* ("Thrusting into the sea") and by a very detailed description of [2-5] a composite range<sup>1</sup> which must represent the longitudinal chains of Indo-China, continued by the mountains of the eastern Tibet, then by those stretching to the south of Sinkiang



*The 'Belt of the Earth' according to the author of 'Hudud al-'Alam'*

(Nan-shan, Kunlun), and finally the westernmost parts of the Tien Shan connected with the mountains which form the eastern and northern watershed of the Sir Darya (Jaxartes). Among the branches of this range are separately mentioned [6] Tafqan (Turfan?) which according to the details given corresponds to the Eastern Tien Shan, and [8] Tulas, which seems to be the Altai wrongly located to the north of the Issiq Köl.

After this comes the description of the "Belt of the Earth," which is the particular subject of the present paper. All the controversial points are fully discussed in my book and here we shall touch only on the geographical aspects of the question. Some names marked by asterisks have been restored to their better-known forms. The text runs as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Called *Manisa*, a name which may have been inaccurately transmitted.



"9. Another mountain stretches from the district of Kūlī in Kanbāya belonging to Hindūstān. It follows an easterly direction, to Šāmūr, then takes a northerly direction, passing between Dahum's country and that of the raja of the Hindus up to the limits of Hitāl. Then this mountain splits into two branches."

*Commentary.*—As the Lesser Mihran (Narbada) is said to flow through Kuli the initial point of the chain is probably to be sought to the south of this river (the Saler peak?). The name Samur is somewhat doubtful but, if we restore it as *Saymur*, the latter is the usual name of the modern Chaul. It is also possible that, by a mistake of orientation frequent in our author, "eastern" must be understood as "southern." In any case the further extension of the range must be imagined in the direction of the Mahadeo hills and then across the Ganges valley to some point in the Himalaya. It is noteworthy that our author entirely overlooks the existence of the Ganges though the latter is well known to the Arab geographers. By the "raja of the Hindus" the master of Kanauj is meant, whereas Dahum is said to be the king of central and eastern India. Hital (or Hibtal) is one of the three sub-Himalayan principalities named by our author in the region of Nepal.

"9A. One branch running northwards enters the confines of Tithāl and Nītāl and passes between the farthest border of India and Tibet, while it runs north of the confines of Bolor, Samarqandaq, \*Shughnan and Wakhan, and south of the desert; then on the confines of Zhāsht it takes a north-westerly direction and crosses the region of Buttamān belonging to Transoxiana, until it reaches the confines of Ushrūshana. This mountain has numberless ramifications in the districts of Shughnan, Wakhan and Zhāsht."

*Commentary.*—Hital, Tithal, and Nital are three sub-Himalayan countries, and the form *Nital* in Arabic characters can be very easily read as *Nepal*. The point from which this branch continues northwards can be tentatively taken for Dhaulagiri. Bolor is the region of Ladakh, etc., and Samarqandaq is probably Sarhad near the sources of the Oxus. The chain represents the Karakoram continued by the Pamir knot and the Alai mountains. Zhasht (usually Rasht) is Garm on the middle course of the river Vakhsh. This river rises in the Alai valley and in its lower course is the most important right-bank affluent of the Oxus.<sup>1</sup> The further extension of the range is the northern watershed of the Oxus separating it from Samarqand. Ushrushana is the old name of the province lying between Samarqand and Khojend.

"9Aa. From the interior of Wakhan and Zhāsht start numerous mountains spreading out inside the region of Khuttalān. One of the branches of Khuttalān separates and joins another stretching from the district of Buttamān. From them numerous ramifications run into the district of Chaghāniyān, where they scatter. And where the said original ridge of the mountain [9A] comes near Buttamān it splits into two, but near Ushrūshana (these two branches) unite again. From the region of Buttamān a branch shoots off which passes between the Buttamān-of-Daryāzha and Chaghāniyān and skirts the confines of Samarqand and Soghd down to the confines of Bukhara . . ."

*Commentary.*—This paragraph refers to the mountainous country corresponding roughly to the area of the present-day Soviet republic of Tajikistan

<sup>1</sup> Even the Greek name of the latter (\*Ωξος) is supposed to be a tentative rendering of the Iranian name Vakhsh.

on the northern bank of the Oxus. Khuttalan was the district between the Wakhan river and the Pamir; Chaghaniyan stretched to the north of Termez and to the west of the Vakhsh; Buttaman represents the parallel chains of Turkistan, Zarafshan and Hissar stretching south of Samarqand. Daryazha (a Soghdian form for Persian *daryacha* "small lake") corresponds to Iskandar Kōl feeding the Samarqand river.

"9B. As regards the other branch, from the frontier of Hitāl it runs inside Hindūstān, follows the border of \*Kanauj and passes between the country of the 'continental' Jāba and the kingdom of al-Jurz, where it is called Qasak. And so it runs north of the confines of Kashmir, Vayhind [the capital of Gandhara], Dunpur and Lamghān and south of Bolor, Shughnan, Wakhan and Badhakhsan, to the south of the districts of Khuttalān. Then it enters the region of Tukhāristān, stretches between \*Talaqān, Sakalkand, Khulm [Tashkurghan], Simingan [Haibak], and south of Balkh and penetrates into the region of Sān and Chāryak belonging to Gozgan."

*Commentary.*—Taking again Dhaulagiri for the starting point in the sub-Himalayan region we must identify the range with the inner chains of the Himalayas. Jaba's kingdom seems to correspond to the present-day Chamba state. Al-Jurz is the Arabic name of the Gurjara dynasty which reigned in Kanauj. The further extension corresponds to the Hindukush. Dunpur and Lamghan stand here practically for the Kabul region. Dunpur (Adinapur) is situated on the Surkh-rud tributary of the Kabul river, and Lamghan along the left affluent of the Kabul river flowing from Kafirstan. Tukharistan is the region to the east of Balkh. San and Charyak (now Sang-Charak) is the small district south of Sar-i pul (to the south-west of Balkh).

"9Ba. Then it turns westwards and in a north [read: south]-western direction penetrates into Ghor, passing south of Aspizār [Sabzar], Herat, Bushang and Nishapur. Between Nishapur and Sabzawar it runs north of the [Khurasan] road and again turning westwards passes north of Semnan and Rey and enters the region of Daylaman, stretching on up to the end of the limits of Gilan."

*Commentary.*—This branch corresponds to the part of the Hindukush [Siyah-koh] stretching to the south of the Hari Rud which then is brought into connection with the southern Khurasanian mountains and the southern face of the Elburz mountains.

"9Bb. And when this mountain after having deflected its course from Balkh reaches Madr belonging to Tukharistan, so many small and large branches spread out of it that only God knows their number. From each of its branches numerous spurs shoot off and spread in the region of Tukharistan, Andarab, Panjhir [Panjshir], Jāriyāna, Bamiyan, Bust, Rukhkhad [ancient Arachosia], Zamindavar and Ghazni and further stretch down to the region of Sind. And when the range of this mountain reaches the districts of Ghor, a branch shoots off from it and forms a circle like a finger-ring, then the branches unite again. . . . And from this ring of mountains a large branch shoots off which together with those other branches takes a westerly direction and spreads out in the region of Bust and Ghazni. Likewise in the neighbourhood of Aspizār this mountain possesses small offshoots which spread out in the districts of Aspizār."

*Commentary.*—This is the central part of the Hindukush with its southern ramifications near the headwaters of the Helmand. The “finger-ring” is most likely the valley of Dasht-Navur, which lies 35 miles to the north-west of Ghazni and has no outlet.

“9Bc. On reaching Sān and Chāryak belonging to Gōzgan this ridge [9B] splits into two branches: the one is that which we have described [9Ba]; the other runs north of it, taking a westerly direction between Kundarm and Anber (Anbār). It stretches between Gurzivan and Jahudan [Yahudan] between Bashin and Diza, between Marvarod and Baghshur and south of Sarakhs. Then it takes a northerly direction and runs to the region of Tus, Bāvard, and Nisā, until it reaches Gurgan. Then comes a valley three days long but narrow, called Dīnār-zārī. The mountain stretching on the other side of the valley directs its course through Isfarāin until it reaches Gurgan. Then it turns south-westwards running south of Amol and the towns of Tabaristan down to the region of the town of Rey. Then it joins the other chain [9Ba]. The two chains united go up to the end of the province of Gilan.”

*Commentary.*—This is the watershed of the Murghab and the Hari Rud [Band-i Turkistan] which, beyond Sarakhs, is prolonged by Kopet Dagh. Dinar-zari is the valley [Dahna-yi Gurgan] from which the Gurgan river rises. Further the description follows the watershed of the Gurgan and the rivers of Isfarain flowing towards the Iranian plateau. The range is then connected with the Elburz system, or more precisely, with its northern face overlooking the Caspian coast. According to our author the two branches meet in the region of Rey, which is not far from the truth in view of the existence of a knot of mountains to the west of Demavend.

“From Hindustan where this mountain begins up to Gilan where it ends it is called *Kamar-i zamīn* ‘Belt of the Earth,’ or in Arabic *Mintāqat al-Ard*.”

*Commentary.*—This conclusion leaves no doubt about the author’s intention to trace a continuous system of mountains between India and the Caspian Sea.

Perhaps the most original point of the description is the clear tracing of the ranges to the north, and to the south, of the Oxus. It is curious that the point of their separation is placed not in the neighbourhood of the Pamir but at some knot in the Himalaya which we tentatively have taken for Dhaulagiri. The distinct course of the two chains presupposes some knowledge of Karakoram [9A], for the Great Himalaya range distinctly belongs to 9B. However, confusion in details, probably borrowed from different sources, was inevitable. So the position of the mountain Qasak (as described under 9B) seems to contradict the item quoted in the chapter on the rivers: “It is said that from the summit of the ‘Mountain of Ice’ which is Qasak, a water springs up like a fountain and . . . separates into two in such wise that one half flows northwards and it is the river Kharnab [one of the headwaters of the Oxus], and the other flows southwards and it is the river Sindrudh, which afterwards becomes the Mihran [*i.e.* the Indus].” The name “Mountain of Ice” (*Kuh-i yakh*) may be the Persian prototype of the present-day Turkish *Muz-tagh* (-*Ata*) which has precisely the same meaning. Muztagh Ata, situated to the east of the Pamir near the watershed of several rivers, is indeed more suitable for our author’s story.

The idea of a "Belt of the Earth" may be of remote Zoroastrian origin. In the *Bundahishn*<sup>1</sup> the Elburz is represented as stretching "around the earth and connected with the sky," whereas the other mountains, 2244 in number, "have grown out of Elburz." The term itself *Kamar-i zamīn*, or *Mintaqat al-Ard*, apparently does not occur elsewhere in Muslim geographers but Ibn Hauqal, who wrote *circa* A.D. 977 and utilized Jayhani's book, speaks of a mountain stretching along "the spine of the earth (*ala zahr al-ard*)." According to him, in the east "it starts from China where it comes out from the Ocean and runs to Wakhan. It crosses Tibet, in the western part of the latter and not in its centre, and the eastern part of the Kharlukh land<sup>2</sup> until it enters Farghana which is within the Islamic territory. The ridge stretches over Farghana towards the Buttam mountain situated south of Ushrushana. . . . Then it takes a direction towards Samargand, skirts the latter on the south and runs towards Kishsh and Nasaf [Qarshi] and the region of Zamm[opposite Karki]. Then it crosses the Jayhun (Oxus) and stretches westwards to Juzjan (Gozgan) . . . and over Talaqan to Marvarud and Tus . . . leaving Nishapur to the east. Then it stretches to Rey . . . while the mountains of Jurjan, Tabaristan, Gilan and Daylam branch off from it. Then it joins the mountains of Azerbaijan." After that it continues along the right side of the road from Rey to Hulwan [near Sar-pul in the Zagros], turns north towards Tekrit and Amid [Diyarbakir] sending off its branches into Armenia and towards the Caucasus. Then it runs on towards Mar'ash where it joins the range coming from Syria. Through the latter the principal range is joined to the North African mountains which extend to the Atlantic.

As one sees, the idea of Ibn Hauqal is practically similar to that of the 'Hudud al-'Alam' but the tracing of the range has many independent features. It connects China with the Atlantic and in the eastern parts its description is rather vague. Our author, on the other hand, is incomparably more precise in his statements and treats the "Belt of the Earth" separately both from the Far-Eastern chains and the range which—also with many curious details—he traces between the Sinai and the Caucasus.

In any case the 'Hudud al-'Alam' marks an important stage in the study of the orographic system of Asia, which even in our times cannot be considered as quite complete. The description given in the book is not only accurate in its general lines but contains a mass of very precise details. Down to the nineteenth century we should look in vain in European literature for an equally clear picture of Central Asian ranges.

<sup>1</sup> English translation by E. W. West, 1880, ch. XII.

<sup>2</sup> In the neighbourhood of the Issiq Kōl.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Geographical Factors in Persian Art

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (1938), pp. 621-652

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of the [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608226>

Accessed: 28/02/2013 15:17

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## Geographical Factors in Persian Art

By V. MINORSKY.

### I. INTRODUCTION

THE connection of Art with Geography is obvious, but in the case of Persia the problem is somewhat different from that presented by other countries.<sup>1</sup>

For example, the most immediate influence of the natural environment on the landscape painters is hardly of any importance in Persia, where the miniaturists present their heroes in purely imaginary surroundings, now of radiant sunny spaces, now of fantastic rocks reminding one of coral reefs.

Very rarely, as in Muḥammadi's works (sixteenth century), does one see a clearly Iranian corner, somewhere on the Caspian shore, with small terraces of fields clinging to the steep slopes of crowded mountains, ploughmen walking after their zebus,<sup>2</sup> gay magpies rocking on the slender tops of cypresses, goats gathering to the piping of a herdsman, ragged and hirsute. We shall nearly have exhausted local traits when we have mentioned the stately plane-trees towering over scenes of audiences and garden parties. Later, when nature painting became realistic under the brush of Muḥammad Zamān<sup>3</sup> it merely borrowed the details from the Italian landscapes, to present Bahrām Gōr as a St. George galloping under some Florentine hills.

Persian architects had undoubtedly a subtle decorative feeling. Apart from the details, they knew the value of the bright spots of domes burning amid deserts as enormous golden candles, or soothing the traveller's eye with their intense blue. The builders depended chiefly on material of the same shade as the surrounding nature, and indeed white marbles, having travelled far from their congenial

<sup>1</sup> The present article, completed in December 1931, was intended for a larger circle of readers not necessarily consisting of professional orientalists. Its object lies not so much in details as in a general outline of the problem. The facts which have become available since 1931 have been referred to in footnotes.

<sup>2</sup> Zebras are found in Persia principally in the Caspian provinces. This is an important detail for locating Muḥammadi's activities, though by birth he seems to have been a native of Tabriz or Herat, cf. Sir T. Arnold, *Painting in Islam*, pp. 135, 144. [The idea that Muḥammadi was a Chinese convert (!) is entirely arbitrary. According to 'Āli's *Menāqib-i hūnervērān*, p. 64, note 3, "Muḥammadi beg" was the son of Sultan Muḥammad Tabrizi.]

<sup>3</sup> *V.i.*, p. 640.

sea, would not look to advantage among the grey and yellow tones of the Iranian highlands. Perhaps it would not be impossible to use in Persia stones of different colours, but, with a true instinct, the architects shunned any mauresque extravagance, better suited to more exotic skies and climes.<sup>1</sup>

These few points exhaust the immediate influence of natural environment on Persian Art. As in Persian poetry, so in painting and the plastic arts, this influence has been very limited and quite subordinated to imaginative and decorative elements.

Perhaps the "nature" which most appealed to the Persian artist was that arranged in gardens. Planned parks, to judge by their name<sup>2</sup> were a Persian invention. Directly connected with them was the special architecture of pavilions known at least since the Sasanian times.<sup>3</sup> But the gardens themselves are an important subject both for textiles and miniatures.

Most illuminating in this connection is the description of the carpet which the Arabs in A.D. 637 captured at the Sasanian capital Ctesiphon: "The carpet (*qitf*) was 60 cubits (*dhira'*) by 60 cubits, in one piece (measuring in all) one *jarīb*. On it were panels (roads) as if (representing) banks (*ṣawr*), and precious stones as if (representing) canals, the interstices between them (representing) as if dwellings (*diyar*). The border was like cultivated ground covered with plants at spring time, made of silk, with stems of gold and flowers of gold, silver, and the like."<sup>4</sup>

## II. PERSIA'S CULTURAL CENTRES

From these general remarks on the interdependence of Art and

<sup>1</sup> The only place with buildings in white and red stone seems to be the small defile above the Kurdish district of Somai (north-west of Urmia). These curious monuments have an immediate parallel on the Turkish side of the frontier in the castle of Khoshāb. See my article "Somai," in *EI*. Stones of two colours are characteristic of the Armenian architecture.

<sup>2</sup> Avestan *pairi-daēza* "surrounded by wall", Persian *palēz* "garden", Greek *παράδεισος*, European "paradise" and Arabic *firdaus*.

<sup>3</sup> See the reconstruction of the Qaṣr-i Shīrīn buildings in de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, iv, Recherches archéologiques, ii, pp. 341-360, the Safavid pavilions in Isfahān, Ashraf, and Farahābād, the Qājār buildings in the parks around Tehrān, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Ṭabari, i, p. 2452. The carpet was sent to Mekka and there cut to pieces; a similar fate later befell the Persian imperial banner Dirafsh-i Kāviyānī. Some words in the text are dubious: *quḍbān* has been translated as "stems" but, on a high authority, I hear that it may be rendered by "chain" (as opposed to "warp"); if instead of *diyar* we read *dayr* (monastery) it may be an echo of the Arab view according to which Christian monasteries were very pleasant abodes.

Geography, understood as the natural environment of the artist, we now pass to the more practical question of the places round which Persian art arose and grew. Art always gravitates to political centres. In our case, a study of artistic topography is rendered particularly useful by two conspicuous features of the history of Persia, namely by the plurality of its capitals and the constant shifting of the principal seat of the government. Our survey will be based chiefly on architectural remains, and this not only because they are the best witnesses of town life, but also because the construction of an important building necessitates a collaboration of artists representing many different branches of Art.

## 1.

Spiegel has defined Iran as the country between the Indus and the Tigris. The weak point of this definition is that it ignores the northern extension of the Iranian lands which once comprised many territories of the later Turkestan, and extended beyond the northern shore of the Caspian to the Northern Caucasus and the South Russian steppes.

Only in Achæmenid, and in a much lesser degree in Parthian and Sasanian, times was the majority of the Iranian lands united under one rule. But even then Iran had no such centre as Rome in Italy or Paris in France. The Achæmenids in their seasonal movements travelled between Persepolis, Ecbatana, and Susa, where their great monuments are actually found. Outside this roughly outlined triangle only inscriptions of secondary importance or productions of provincial art are known.

The Parthian Arsacids were associated by their origin and dialect principally with the north-eastern marches<sup>1</sup> and with the north of Persia generally, but their easy overthrow by the Sasanians is chiefly explained by the excessive decentralization of their empire and their neglect of purely Persian affairs. The Parthians were irresistibly drawn westwards. Their monuments lie in the westernmost part of Persia near the Zagros (Bisutūn, Sarpul) and in Mesopotamia (Hatra, Jazīrat ibn-ʿOmar, Assur, Boshat near Mayyafāriqīn, Dura-Europos, etc.).

The Sasanians sprang from Fārs. Their ancestors, connected with local sanctuaries and local dynasties, had transmitted to them a

<sup>1</sup> The royal tombs of the early Parthians lay in Nasā on the northern slope of the Khorasanian mountains; see my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 326.



personal pride in the province and its antiquities. Most of the Sasanian sculptures are found in Fārs, often in the immediate proximity of the Achæmenid monuments. The neighbouring western provinces (Khūzistān, the Bakhtiyārī country, Luristān) are covered with great engineering works of the Sasanian kings (roads, bridges). But as the trend of Sasanian politics was also towards the west, a number of Sasanian monuments adorned the royal road leading from the centre of Media to Mesopotamia; a Sasanian bas-relief used to exist close to Rayy; at three farsakhs' distance from Hamadān, at Juhasta (?) there stood a magnificent castle commemorating Bahrām Gōr's exploits<sup>1</sup>; the famous Tāq-i-bustān bas-reliefs are carved on the western side of the Bisutūn rock; the hunting castles of Qaşr-i Shīrīn and Haush-Kurrak, as well as the summer resort Daskara (near Shahraban), were also situated on the hills immediately above the Mesopotamian plains.

It is a matter of particular moment for the development of Persia culture and art that for 950 years the great administrative centre of the two Middle Persian kingdoms (Arsacid and Sasanian) was Seleucia-Ctesiphon which stood on the banks of the Tigris, right in the cultural focus of Mesopotamia, where the population was Semitic and the civilization mixed and full of reminiscences of ancient times.

## 2.

After the Arab conquest, the capital of the caliphate moved from Mekka to Kūfa, then to the far off Damascus and finally to Baghdād, close to the former Ctesiphon. In Persia, the Arabs had to base their power on local centres among which Rayy and Isfahān were prominent. Rayy must have been greatly arabicized though the population was mostly Iranian.<sup>2</sup> The 'Abbāsīd Mahdī, when heir apparent, built the city anew. Harūn al-Rashīd was born in Rayy and ever remembered with admiration its beautiful main street. As to Isfahān, 750 years before Shāh-'Abbās, the 'Abbāsīd caliph Mutawakkil<sup>3</sup> had already conceived the idea of making of it the capital of his empire, and the project was abandoned only on account of the protest of its inhabitants, who had probably reason to apprehend too intimate an intercourse with the court.

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh, p. 255, *v.i.*, p. 650, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Ya'qūbī, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, vii, p. 276, states that the inhabitants were a mixture of non-Arabs (*ajam*), the Arabs being very few in Rayy. The contrary affirmation in Schwarz, 760, is a slip. See now my article "Rayy" in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn Rusta, p. 156.

Out of ninety-two buildings which Herzfeld<sup>1</sup> enumerates in Persia before A.D. 1000 the following admit of a further classification.

Built by the Arabs, forty buildings, and by the people more or less associated with them—thirteen. These constructions are scattered all over Persia. Associated with the Ṭāhirids are two buildings (in Khorasan), with the Ṣaffārids—seven (Khorasan, Sīstān, Fārs Khūzistān), with the Sāmānids directly and indirectly—seven (east); with the Būyids—sixteen (south and west).

The effect of this table, which according to the author himself (*o.l.*, p. 148) does not pretend to be exhaustive, would be incomparably more decisive in favour of the eastern part of Persia, had not Khorasan been treated separately from Transoxiana.

### 3.

This country of old Iranian culture, situated between the Oxus and the Jaxartes, was designated in the legendary Persian tradition by the misleading term *Tūrān*, which later, by a sort of phonetic calembour, became associated with the *Turks*. No less a person than the great national poet Firdausi was in a great measure responsible for this substitution, for he was too vividly impressed by the misfortune which the Sāmānids had suffered at the hands of the recent Turkish invaders. But even for the Arab geographers of the tenth century Transoxiana, designated by the special term *Mā warā' an-nahr* i.e. "the Land beyond the river Oxus," was distinct from the properly Turkish lands stretching east of the Jaxartes between the Muslim possessions and China.<sup>2</sup>

In the history of Persian art it is impossible to disregard the pre-Islamic and early Islamic epoch in Transoxiana, which for a considerable time was the cultural centre influencing Khorasan and other Persian lands.

Till the times of the Sāmānid prince Aḥmad ibn Nūḥ ibn Naṣr (second half of the tenth century) there stood in Farakhshah (one day's march from Bukhārā) a celebrated castle of the former dynasty of the Bukhār-khudāts. Aḥmad used its wood for his constructions.<sup>3</sup> In Kushāniya (actually Kashan-ata) there was a building with pictures

<sup>1</sup> "Khorasan, Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islam in Iran," in *Der Islam*, xi, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "Tūrān" in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> Narshakhi, *History of Bukhara*, ed. Schefer, pp. 15–16. Russian translation by Lykoshin-Barthold, Tashkent, 1897.

of the sovereigns of China, the Turks, Persia, Rome, and the Hindu Brahmans.<sup>1</sup> In Arfūd (later called Ṭawāwis, half-way between Bukhārā and Samarqand) a temple of fire-worshippers and an idol-temple (of Buddhists) peacefully co-existed side by side. In Rāmush too a temple of idol-worshippers survived till the Sāmānid times.<sup>2</sup>

## 4.

In Bukhara the first mosque was built by Qutaiba in 713 on the site of the former temple of the idolators (Buddhists?). The new cathedral mosque was erected by Yaḥyā al-Barmakī in 794. In 902 the Sāmānid Ismā'il enlarged it, in 918 a minaret was added to it by the vazir Jayhānī. Burnt down in 1068, it was restored in 1069 with a new mihrāb carved at Samarqand. In 959 the vazir 'Utbi built a mosque close to Rīgistān. The Sāmānid Ismā'il's palace stood on the canal Jūy-i Mūliyān,<sup>3</sup> that of Naṣr on the Rīgistān place, that of Maṣūr (967) near the New Gate in Kārak-i 'Alawiyān. Under 951 the construction of a building by Nūḥ ibn Naṣr is mentioned and in 971 Maṣūr built a new place for festival services at a distance of half a farsakh from the citadel.

Early Moslem buildings<sup>4</sup> in Samarqand were an old palace of the Arab amīrs, a prison, a cathedral mosque, a castle of Rāfi' ibn Layth, a tomb of the Prophet's cousin Qutham ibn 'Abbās, later known under the popular name of Shāh-zinda.<sup>5</sup> Under the Sāmānids Samarqand, according to Barthold,<sup>6</sup> could easily have had a population of 500,000.

Among the other towns of Transoxiana, there were mosques, mostly cathedral, in the following places: Balkh, Kālif, Zāmīn, Firabr, Navīda, Panjīkath, Wadhār (built by the Arab Abū Muzāḥim Subā' ibn al-Naḍr).

Just as the mighty impulse given by the **Sāmānids** to Persian poetry and historiography had echoed all over Persia, it would be incomprehensible if Transoxiana, the seat of a powerful dynasty which often occupied Rayy, had had no direct effect on Persian, and

<sup>1</sup> Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-kioue*, St. Pétersbourg, 1903, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> For all these places see Barthold, *Turkestan*, ed. Gibb Memorial.

<sup>3</sup> Properly *Jūy-i Maulāyan*.

<sup>4</sup> The quarries which furnished stone for the city buildings in Samarqand and the clay for the preparation of vessels, glass, and depilatory stuffs, were situated at Kuhak, Iṣṭakhrī, p. 318.

<sup>5</sup> See its description by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1355), iii, 52-4, Barthold, *o.l.*, p. 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

in the first place on Khorasanian, architecture, even if it is admitted that the Sāmānids themselves had been considerably influenced by Samarrā. The only building of the Sāmānid times still standing in Bukhārā, viz. the mausoleum of the amīr Ismā'il (d. 295/907), is of a rather peculiar style unknown in Persia,<sup>1</sup> and we can hardly expect that this particular building exhausted all the types of the numerous contemporary buildings that have now disappeared.

The influence of Bukhārā must also have been considerable on the production of textiles. According to Narshakhī (who wrote in A.D. 943),<sup>2</sup> a famous manufactory (*kārgāh*, *bayt al-tīrāz*), standing near the cathedral mosque in Bukhārā,<sup>3</sup> produced carpets (*bisāt*), door-hangings (*shādravān*),<sup>4</sup> as well as yazdī-textiles, cushions (*bālīsh*), prayer-rugs (*muṣallā*) and the striped fabrics used at the inns (*burdī-yi funduqī* ?), for the use of the caliph. "The kharāj (land-taxes) of Bukhārā was spent exclusively on big carpets, as every year a special agent came from Baghdād and whatever was the sum of the kharāj, he took in its stead those textiles (*jāma*)."<sup>5</sup> Narshakhī, or perhaps his continuator, adds that the manufactory had then a set-back, and the masters specially trained for this work deserted Bukhārā. No such products were woven in any of the cities of Khorasan, and even when the specialists formerly resident in Bukhārā went to Khorasan and prepared there the necessary implements, they could not weave textiles of the same splendour (*āb-u-raunaq*). Formerly there was not a king, or a prince, or a chief, or an employee who had not such textiles, which were made in red, white, and green colours. Merchants used to export them to Syria, Egypt and the Byzantine cities. At the time of the composition of the book the cotton stuff (*karbās*) produced in the village Zandana<sup>5</sup> and therefrom called *zandanijī*, had become much more generally known than those old Bukhārā textiles.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Umniakov, *Architectural Monuments of Central Asia* (in Russian), Tashkent, 1929, pp. 4, 17; Cohn-Wiener, *Turan*, 1930, pl. 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Schefer, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> It seems to have still been there in 1178 when the abridgment of Narshakhī, which alone has come down to us, was compiled.

<sup>4</sup> Markwart, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ēranšahr*, Rome, 1931, p. 73, explains *shādravān* as "portière" (from \**Shāh-dar-pān* "protecting the door of the king").

<sup>5</sup> Zandana is situated four farsakhs north of Bukhārā. The stuff *zandanijī* was later manufactured in other villages of Bukhārā, and exported to 'Irāq, Fārs, Kirmān, and India. The *zandanijī* seems to have been of a common quality, as the grooms, who were slaves, wore garments made of it, Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 227.

<sup>6</sup> See also a long list which Muqaddasī, pp. 323-6, gives of the articles exported from Transoxiana.

## 5.

Following the renaissance in Transoxiana and Khorasan, other provinces lying more to the west began their emancipation.

In the Caspian provinces, in the district of Gurgān there still stands a tower of Qābūs ibn Vushmagīr, of the **Ziyārid** dynasty which occupied an area intermediate between the Sāmānids and the Būyids.<sup>1</sup> This tower, built in A.D. 1006–7,<sup>2</sup> seems to be the oldest architectural monument standing intact in Persia and, if one remembers the close connection of Qābūs with the Sāmānids one cannot help thinking that the striking originality of this building may be accounted for simply by the disappearance of other similar buildings of the Sāmānids.

The Rādkān tower standing on the river Nikā west of Astarābād was finished in 411 (A.D. 1020–1) by the Ispahbad Abū Ja‘far Muhammad ibn Vandarīn of the local **Bāvand** dynasty which had maintained its rights since the Sasanian times, but at the date in question was eclipsed by the Ziyārīds.<sup>3</sup> The building resembles that of Gurgān and is particularly interesting on account of its Middle Persian inscription.<sup>4</sup>

West of the Ziyārīds rose the **Būyid** dynasty, the importance of which has not yet found adequate recognition.<sup>5</sup> From their mountain fastness of Daylam the Būyids spread over all the Persian lands, except the north-east, and dominated Mesopotamia. For the first time the shī‘a was proclaimed the official creed of a great reigning dynasty and the Iranian heretics became guards and protectors of the caliph himself. The great centres of the different branches of the dynasty were Shīrāz, Rayy, and Baghdād. The assumption of the ancient title *shāhīnshāh* (“King of Kings”) by the Būyids shows how they clung to the past. Very curious is the oldest Muslim inscription in Persia, which ‘Aḏid 6 al-daula, following the example

<sup>1</sup> Qābūs depended on the Sāmānids and later on the Ghaznavids. His relations with the Būyids were strained. See C. Huart, *Les Ziyārīdes*, Paris, 1922, pp. 52–63.

<sup>2</sup> The original date is 375 in the solar era (i.e. as shown by van Berchem, the Yazdagird era) and 397 in the lunar era (i.e. the Hijra era), both corresponding to A.D. 1006. See Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> See Godard in *Āthār-é Īrān*, i/1, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> The inscription has been deciphered by Herzfeld, *Mitteilungen aus Iran*, iv, 1932, p. 140–7. Recently two other similar towers have been found in Māzandarān, at Lajīm and Resget (Raz-gat ?), and described by A. Godard, *Āthār-é Īrān*, i, 1936, pp. 125–160. For the decipherment of the Middle Persian inscription of Lājīm see Herzfeld, *Mitteilungen*, viii/2, 1936, pp. 78–81.

<sup>5</sup> I tried to elucidate the historical meaning of this “Iranian intermezzo” in my *La Domination des Dailāmītes*, Paris, 1932.

<sup>6</sup> In Persia the name is pronounced with *i*, not with *u* (*‘Adud*).

of the Sasanians, caused to be engraved at Persepolis in 344/955 ; in it he says that the ancient (Sasanian ?) inscriptions of that place were interpreted to him by a secretary and a Zoroastrian priest (*mobad*).<sup>1</sup> In the neighbourhood of the Muslim Iṣṭakhr, which sprang up near the site of Persepolis, stands 'Adid al-daula's famous dyke. Muqaddasī, p. 449, becomes quite lyrical in describing the monarch's palace in Shirāz with its 360 rooms<sup>2</sup> and its wonderful library where all the known books of the time were gathered. The same author, while explaining that the pyramids in Egypt were originally tombs (p. 210), makes *en passant* a highly interesting remark : " Behold the Daylamite kings (i.e. the Būyids) at Rayy, who build over their tombs lofty domes (*qubab 'ālīya*), which they construct with all their zeal and erect to their utmost ability, lest they decay, while those who are under the kings build smaller (domes)." Other Būyid monuments are scattered over Fārs, Khūzistān, Mesopotamia, and Kirmān.<sup>3</sup>

Very little is yet known concerning the monuments of some prosperous smaller dynasties which asserted their independence under the ægis, or behind the screen, of the Sāmānids in the east, and the Būyids in the west : the **Abū-Dāvūdids** of Balkh, the **Muhtājids** of Chaghāniyān (south-east of Bukhārā), the **Farīghūnids** of Gūzgān (west of Balkh) on the one hand, and the **Musāfirids** of Tārom,<sup>4</sup> the **Rawwādids** of Tabrīz and Marāgha,<sup>5</sup> the **Hasanwaihids** of Kurdistān on the other.<sup>6</sup>

## 6.

The Turks who founded independent kingdoms from the end of the tenth century onwards gradually did away with the Iranian

<sup>1</sup> S. de Sacy, *Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse*, Paris, 1793, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Muqaddasī, p. 450 : Some of the rooms were imitating the colour (*laun*) of Chinese porcelain (*al-ghadar al-sīnī*), others that of rock, some were panelled with marble (*mafrūsh bil-rukhām*), some gilt over, some covered with paintings (*muṣawwar*).

<sup>3</sup> To that dynasty also were probably due several buildings in Qazvīn, Qum, Abhar, Isfahān, Dīnavar, Nihāvand, etc., mentioned by Arab geographers, Herzfeld, *o.l.*, pp. 166-7.

<sup>4</sup> Great wonders are told about Muḥammad b. Musāfir's buildings in the castle of Shamīrān, where he attracted the best artisans from everywhere. The castle stood on the Safid-rūd, at a distance of some three hours above the Manjil bridge. See my article "Tarom" in *EI*. I now see that Häntzsche, in Brugsch, *Reise*, ii, 471-2, has given a description of the ruins, without knowing what the place was.

<sup>5</sup> See my articles "Tabrīz" and "Marāgha" in *EI*.

<sup>6</sup> On the ruins of their capital Sarmāj, south of Bisūtūn, see O. Mann, *Globus*, 1903, vol. lxxxiii, pp. 327-331. Hasanwaih's mosque in Sarmāj was built of hewn stone, Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 281.

dynasties, but the change of rulers could not suddenly check or modify local culture, which in fact the conquerors themselves patronized in order to give more lustre to their reign.

The **Qara-khanid** dynasty which by 999 conquered Samarqand and Bukhārā, lasted till the year 1141. Many of these kings were great builders. Shams al-mulk in 1078 built Rabāṭ al-Malik which is the oldest non-religious building still existing, although in ruins, in Turkestan.<sup>1</sup> To him also were due the rabāṭ of Aq-kutal (on the road Samarqand-Khojand), the palace Shams-ābād in Bukhārā, and the new cathedral mosque in Bukhārā. Aḥmad khan (d. A.D. 1095) was the builder of a magnificent new palace at Jūybār. But the greatest number of constructions are attributed to Arslan khan who restored the citadel of Bukhārā and its walls, built an oratory outside Shams-ābād (in 1119), a superb cathedral mosque (in 1121), which was destroyed by the Mongols and of which a minaret survived till 1920. He further built two palaces of which the one was turned into a madrasa, and restored the town of Paykand. Tamghach-khan Ibrahim was the builder of a magnificent palace in the Gurgīn quarter of Samarqand.<sup>2</sup>

The **Ghaznavids'** domination in Khorasan and Central Persia was short and precarious. Soon, under the pressure of the Seljuks, the Ghaznavids concentrated their activities in southern Afghānistān and Northern India. They gave a considerable incentive to Persian literature and historiography but, as regards architecture, did not leave any vestiges outside the immediate environs of their capital Ghaznī. The two famous towers of Ghaznī are closely akin to the similar constructions in Khorasan but, as usually happened in the Kābul valley, influences from the Indian lowlands had already under Mas'ūd (A.D. 1030–1041) made themselves felt in the style of Ghaznavid decorations.<sup>3</sup> A brief formula to characterize the Ghaznavid art would be that being eastern Persian it developed in the north-to-south direction.

An incomparably more important role in Islamic history belongs to the **Seljuks** who, contrary to the Ghaznavids, operated on the east-to-west line and joined Transoxiana to Mesopotamia. In 1036 they began their triumphal march from Khorasan and already in

<sup>1</sup> Umniakov, "Rabāt-i Malik" (in Russian) in *Dedicatory volume to V. V. Barthold*, Tashkent, 1927. The rabāṭ lies in the neighbourhood of Karmīna.

<sup>2</sup> Narshakhī, pp. 49–50; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> A. Godard, *Ghaznī*, Paris, 1925, p. 59.

1055 were masters of Baghdād. The buildings of the Seljuks, their kinsmen, and ministers are scattered in Marv, Rayy, Isfahān, Kirmān, and Baghdād. The rule of the great sultans lasted only some 120 years; the empire, which shrank as quickly as it had expanded, never finally developed a natural centre. Perhaps Isfahān might have become such,<sup>1</sup> but when after 1118 the authority passed to the 'Irāq branch, Hamadān decidedly outweighed Isfahān. Here stood the college founded by Ay-aba, the atabek of Sultan Tughril II. Here still stands the Gunbad-i 'Alawiyyān, most probably the mausoleum of the rich and influential family 'Alawī which flourished in Hamadān under the last Seljuks.<sup>2</sup>

Already during his reign the last great Seljuk Sanjar was made prisoner by the unruly Turkoman tribes. After his death (A.D. 1157) the east was lost to the Seljuks. In 1187 the Kirmān branch was overthrown by the Turkoman rebels and in 1194 the last of the Seljuks of 'Irāq fell in a battle with the Khwārazm-shāh, the new rising power. However, the episode of the **Khwārazmian** domination, owing to its brevity and agitated character, had no importance in the cultural life of Persia.

On the other hand during the decline of the Seljuks the local dynasties of former governors (*atabeks*) had asserted their autonomy, and under their rule the provinces enjoyed some degree of tranquillity and stimulation, indispensable for the development of any craft not purely utilitarian.

The founder of the **Salghurid** dynasty of Fārs, Sunqur ibn Maudūd (1148–1162), built the cathedral mosque of Shīrāz and a rest-house (*rabāt*), while his successors' achievement was the embellishment of the mausoleum of the celebrated saint Abu 'Abdillāh ibn Khafif.<sup>3</sup>

The extant buildings of the Āzarbayjān rulers of the **Ildegizid** family are concentrated in Nakhchivan on the northern bank of the Araxes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The great Masjid-i jum'ā was built by Malik-shāh, see now in detail A. Godard, in *Āthār-e Īrān*, i/2, 1936, pp. 213–282. Nizām al-mulk, the great minister of the Seljuks, was buried in Isfahān in a madrasa built by himself (Zakariyā Qazwīnī, ii, 276) and which must not be confused with the better known Nizāmiya completed in Baghdād in 1065. Sultan Bark-yaruq's (d. A.D. 1104) resting-place was in a mausoleum constructed for him in Isfahān by his favourite wife.

<sup>2</sup> The Gunbad was first mentioned by Khanykov (1852). Herzfeld, "Der Gunbad-i 'Alawiyyān" in *A volume . . . presented to E. G. Browne*, Cambridge, 1922, dates it of the reign of Uljāytū (1304–1316). But if my hypothesis is right, the date would be circa A.D. 1200–1250. Cf. *Rāhat al-Ṣudūr*, p. 40; *Jahān-gushā*, i, 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, Gibb Memorial, pp. 505–9 (transl. pp. 120–1).

<sup>4</sup> Khanykoff, "Mémoire sur les inscriptions musulmanes du Caucase," *Jour. As.*, August, 1862, and Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*. Cf. now my article "Nakhičevān" in *EI*.



**Sāva**, situated half-way between Qazvīn and Qum, seems to have had a series of autonomous rulers whose history is still very little known. To their constructions may belong some of the stucco ornaments which came to light at the London Exhibition of Persian Art.<sup>1</sup>

## 7.

The Khwārazmians were crushed by the wave of **Mongol** invasion. Contrary to the current view that the Mongol domination was of a purely destructive character—a view that echoes perhaps the resentment of the Muslims against the capture of Baghdād and the cruel execution of the caliph—the Mongols guaranteed to the conquered races the benefits of a stable rule and opened communications with far distant countries, thus encouraging both material and intellectual exchanges, while they directly promoted sciences and arts.

The activities of the Ilkhans were concentrated in their crown province Āzarbayjān. In Hulāgū's capital Marāgha there exist five remarkable tumular towers but, as A. and Y. Godard have shown, none of them belongs to the conqueror's times.<sup>2</sup>

Both Hulāgū and his son Abaqa were buried on the island Shāhī where Hulāgū's treasure was also kept.<sup>3</sup> Already under Abaqa the capital was transferred to Tabrīz<sup>4</sup> and the Ilkhans gave much attention to its suburb Shanb (Shām), quite particularly associated with the name of Ghazan. He built here a mausoleum in which he was buried in state in 703/1304. This gorgeous building was surrounded by a mosque, two madrasas, a house for the sayyids (*dār al-siyāda*), a hospital, a library, an office for the archives, a tank, a bath, etc. The ministers and the nobles worked on the embellishment of Tabrīz itself. The famous vazir and historian Rashīd al-dīn's creation was the new quarter of Rab'-i Rashīdī with numerous edifices.

Ghazan's successor Uljāytū (1304–1316)<sup>5</sup> is particularly known by his attempt to create a new capital in Sulṭāniya, which was neither geographically nor historically suited for such a high destiny. The

<sup>1</sup> To atabek Shīrgīr (towards A.D. 1107–1127) were due some constructions near Sāva.

<sup>2</sup> *Āthār-é Īrān*, i/2, 1936, pp. 125–156. Three of them are of the sixth/twelfth century. The oldest of them bears the date of 542/1148 and the name of the builder Qawwām of Āzarbayjān 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Maḥmūd b. Sa'd; cf. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, p. 298.

<sup>3</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 241. The treasury was plundered before Ghazan's times; cf. D'Ohsen, *Histoire des Mongols*, iv, 340.

<sup>4</sup> See my article "Tabrīz" in *EI*.

<sup>5</sup> The original pronunciation of his name is *Öljejtū*.

memento of this royal fancy is Uljāitū's mausoleum in Sultāniya, one of the most celebrated buildings in the whole of Persia. The last of the Mongol dynasty Abū Sa'id (1316-1335) was also buried in Sultāniya but the fact that Uljāitū's own vazir 'Alī-shah built his famous mosque<sup>1</sup> in Tabriz shows that the old city did not divest itself of its primacy even when the glory of its ephemeral rival<sup>2</sup> stood at its highest. Uljāitū was a great builder and the remarkable mosque in Varāmīn (south-east of Rayy)<sup>3</sup> dated 1322 (and rebuilt in 1412) was erected under his auspices. In his time too 'Aḍid b. 'Alī al-Māstarī, commissioned by the Sāhib Dīvān Sa'd al-dīn, reconstructed the great cathedral mosque of Isfahān.<sup>4</sup>

Among the provincial buildings of the Mongol epoch are the funerary tower of Rādkān in Khorasan,<sup>5</sup> the tower of Mirī Khātūn, daughter of Arghun-aqa,<sup>6</sup> built in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and a series of most beautiful mausoleums of Mongol amirs at Akhlāt on the northern shore of the lake of Van.<sup>7</sup> Under the dynasty of the **Qutlugh-khans** (A.D. 1220-1303) Kirmān formed a considerable cultural centre.<sup>8</sup> Here the founder of the dynasty built a madrasa outside the city while another madrasa, known under the name of Green Dome, was constructed within the walls in 1242. The energetic Tarkān khātūn who ousted her brother from the throne erected in Kirmān a magnificent cathedral mosque in 1260. In **Luristān**, too, the atabek Nuṣrat al-dīn Aḥmad (A.D. 1295-1329), a

<sup>1</sup> 'Alī-shāh's ambition was to eclipse the Sasanian palace (*Tāq-i Kisrā*) at Ctesiphon. We possess a detailed description of the mosque in an Egyptian relation preserved in al-'Aynī's *'Iqd al-Jimān*, transl. by Baron Tiesenhhausen, *Zapiski Vost. Otd.*, i, 1886, pp. 114-18.

<sup>2</sup> See my article "Sultāniya" in *EI*. Several buildings in Sultāniya belong to the later Ṣafavid and Qājār times.

<sup>3</sup> The mosque has been studied in detail by V. Morozov. See my article in *Apollo*, London, March, 1931 and "Varāmīn" in *EI*.

<sup>4</sup> van Berchem, in *Mélanges H. Derenbourg*, Paris, 1909, pp. 367-378, and *Āthār-e Īrān*, i/2, p. 234.

<sup>5</sup> This Rādkān, situated north-east of Qūchān is not to be confused with the Rādkān situated on Nikā, south-west of Astarābād, v.s. It belonged to the special fief of the famous Mongol administrator Arghun-aqa, v.i., p. 634, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> See van Berchem in "Materialen z. ältesten Geschichte Armeniens", *Abhand. Ges. Wiss. Göttingen*, N.F., ix, pp. 158-9; of the date one reads only seven hundred (7 ? ?).

<sup>7</sup> These round towers, dated 1273, 1279, 1281, strangely recall similar buildings in Persia, but here they show an influence of the Armenian style. They were first discovered by Lynch, *Armenia*, ii, 280-297. For more details see Bachmann, *Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan*, Leipzig, 1913, pl. 55-8.

<sup>8</sup> See my article "Qutlugh-khan" in *EI*.

contemporary of Ghazān and Uljāytū, was a great builder. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa ascribes to him no less than 160 madrasas.<sup>1</sup>

After Abū-Saʿīd, who died childless, eight Mongol khans, one after the other, struggled for the supremacy in Āzarbayjān (1336–1344). Then two families of former Mongol generals (the Chobanids and the Jalāyirs) rose to prominence and finally the Jalāyirs (from 759/1358) ruled over an unusual combination of territories comprising Baghdād and Tabrīz and extending towards the eastern part of Transcaucasia. The **Jalāyirs** were patrons of the arts<sup>2</sup> and notwithstanding the very agitated character of their rule were regarded as the lawful rulers of Āzarbayjān. The most imposing brick building (*ark*) which towers over Tabrīz must be Shah Uwais's *Daulat-khāna*, which Clavijo calls "Tolbatgana".<sup>3</sup>

The situation in Eastern Persia after the death of Abū-Saʿīd (1336) was no less entangled. A scion of the Mongol khans, Tughā Tīmūr, was reigning in Astarābād, while Khorasan came under the sway of the Shīʿite Sarbadārs who were rather a series of rulers than a dynasty. Some parts of Khorasan were occupied by the **Karts** of Herat. On the lands between Tūs and Marv a local family of Mongol origin<sup>4</sup> enjoyed some sort of independence.

In the south, after a struggle between the two families of Mongol governors, the Injūyids and **Muẓaffarids**, the latter triumphed and ruled in Fārs, Kirman, Persian 'Irāq, and Khūzistān (1353–1393). Even against Tabrīz, the Muẓaffarids twice led expeditions. The court of Shīrāz in those days was frequented by such poets as Ḥāfiz, but one knows little of the architectural activity of this dynasty. Sharaf al-din Muẓaffar was buried in his own madrasa in Maybūd near Yazd (in 713/1314). Mubārīz al-din built a mosque outside the Zarand gate of the old city of Kirmān,<sup>5</sup> a college called *Dār al-siyāda*, etc. Shāh Shujāʿ is said to have spent 200,000 dinars on his own tomb and a rest-house, both in Mekka. Masjid-i Pā-minār, still

<sup>1</sup> See my article "Lur-i Buzurg" in *EI*.

<sup>2</sup> See the Jalāyir Sultān Aḥmad's *Divān* with very curious illustrations published by Dr. Martin, *Miniatures from the Period of Tīmūr*, Vienna, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> The rare "Muntakhab al-tawārikh", *Bib. Nat.*, sup. pers., 1651, fol. 327 v., definitely says that Shāh Uwais built a *Daulat-khāna*. See my article "Tabrīz" in *EI*.

<sup>4</sup> The Jān-Qurbānī (probably in Mongol \**Dzun-ghurban*) were the descendants of the Mongol governor Arghūn-Aqa (of Oyrat origin), see *Jahān-gushā*, ii, 242–251, cf. my article "Tūs" in *EI*.

<sup>5</sup> According to the *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, transl. pp. 114, 184, the mosque was built in 752/1351, but Sir P. Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, p. 194, says that the inscription of Mubārīz al-dīn's cathedral mosque gives 730/1329.

existing in Kirmān, was founded by Sultan 'Imād al-dīn about 793/1390.

## 8.

Tīmūr's invasion forcibly united the Iranian lands and, in spite of all the massacres and destruction which accompanied it, led to the formation of cultural centres round the residences of the prince-governors. Tīmūr himself did not care for any town but his own capital Samarqand whither the booty and the artisans from the conquered regions were directed.

Of Tīmūr's sons, Mirān-shāh put at the head of an immense fief ("Hulāgū's fief") with the capital at Tabrīz was not insensible to the charm of arts, at least of music, but even the official historians say that a fall from horseback affected his reason to such a point that he committed acts of vandalism. He is said to have destroyed several buildings and caused the bones of the famous Rashīd al-dīn to be thrown out of his tomb at Rab'-i Rashīdī.

In Shīrāz the successive rule of the princes Iskandar and Ibrāhīm offered better prospects to men of science and art.

But one of the highest epochs of Persian art was reached under those highly cultivated **Timurids** who from Herat ruled over the rapidly waning realm of Eastern Persia. From the still mighty sovereign Shāh-Rukh (1404-1447), who led expeditions to South Persia and even to Armenia and Transcaucasia, down to Sultān Ḥusayn Bayqarā (1473-1506), a merely local ruler, Herat remained for a century the great centre of Persian artistic and literary life.<sup>1</sup>

With Herat too are associated the splendours of Persian miniature painting, both in its early virile period connected with the name of the patron prince Baysunqur (d. A.D. 1433), and in its later still more brilliant though perhaps less vigorous phase, the central figure of which is the great Bihzād.

## 9.

The splendours of Herat in the east did not, however, exhaust the artistic activities of the fifteenth century. In the west the chief

<sup>1</sup> On the great number of poets, writers and historians who in the fifteenth century lived in Herat see E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, iii. See also the material collected by L. Bouvat in his "Essai sur la civilisation timouride", *JA.*, April, 1926, pp. 193-299. On the Timurid monuments see Khanikoff in *JA.*, 1860, xv, pp. 537-543, and recently R. Byron, *The road to Oxiana*, 1937, Index under "Herat".

opponents of the Timurids were the **Turcoman** dynasties of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep (in Turkish respectively *Qara-Qoyunlu* and *Aq-Qoyunlu*).

The first had a moment of glory under *Jahān-Shāh* who extended his raids even to Herat, and to whom the most gorgeous monument of Tabriz, the Blue Mosque (*Gök-Masjid*), is due.<sup>1</sup> *Jahān-shāh* was a poet under the *nom de plume* *Ḥaḡiqī*, and a copy of his Turkish and Persian poems is still extant.

When the *Aq-Qoyunlu* overthrew their rivals of the Black Sheep, they too concentrated their efforts on Tabriz. There *Uzun Ḥasan* built the madrasa *Naṣriya* where he was buried, a mosque north of the maidān of *Ṣāhib-ābād* mentioned by *Evliyā Chelebi*,<sup>2</sup> and probably, the palace which *Giosafā Barbaro* calls “*Aptisti*” (*Haft-dast*).

Under *Sultān Ya‘qūb*, the enlightened successor of *Uzun Hasan*, the court was rich in literary talents. An album of miniatures arranged for this prince is now kept at the *Vieux Sérail Museum* at *Stambul*.<sup>3</sup> Among his buildings was the splendid palace of *Hasht-Bihisht*,<sup>4</sup> with a harem “so large that a thousand women might conveniently live there in different rooms”, a mosque, a public place, and a hospital.

## 10.

The political and cultural centre of Persia moved several times under the great **Safavid** dynasty. The original home of the family, where its ancestors had resided probably since the *Seljuk* times, was *Ardabīl* in the north-eastern corner of *Āzarbayjān*. This was the ancient capital of the province, where the *Sasanian* governor (*marzpan*) was living at the time of the Arab invasion. Later, especially after the *Mongol* domination in the thirteenth century, the first place in *Āzarbayjān* passed to *Tabriz*, but *Ardabīl* lived on, as a sort of autonomous theocratic state, in the odour of sanctity of its *shaykhs*, the ancestors of *Shāh Ismā‘il I*. *Ardabīl* and its environs are a unique

<sup>1</sup> According to *W. Hinz*, the date of the mosque is 25th October, 1465, and its architect's name is *Aḥmad b. Muḥammad*, *ZDMG*, 1937, 91, pp. 59 and 422.

<sup>2</sup> *‘Ālam-ārā*, p. 217; *Evliyā Chelebi*, *Seyāhat-nāma*, ii, pp. 245–278. Cf. *Hinz*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> *Sakisian*, *Miniature persane*, Paris, 1929, pp. 34–7. The album (No. 37084) contains specimens of calligraphy, etc., by *Sultān ‘Alī*, *Shaykh Muḥammad*, ‘*Abd ar-Rahmān*, etc., who call themselves *Ya‘qubī*.

<sup>4</sup> *The Anonymous Italian Traveller*, *Hakluyt Society*, 1873, p. 173, calls it “*Astibisti*” and says that on its ceiling were represented all the great Persian battles, embassies, etc.

example of a museum-city full of saintly memories. The Ṣafavid monarchs never resided in Ardabil but retained pious recollections of the home of their fathers. Sarre<sup>1</sup> thinks that the Ardabil mosque was erected in the second half of the thirteenth century, the famous tomb of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn, in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the rest of the buildings composing the sanctuary, in the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Ardabil has never been known as a centre producing artists, but only as a place for keeping the treasures.

No sooner had Shāh Ismā'il expelled the Aq-Qoyunlu (1502) than he established his headquarters in Tabriz. The days of Herat, the rival centre, were numbered. In 1507 the founder of the new Central Asian dynasty, the Uzbek Muḥammad Shibani, took Herat and abducted the numerous artists whom he found there. His triumph, however, was merely transitory, for he was defeated and killed by Shah Ismā'il in 1510. This time the artists of the former Herat school, including the great Bihzād, were transplanted to Tabriz<sup>3</sup> which now seemed destined for a great artistic career.

In 920/1514 Shāh Ismā'il was utterly defeated in the battle of Chaldiran (north-west of Khoy) by the Ottoman Sultan Selim who for a short time occupied Tabriz and led away the craftsmen to Constantinople.<sup>4</sup> A long series of Turco-Persian wars began and Shāh Ismā'il's successor Tahmāsp (1524-1576) had to remove the capital farther back to Qazvīn, but even at the beginning of Shāh 'Abbās I's reign this city could not boast of any particular beauty.<sup>5</sup> The seat of the government was at the *daulat-khāna*, probably a block of public buildings<sup>6</sup> to which belonged the often named pavilion Eyyvān-i Chihil-Sutūn ("the portico of Forty Columns"), evidently the prototype of its later namesake in Isfahān. Public rejoicings were held

<sup>1</sup> *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Textband.

<sup>2</sup> Even under the Qājārs the sanctuary continued to be repaired and embellished as shown by an inscription of 1309/1891.

<sup>3</sup> Bihzād (d. in 942/1536) was buried in a Tabriz cemetery, according to the preface of the album arranged for Bahrām mīrzā, son of Shāh Ismā'il (now in Stambul).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also Angiolello, ed. Hakluyt Society, p. 121: "The Turk came to Tauris and immediately seeking out 700 families of skilled workmen sent them to Constantinople."

<sup>5</sup> *Relation d'un voyage de Perse fait es années 1598-9 par un gentil-homme à la suite du Seigneur Scierley* (= Shirley), Paris, 1651: "(Qazvīn) est un peu moins grande que Londres en Angleterre et aussi longue, mais fort mal bastie de terre foulée . . . sans que la ville ait murailles ni rivière hors un petit ruisseau qui coule par un quartier d'icelle." Tectander von der Jabel (1602), "Iter persicum," ed. Schefer, 1877, p. 46, compares Qazvīn with Breslau.

<sup>6</sup> Built under Shāh Tahmāsp, *Ālam-ārā*, p. 268.

at the *maydān-i asp* ("race-course") situated near the garden of Sa'adat-ābād.<sup>1</sup>

Qazvīn was only a temporary abode of the Shahs pending the final settlement with Turkey.<sup>2</sup> The weak Shāh Muḥammad Khudā-banda twice made an attempt to return to Tabrīz but in 1585 that city was more strongly occupied by the Ottomans and not definitely recovered by Shāh 'Abbās till 1603.

As Shāh Tahmāsp was a great amateur and patron of the Art of the Book, it may be assumed that many of the characteristic miniatures of the glorious "early Ṣafavid" epoch were produced under his direct supervision in Qazvīn. Yet, in spite of its political vicissitudes, Tabrīz continued to be the greatest city of the realm<sup>3</sup> and, as such, presented specially favourable conditions for arts and industries. In this respect we possess at least one important indication: the celebrated manuscript of Niẓāmī's *Khamsa* (British Museum, Or. 2265), the preparation of which took four years (1539–1543), was executed for Shāh Tahmāsp in Tabrīz.

Sultan Murād III's death in 1595 was a signal of a better outlook for Persia in the region occupied by the Ottomans, but the other terrible enemy was menacing Persia from the east, the Uzbeks. Here, too, liberation was near, but, for the moment, all Shāh 'Abbās's energy could not stem the incursions of the raiders who penetrated through Khorasan as far as Yazd (1596), Kāshān, and Khwār (1597). These political circumstances may have influenced Shāh 'Abbās's momentous decision to remove the capital farther south to Isfahān. It must be borne in mind that four cities in Persia at that time enjoyed the title of *dār as-saltāna* ("residential city"): Herat, Tabrīz, Isfahān, and Qazvīn, but the first two were occupied by the enemy, and only Qazvīn was called *maqarr as-saltāna* ("seat of the government, capital"). This last term was now transferred to Isfahān.

## 11.

Shāh 'Abbās, king since 1587, made his first sojourn in Isfahān in 1591 and returned there in 1593 and 1597. The ceremony of *naurūz*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 297, 341, 346 (I take *Maydān-i asp* as identical with *Maydān-i Sa'adat-ābād*).

<sup>2</sup> Teixeira, Franch transl., p. 379, says that Qazvīn became the residence of the kings of Persia, "after the loss of Tabrīz". Tabrīz was successively occupied by the Turks in 1514, 1534, 1548, 1585–1603, 1610, 1618, 1635 (town entirely ransacked), 1724, 1725, 1727–9, 1731–6.

<sup>3</sup> According to the *Ālam-ārā*, p. 224, it had 100,000 inhabitants.

("New Year") of 1006/1598 was held at Qazvīn, where extraordinary cold prevailed that year, and this may have quickened a resolution which had been ripening for some time.<sup>1</sup> The *naurūz* of 1007/1599 was celebrated in the new capital.<sup>2</sup>

The great city possessed at that time numerous vestiges of the past, but Shāh 'Abbās impressed on it his own indelible seal by decreeing a radical replanning of its streets, squares, and markets.<sup>3</sup> The shāh fixed his residence at the government offices (*daulat-khāna*) in the garden Naqsh-i Jahān. By the spring new buildings were ready there. From the gate of Daulat, near the harem of Naqsh-i Jahān, an avenue was opened down to the river, with four gardens<sup>4</sup> and many beautiful buildings constructed along it. This avenue of Chār-bāgh was continued on the southern side of the river and plots distributed among the amirs and nobles with the injunction to erect there buildings embellished with gold and lapis lazuli. At the end of the avenue a vast garden with nine terraces (*nuh tabaqa*?) was planted and called 'Abbās-ābād. The two banks of the river were spanned by a bridge of forty arches. The total length of the avenue was 1 farsakh (4 miles). On both sides of it were planted cypresses, plane-trees, firs, and 'ar'ar-trees (*Pinus gherardiana*). On both sides, too, and in the middle of the avenue rills were running. There was a large pond in front of each of the buildings of the Chār-bāgh. To the west of the avenue the town of 'Abbās-ābād was built for the immigrants from Āzarbayjān.<sup>5</sup>

The Isfahān period of the history of Persia (approximately A.D. 1600-1722) is marked by wonderful achievements in all branches of art, but most of all perhaps in architecture. The great square (*maydān*) with its system of mosques, palaces, and avenues was a bold attempt at rebuilding an old Asiatic town on a deliberate plan.<sup>6</sup> New luxurious edifices required all sorts of artistically prepared or fabricated materials and embellishments: tiles, carved wood, painted

<sup>1</sup> 'Ālam-ārā, pp. 287, 309, 324, 361.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> An excellent and complete survey of the monuments of Isfahān, due to the pen of A. Godard, has just appeared in *Āthār-é Irān*, ii/1, 1937, pp. 1-176.

<sup>4</sup> Or: four gardens on each side.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ālam-ārā, p. 373, where the author (writing in 1616, when Isfahān was completely rebuilt) gives 1005/1597 as the year in which the Chār-bāgh was planned.

<sup>6</sup> Many times described (Chardin, Tavernier), cf. Diez, "Isfahān," in *Zeitschr. f. bildende Kunst*, xxvi, 1915, pp. 90-104, 113-128 [but above all, A. Godard's latest work, *v.s.*].



panels, decorative pottery, wrought metals. Specialists were therefore welcome from all parts.

A great number of foreigners, both European and Asiatic, living in Isfahān, contributed to a contact between Persian and foreign art. To quote only Tavernier,<sup>1</sup> Shāh 'Abbās II made a Dutchman paint a drinking-party of Englishmen and Dutchmen on the walls of his audience hall (*tālār*); the merchants of Julfā presented to him two oil paintings brought from Venice and Leghorn; the two Dutch painters Angel (1616–1683) and Lokar (?) whom the Dutch Company sent to Persia and who became the Shāh's teachers, made of him an able draughtsman. We even know purely Persian miniatures directly influenced by Dutch and Italian art. Muḥammad Zamān (second half of the seventeenth century), who studied in Italy, is a curious and attractive figure. The way in which he tried to reform Persian painting is a memorable piece of pioneer work, not devoid of importance even for present-day Persian artists. The carpets and textiles continued to be produced at the usual places<sup>2</sup> but the Isfahān market stimulated their production and controlled the excellence of their designs.

No one would attribute the splendours of the Isfahān period exclusively or chiefly to its geographical situation, but the choice for the capital of an ancient town, advantageously situated in the centre of the country, and in the purely Iranian part of it, certainly gave opportunities to the local craftsmen and encouraged commerce not only with this or that outlying part of Persia, but harmoniously with all the provinces, so that each could contribute to the glory of the capital towards which the roads converged.

The accession of the Ṣafavids to power coincided with the discovery of the sea route round the Cape of Good Hope. While the western frontier was practically closed for Persia, owing to the long struggles with Turkey, the establishment of the Portuguese in Hormuz and other parts of the Persian Gulf opened for Persia a new outlet in the south. So the transfer of the capital to Isfahān was in fact a move towards a closer touch with Europe.

The activities of the Ṣafavids, however, were by no means confined to the capital. It is enough to mention here the embellishments of the

<sup>1</sup> *Voyages*, book iv, chapters vii and xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Among the gifts which Shāh 'Abbās in 1598 presented to the sanctuary of Mashhad figure precious lamps and candlesticks, various vessels and "sumptuous carpets (*qālihā-yi bā-takalluf*) of Kirmān and Jūshaqān", *Ālam-ārā*, p. 398.

Ardabil sanctuary, the building of an imposing mosque in Herat <sup>1</sup> by Shāh ‘Abbās I, the creation of two beautiful residences in Māzandarān, Farahābād (1612) and Ashraf (1613), with their richly decorated palaces and parks, and finally of the innumerable resting-houses (*karvān-sarāy*) at nearly all the principal passes.

12.

The **Afghan** invasion was a short, but painful experience. Western provinces were sacrificed to the Turks, the Caspian shore to the Russians, while ruins accumulated both in Isfahān and on the route of the retreating hordes as they were driven out by Nādir.

This new star of the Persian firmament had a meteoric and rather erratic career. Isfahān may have remained the capital, for, at the outset, Nādir pretended to be the restorer of the Safavīd might, modestly calling himself Tahmāsp-quli, i.e. “Shāh Tahmāsp II’s slave.” But the ultra-shī‘ite Isfahān was uncongenial to a man whose dream was the reunion of the shī‘a and the sunna and it is significant that Nādir’s coronation took place in a remote camp, on the Mūghān steppe (north of Ardabil). If the new sovereign, ever warring, ever on the move, had any predilection, it lay rather with his native Khorasan.<sup>2</sup> To keep the immense spoils brought from India, Nādir fortified that extraordinary natural fastness on the northern frontier of Khorasan which received the name of Kalāt-i Nādirī.<sup>3</sup> The short-lived dynasty of Nādir very rapidly lost most of Persia, and only in Khorasan and its capital Mashhad the Nādirids and the representatives of a lateral line of the Ṣafavids maintained themselves till the accession of the Qājārs. Nādir beautified the buildings of the shrine of Imām Rizā and covered some of them all over with “gold bricks”. He also built in Mashhad a lofty mausoleum for himself.<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile, the whole of southern, western, and northern Persia passed under the ægis of the capable Kurdish chief Kerīm khan **Zand** who installed his headquarters in Shīrāz in the province of Fārs, that cradle of the Achæmenids and Sāsānians and one of the mainstays of the Būyids. But while these other dynasties largely expanded

<sup>1</sup> ‘Abbās I in his early childhood was the governor of Khorasan of which the capital was Herat. After a war with his father, ‘Abbās was first proclaimed Sulṭān of Khorasan in 995/1587.

<sup>2</sup> He belonged to the Afshar tribe established on the northern outskirts of Khorasan at Abivard (ancient Apovartikēnē). See my article “Bāvard” in *EI* (Supplement).

<sup>3</sup> Its original Persian name was probably *Kalāg dīzh*, cf. *Bundahishn*, vii, 35.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Alī Ḥazīn, *Tārikh-i aḥwāl*, London, 1831, p. 252. On Nādir’s buildings cf. my *Esquisse d’une histoire de Nadir-chah*, Paris, 1934, p. 39.

from Fārs, the Zands, whose only great representative contented himself with the title "Regent" (*vakīl*), never sufficiently reduced the north where the Nādirids continued to rule in Khorasan and the Qājars were lying in wait for a better opportunity. Shīrāz was considerably embellished by Karīm khan, who built a mosque and a bazaar, and of whom we possess several portraits by his court artists.<sup>1</sup>

## 13.

After the supremacy which the south enjoyed between 1750 and 1794, the Qājārs, whose Turkish tribe was occupying the steppe in the south-east corner of the Caspian near Astarābād, moved the centre of the reunited kingdom to the north. The new capital Tehrān had been in olden times an insignificant village in the neighbourhood of Rayy,<sup>2</sup> and only under the Ṣafavids rose to some importance. The situation of Tehrān was appreciated by Karīm khan, who built there a series of government buildings. The Qājārs wanted first of all to be in the proximity of their hereditary fief and tribe in Astarābād. On the other hand, since the Afghan interregnum permitted Turkey and Russia to concert their action for the occupation respectively of the north-western and Caspian provinces, the new dynasty was anxious to keep a close watch on this new menace. Armenia in the west, and Herat in the east, over which the Qājārs tried to establish their dominion lay also in the north. Tehrān was half-way between Āzarbayjān and Khorasan, and the importance of the region was shown by the glorious past of the great city of Rayy whose tradition Tehrān was intended to continue.

The achievements of the Tehrān period in the history of Persia must not be underestimated. It is a time of gradual unification and modernization of the country. Tehrān, now the most populous town of Persia<sup>3</sup> has become the undisputed pivot of the intellectual life of Persia. Here are the government offices and the schools, the chief newspapers, and the numerous foreign colonies. In the book market only Tabrīz cuts some figure by the side of Tehrān.

<sup>1</sup> Under Aqa Muḥammad Qājār the paintings, mirrors, and marble columns of Karīm khan's palace were transported to the new palace in Tehrān.

<sup>2</sup> The first undoubted mention of it in the existing sources is in the *Fārs-nāma* written in A.D. 1160; see my article "Teheran" in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> Before the world war Tabrīz with its presumed 250,000 inhabitants was considered to have the largest population. Now Tehrān is said to possess a population of 350,000, and with its country-side even 450,000 to 500,000.

It cannot be denied, however, that under the Qājār regime the arts did not reach such remarkable standards as under the Mongols or the Ṣafavids. Any more important architectural achievements in the capital date only from the later part of the reign of Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh, or more precisely, since the reconstruction and aggrandizement of the city about 1870. The best edifice, "the Sipahsālār's Mosque," was begun in 1878 and finished in 1890. A prominent feature of the capital are numerous suburban villas of the princes and other magnates in a special elegant style carrying on the tradition of the Ṣafavid buildings.<sup>1</sup>

The Qājārs built several government buildings in the provinces, but such structures have very rarely, e.g. in Kermanshah, had any but practical aims. The shāhs kept up the sanctuaries in Mashhad, Qum, Ardabīl, and Mesopotamia, but evinced little interest in ordinary antiquity. In general Persians prefer to build anew rather than to keep up the existing monuments.

The early Qājār miniature is still insufficiently known in Europe, though these representations of slightly europeanized gentlemen in tall Persian lambskin hats, of eunuchs and fair inhabitants of the harem, are much more interesting than the more frequent large oil portraits of the shāhs (especially of the long-bearded and wasp-waisted Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh), or of traditional dancers in unnatural attitudes. The Qājār miniatures very rarely illustrate books. They are mostly painted on loose sheets and especially on lacquer pen-boxes, mirror-backs, etc. They are often quite artistic, and precious too for the study of vestimentary changes and successive modes in which the Qājār capital played the role of *arbiter elegantiarum*.

Minor arts were not unknown in Tehrān, but the best carpets were produced at the usual places of manufacture; for wood-carvings and metal-work one had to look to the region of Isfahān; the appliqué panels came from Rasht, some elegant thin glassware from Qum and Qāshān, etc. Great havoc has been wrought amongst Persian textiles by the growing importation of silks, velvets, and prints from abroad.

The attempts of the Qājārs to immortalize their likenesses on the rocks in the Achæmenid and Sasanian way are very curious. Among such are Prince Muḥammad 'Alī's group at Tāq-i Bustān,<sup>2</sup> Faṭḥ

<sup>1</sup> In Tehrān itself must be mentioned the building called Shams al-'imāra within the precincts of the Shāh's palace; cf. d'Allemagne, *Du Khorasan au pays de Backhtiāris (sic !)*, Paris, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> Local name: *Tāq-i Vastām*!

‘Alī Shāh’s hunting scene at Rayy, Nāṣir al-dīn Shāh’s portrait in state on the roads to Māzandarān and Chālūs and at Chashma-yi ‘Alī (near Rayy).<sup>1</sup>

## 14.

It would be too early to prophesy about the **Pahlavi** dynasty, the founder of which has so far remained faithful to the Qājār capital. But great improvements in mechanical transport, railways, and airlines are changing the aspect of Persia. The still growing impulse from the capital is towards a general modernization. Tehrān is being actively rebuilt, Persian youths acquire abroad occidental methods and ways of expression. It is impossible to expect the new generation to think and to create in the ways of the old naïve tradition. The synthesis of the old and new, so far asunder, is not an easy task. One may foresee that the influence of occidental standards will become paramount before long, unless a special training at the schools of art and industries helps to preserve the national tradition by giving the support of reasoned theories to the inborn instinct.

*P.S.*—Our survey stops on the threshold of the Pahlavi reign. Enormous changes have taken place in Irān during the last twelve years. On the occasion of the celebration of Firdausi’s millenary in 1934 I had myself the great privilege of witnessing the political and cultural risorgimento of the ancient kingdom. Great progress has been achieved in the study, as well as in the teaching, of Persian national arts and crafts. However, the synthesis of the tradition and of the new artistic ideas and methods flowing in from the west still remains a problem, similar to that which Iranian artists solved in the thirteenth century when Far Eastern influences were so harmoniously blended with the legacy of the local pictorial art !

### III. THE EAST AND WEST IN PERSIAN CULTURE

Another basic question of the history of Persian art, and even of the whole cultural life of Persia, is the respective rôles of the western and eastern parts of Iran. The subject dominates the fortunes of those political centres round which artistic activity gravitated at different epochs.

<sup>1</sup> To say nothing of a purely European monument of Nāṣir al-dīn which stood in Bāgh-i shāh (Tehrān).

## 1.

The Central desert, like an unnavigable internal sea, is the great natural feature of Persia. The roads on its southern skirts are round-about tracks linking up regions of secondary importance. It is true that Fārs is the cradle of the Persian state and one of the vital parts of the kingdom,<sup>1</sup> but, even at the periods of its ascendancy, Fārs had no particular interest in the south-eastern provinces, such as Kirmān, Balūchistān, Sīstān, which hardly ever have risen above their local interests.<sup>2</sup> Fārs naturally gravitated towards the west, as the examples of the Achæmenids, Sāsānians, and Būyids clearly show.

Much more important was the great "Khorasan road" running along the fertile belt of land that stretches between the northern fringe of the desert and the southern foot-hills of the Elburs range. But even this historical artery is but a slender thread drawn between Mesopotamia and Central Asia. The region of Tehran (ancient Rhages, Rayy), the most advanced part of North-Western Persia, is separated by some 550 miles from Nishāpūr, the centre of the westernmost "quarter" of Khorasan. Yet Khorasan possessed three other "quarters": Herat, Balkh, and Marv, and beyond them stretched Transoxiana (Bukhārā, Samarqand) which down to the end of the rule of the Sāmānids (A.D. 999) still preserved its Iranian character.<sup>3</sup>

The direct historical influences which the West and East of Persia had undergone were very dissimilar, and the aboriginal populations which the Iranians on their arrival (towards the tenth century B.C.) subdued and with whom they mixed were equally distinct.

In the west we know the Elamites, Kassites, numerous Zagros tribes, Mannæans in the region of the lake of Urmiya and different peoples round the Caspian Sea (Kaspians, Kadusians, etc.).

The Western marches were strongly influenced by the Mesopotamian civilization (Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian). Farther north the kingdom of Urartu (tenth-seventh century B.C.) with its centre in Van expanded towards Āzarbayjān and Transcaucasia.

The farthest point in the East which the Assyrians knew was the mountain Bikni (probably Damāvand) but in fact the Mesopotamian

<sup>1</sup> V.s., p. 624.

<sup>2</sup> The only exception is the rise from Sīstān of the Šaffārid dynasty (867-903), which, during its short existence, tried to unite Eastern and Southern Persia along the road south of the Central desert.

<sup>3</sup> The small Soviet republic of Tājikistān unites now the remnants of the different Iranian elements to the north of the Oxus.

conquerors hardly ever penetrated farther than the belt of the Zagros valleys. Eastern Iran never experienced their direct action.

We know practically nothing of the earliest populations of Eastern Iran but the Iranian nomads who came to occupy the Central Asian steppes greatly differed from the sedentary Persians and the existence of the steppe with its nomads was a factor unknown in the West. In the Avesta, and still more in the Iranian épics, finally moulded by Firdausi, the chief trait is the struggle between the settled population and the nomads.<sup>1</sup> So the creation of the *Shāhnāma* is due to the East, and it is now generally admitted that the great national hero Rustam belongs to the particular lore of the Saka, who towards 131 B.C. occupied the region to which they gave their name Sakastān (now Sīstān).

Under the Achæmenids almost the whole of Iran was united and the inhabitants of the remote satrapies followed the kings on their campaigns. That the truly imperial art of the Achæmenids was very eclectic has long been known, and recently an inscription found at Susa has shed new light on the rôle of the far-distant provinces in the supply of building-materials used by the Achæmenid architects. It is characteristic, though, that the contribution of the Eastern satrapies was relatively insignificant.

Alexander's conquest (331–23 B.C.) may have been detrimental to the national tradition, but by carrying their high culture far into the heart of Asia the Greeks contributed to a new union of the west and east of Iran, on the basis of the new ideas and tastes. Although Greek culture, and even the Greek language, keep their prestige under the Arsacids (250 B.C.–A.D. 224), the Greek colonies and rulers in Central Asia (Bactriana, etc.) at an early date lose the direct contact with their western brethren and follow their independent line of evolution. Under the pressure of new peoples arriving from the east they are thrust southwards towards India and exercise their hellenizing influence on the peoples south of the Hindukush, but in their turn become Buddhists and open the door to the penetration into Eastern Iran of Indian influences. While the Arsacids were active in the West, Eastern Iran was submerged by the newcomers hailing from the lands of Chinese culture.

Bukhārā,<sup>2</sup> Tirmidh, Balkh, Bāmiyān, Kābul, and even Sīstān have remains of Buddhist origin and the Buddhist writings in Iranian

<sup>1</sup> The early "Turanians" are not to be confused with the Turks, as has been done by the authors of later times. See above, p. 625.

<sup>2</sup> Its name means: Buddhist *viḥāra*.

languages found in Chinese Turkestan reflect the existence of a Buddhist Eastern Iran, rather provincial but having a personality of its own.

Indirectly this isolation favoured a new penetration of western influences. While the growing power of the Zoroastrian clergy enforced the state religion in the Sasanian empire, the Christians and Manichæans successfully carried on their propaganda in the more indifferent atmosphere of Eastern Iran.

## 2.

Islam is the great roller levelling the Near and Middle East, but even in Islamic times, the characteristic opposition between East and West continues. The state of our knowledge is still insufficient for an adequate presentation of the whole problem but, failing such a survey, it may be helpful to sum up the arguments of an important and illuminating discussion on the respective rôles of the East and West in Iranian culture, which took place among such scholars as the late M. Hartmann, J. Strzygowski, Diez, Herzfeld, and the late V. Barthold.<sup>1</sup>

The originator of the discussion was Martin Hartmann, a scholar of inquiring mind, who, in sometimes unexpected connections, raised curious and important problems.<sup>2</sup> Already in 1905,<sup>3</sup> reviewing F. Sarre's work on some clay-figured vessels from Mesopotamia<sup>4</sup> Hartmann vindicated the claim of Central Asia to be the focus from which the culture of the Islamic Middle Ages radiated.

Sarre retorted in a decisive way<sup>5</sup>: "In Mesopotamia and Iran, not in Turan . . . have we recognized the ground (Kulturboden) on which the Sasanian and Perso-Islamic art arose and further developed." Very little is known of the supposed high standards of Central Asiatic production. The Budhha-statues are neither artistic nor original. If the Mongolian type is represented by Persian painters, the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century account for it. In a

<sup>1</sup> *Grosso modo* we are dependent on the indications contained in Barthold's article "Vostochno-Iranskiy vopros" ("The Eastern Iranian question"), in *Izvestiya materialnoy Kul'tury*, ii, 1922, pp. 361-384, which, on account of the language, has remained almost unknown in Western Europe, in spite of its great importance.

<sup>2</sup> M. Hartmann's name must be gratefully remembered by the scholars using his collection of books, now a part of our School Library. The present writer owes a special homage to M. Hartmann's memory for the encouragements received at the dawn of his Oriental studies (1904-1914).

<sup>3</sup> *OLZ*, 1905, July, pp. 277-283.

<sup>4</sup> "Islamische Tongefässe aus Mesopotamien" in *Jahrb. d. K. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen*, xxvi, II Heft, 1905.

<sup>5</sup> *OLZ*, 1905, December, p. 541.



time when the Mongols were a ruling class “the ideal of beauty” became Mongolian, but the execution and the art remained Irano-Mesopotamian in the hands of the subject classes. The latter remained faithful to their artistic feelings, even though outwardly they made concessions to the taste of the ruling caste. We know that the Persians who accompanied the Seljuks to Asia Minor created there the wonders of Persian architecture,<sup>1</sup> we know that Timur brought Persian architects from Isfahān in order to transform Bukhārā and Samarqand into gorgeous residences<sup>2</sup>; we know that under his successors Persian architecture and Persian miniature painting were transplanted to India, where they flourished independently.

In an article on a very abstruse subject,<sup>3</sup> M. Hartmann took up again his defence of Central Asia: “The most brilliant names of the spiritual evolution of early Islam—Bukhārī, Samarqandī, Abul-Laith Tirmidhī, etc.—point to the *trapezium* Marv—Samarqand—Herat—Balkh. Especially its eastern part covering Transoxiana and the neighbourhood of the mysterious Badakhshān fructifies ceaselessly and in every respect (unablässig . . . in allen Beziehungen) the western parts of the Islamic world.” The Turkish hordes which arrived from the east had certainly no great artistic taste, but they had no prejudice against the representation of living beings, and with them came artists from Uyghuristan, the country where artistic production was still going on, the country of numberless Buddha statues and of a crowd of other pictorial types (bildliche Darstellungen), male and female.

In 1917 Professor Strzygowski<sup>4</sup> joined the discussion and developed the thesis which had been only outlined by Hartmann. Coming back to the figures which are represented on the vases described by Sarre, he thus formulated the question: “Are the human figures occurring in the eastern-islamic art of ancient-oriental and hellenistic, or of Chinese-Indian origin?” By a comparative analysis, in which a considerable rôle is assigned to some statuettes found in the ruins of Afrāsiyāb (near Samarqand),<sup>5</sup> Strzygowski comes to the conclusion

<sup>1</sup> Sarre refers to the inscription on the Sircheli madrasa in Konia, quoted in his *Reise in Kleinasien*, Berlin, 1896, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See the inscription on Timur's mausoleum, Sarre, *Denkmäler pers. Baukunst*, fasc. 5.

<sup>3</sup> “Die Tradenten erster Schicht im *Musnad* des Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal,” *MSOS*, 1906, ix/2, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> *Altai-Iran*, Leipzig, 1917, pp. 259–272.

<sup>5</sup> Strzygowski's examples could be now considerably multiplied by objects both from Eastern Turkestan and Afghanistan.

that the "Mesopotamian"<sup>1</sup> vessels have their prerequisite (Voraussetzung) in the Saka-Turkish oases of pre-Islamic time. The patterns of the latter were perpetuated on Perso-Mesopotamian soil by that art of the nomads which forms the subject of the author's *Altai-Iran*.

Soon after, Strzygowski's pupil Diez,<sup>2</sup> following in his master's footsteps, claimed a leading cultural role for Khorasan, this geographical term being taken in the original broad sense and referring to the provinces stretching in the eastern direction down to the Oxus.<sup>3</sup> Khorasan, says Diez, has ever been the melting pot (Tummelplatz) of hordes of peoples. Zoroastrianism and Mithraism spread from Balkh. In Khorasan the decisive battles of the 'Abbāsids were fought. Here the first independent dynasties of the Ṭāhirids, Ṣaffārids, and Sāmānids sprang up. "In Khorasan only absolute strength and worth ever ruled—in a word, the Sword." Here Maḥmūd of Ghaznī inaugurated the series of Muslim conquerors of the world and for the first time accomplished the fusion (Zusammenschweissung) of Iran and India. He was followed up by the Seljuks, Mongols, and Timurids. Under the latter Khorasan reached its cultural zenith. In Khorasan, too, originated nearly all the decisive cultural factors that influenced Muslim Persia. Here and in Transoxiana Persian poetry was born: Firdausī, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, 'Omar Khayyām, Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī, Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār were natives of that province. The four historical cities of Khorasan were important focuses of culture, etc.

Diez's arguments are neither first-hand nor free from misunderstandings<sup>4</sup> and his conclusions somewhat sweeping: "In strange contrast to the scanty consideration which Khorasan has hitherto found in historical studies, stands its extraordinary importance as the centre and the starting-point of the Iranian culture from the most ancient times."<sup>5</sup> It would have been certainly more prudent to limit the first part of the statement to the historical studies of Persian Art only,<sup>6</sup> and to mitigate the exaggeration of the final part as it stands.

<sup>1</sup> The author always uses this attribution in inverted commas.

<sup>2</sup> *Churāsānische Baudenkmäler*, Berlin, 1918, pp. 4–10.

<sup>3</sup> *Khorāsān* means "place where the sun rises".

<sup>4</sup> The Nau-Bihār (*viḥāra*) of Balkh was not a Zoroastrian, but a Buddhist, temple.

<sup>5</sup> "Seine ausserordentliche Bedeutung als Zentrum und Ausgangspunkt der iranischen Kultur seit den ältesten Zeiten," *o.c.*, Preface, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> But we possess the penetrating studies on Khorasan by W. Geiger, Wellhausen, Marquart, and Barthold!

In a richly documented rejoinder<sup>1</sup> E. Herzfeld took exception to the views represented by the Strzygowski school and tried to show the importance of the western provinces of Persia.

It is true that no Achæmenid structure has yet been brought to light east of Hamadân and, as regards the Sasanian monuments, even the Arab geographers<sup>2</sup> were struck by the fact that they do not extend east of the Alvand pass which overlooks Hamadân. But Herzfeld rightly insists on the close connection of the Median and Achæmenid art with the western civilizations (Elam, Babylon, Niniveh, Urartu), and further shows that, out of one hundred towns founded by the Sasanians, eighty-four lay in the west.

The only two periods for which Herzfeld acknowledges the leading role of the East are the Hellenistic epoch and that of the Persian Renaissance (from about A.D. 830). He thinks (p. 173) that during the first of the two periods the fructifying effect of Greek art is to be explained by the "virgin soil" which Eastern Iran represented, while during the second, the simplicity of artistic forms<sup>3</sup> presupposes hardly any previous development.

The chief interest of Herzfeld's article lies in its documentary evidence, but as a counter-thesis to that of Diez it is not wholly convincing. Eastern Iran, as we have tried to explain above, ought to be understood in the wider sense of both Khorasan and Transoxiana, and its artistic role should not be limited to architecture alone, though, even in that sphere, the Eastern Iranian monuments of Islamic times occupy a very honourable place.<sup>4</sup> The Herat school of painting (fifteenth century) alone would be of great weight in the scale of Greater Khorasan.

A much more complex historical view is taken by V. V. Barthold in the above-mentioned article, which sums up the arguments of the easterners and westerners.

Barthold lays stress on the role of the East in the formation of the Iranian epics and thinks that the existence of a Buddhist part of Iran had for Muslim culture no less importance than the Sasanian

<sup>1</sup> "Khorasan, Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islams in Iran," *Der Islam*, xi, 1921, pp. 107-174.

<sup>2</sup> Ibn al-Faqih, p. 229; Yâqût, iv, p. 985. However, both Ibn al-Faqih and Ibn Rusta mention two Sasanian castles east of Hamadân, *v.i.*, p. 651, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently *architectural* forms are meant here.

<sup>4</sup> Here lies the great merit of Diez's book and its supplement: "Persien. Islamische Kunst in Chorasán," 1923. For Transoxiana, see now Kohn-Wiener, *Turan*.

Iran.<sup>1</sup> The equestrian figures on the Arsacid and Sasanian bas-reliefs, unknown under the Achæmenids, find their explanation in the westward movement of such horse-loving peoples as the Parthians and the Saka. Under the Sasanians the great and important town of Nishāpūr was founded in Khorasan, and Marv was larger than Jayy (the future Isfahān). The ruins discovered in Sistān by Sir A. Stein<sup>2</sup> and the ossuaries found near Samarqand<sup>3</sup> will be of great weight for the study and interpretation of Sasanian and Greco-Buddhist art. From various sources we hear of the sculptural representation of animals practised in Eastern Iran.<sup>4</sup>

To complete Herzfeld's enumeration of monuments, Barthold quotes the following important fact : near the ruins of Balkh the Arabs built a new town Barūqān, but finally in A.D. 725 rebuilt the old Balkh under the direction of Barmak, an offspring of the former Buddhist priests of Balkh. "Only in the Eastern, Buddhist Iran the culture of the subject race won such a victory over the Arabs as the destruction of the town founded by the Arab victors, in favour of the reconstruction of a pre-Islamic town." Some elements of culture become known much earlier in the East ; in Samarqand, rag-paper was in use in the middle of the eighth century, while it reached Egypt only in the beginning of the tenth century. When the Caliph's new residence Samarrā was built about the middle of the ninth century, specialists were still invited from Egypt to prepare papyri-rolls. On the other hand, if domes (squinchs ?) spread from Eastern Iran, tiles were brought to the East from the West.

The decline of Khorasan cannot be explained by the political storms that raged over it : Khorasan particularly flourished immediately after

<sup>1</sup> See Barthold : "Die persische Šu'ūbija und die moderne Wissenschaft" in *Z.f.Assyr.*, xxvi, 1912, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> See the new explorations in Afghanistan by Godard, Hackin and Bartoux.

<sup>3</sup> They bear "Sasanian" ornaments and Greek heads.

<sup>4</sup> Barthold, *o.c.*, 379. In A.D. 743 the Arab governor of Khorasan (residing in Bukhārā) Naṣr ibn Sayyār gave a command for sending, as presents to the West, vases in gold and silver shaped as antelopes, ibexes, etc., Tabari, ii, 1705. The Bukharan historian Narshakhi (born in A.D. 899) says that in his time at a market in Bukhārā were sold "idols", i.e. probably clay figures of men and animals. Ibn Ḥauqal (second half of the tenth century), p. 365, saw in the public place of Samarqand "astonishing figures, carved in cypress wood, of animals, such as horses, oxen, camels, and wild beasts ; they stand confronted as if trying to avoid each other or drawing near each other with menacing attitudes". [As parallels in the West, can be quoted the Sasanian (?) castle Mushkūya (between Rayy and Sāva) where there stood figures of carved wood, Ibn Rusta, p. 168, and the castle of Juhasta, near Hamadān, each corner of which was adorned with figures of young girls, Ibn al-Faḳih, p. 255.]

Timur's invasion. More probably the factor which brought about the ruin of Khorasan was the foundation under Islam of the great towns of Central Persia. In the eighth–ninth centuries the 'Abbāsids rebuilt Rayy and simultaneously Isfahān rose to prominence.

As in all similar phenomena of cultural history, the decline of Khorasan cannot be fitted to a simple chronological date. For a long time Khorasan lacked cultural homogeneity. In the beginning of the fourteenth century, under a Mongol ruler who had formerly been governor of Khorasan, sunnī theologians expanded westwards from that province,<sup>1</sup> while in the same century the old Shī'a centre Sabzavār launched a Shī'a political movement which spread all over Khorasan. By the time of Timur and his successors no signs of eastern influence can be discovered on western architecture, while in the East the builders were natives of the western cities, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Tabriz. Only in painting were there perhaps instances of an Eastern influence : it is reported that this art was introduced into Turkey under the sultan Bāyazīd II (1481–1512) by a native of Turkestan Bābā Naqqāsh.<sup>2</sup>

Barthold admits that in the present state of our knowledge much in the cultural interdependence of the Eastern and Western Iran remains obscure. " But even now we may say that the one-sided and often arbitrary theories of Strzygowski and his school on the one hand, and on the other the artificial simplicity and lucidity of Herzfeld will prove to be equally inconsistent. As a result of future studies, we may foresee a very complex picture full of seeming contradictions, which will not be removed except by a careful and thorough examination not only of the bulk of the cultural evolution but of each of its manifestations. There is no doubt a grain of truth, but only a very small one, in M. Hartmann's opinion that plunging into minute details hampers the comprehension of the fundamental traits of phenomena and of their mutual dependence, instead of contributing thereto. But in all the branches of Oriental studies, including Oriental Art, superficial diletantism and foregone conclusions will long remain incomparably more dangerous than a partiality for seemingly unimportant details."

<sup>1</sup> Barthold refers to the ḥanafī theologians who arrived in Āzarbāyjān under the ægis of Öljeitü, see his review of Blochet's " Introduction à l'histoire des Mongols " in *Mir Islama*, 1912, i/1, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Evliyā chelebi, vi, 152.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

A "Soyūrghāl" of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1939), pp. 927-960

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of the [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/607975>

Accessed: 29/09/2013 21:45

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# A *Soyūrghāl* of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)

By V. MINORSKY

(PLATE VI)

## CONTENTS

1. Introduction.
2. Persian text.
3. English translation.
4. The Aq-qoyunlu of Mārdīn.
5. The princes of Egīl.
6. Geographical considerations.
7. Form of the document.
8. Legal and economic aspects.
9. Other similar documents.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

THE story of the Persian document which forms the subject of the present article is not devoid of romance. It was discovered in 1896 by the well-known Bosnian scholar Šafvet-beg R. Bašagić, in the possession of a local noble, Nuri-beg ČengiĆ of Ustikolina. This family is said to be immigrants in Bosnia; their forefathers must have come as officials of the Ottoman Empire, then received fiefs and settled in the country. The farmān in question being kept in the family archives, and evidently connected with the ancestors of the ČengiĆ, points to the origin of the family from far-away Kurdistan.

A facsimile of the interesting document was published by Bašagić,<sup>1</sup> first accompanied by an article in Serbian, and then by a German translation of the latter. On the whole the work of the late Bosnian scholar quite satisfactorily served its immediate purpose, if we take into consideration the difficulties the author must have had, working as he was in a provincial town, where a knowledge of Persian was certainly no common attainment. He was successful in deciphering the complicated *dīvānī* script and in explaining its general meaning.

<sup>1</sup> See "Naistarji ferman begova ČengiĆa" in *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo, ix, 1897, pp. 437–451, translated (with some misunderstandings) as "Der älteste Ferman der ČengiĆ-begs" in *Wissenschaftliche Mitteilungen aus Bosnien und Hercegovina*, Wien, vi, 1899, pp. 1–10. I first came to hear of the article through Dmitriev, "Problemī . . . bosniyskoy turkologii," in *Zapiski Koll. Vostok.*, ii/1, 1926, p. 101. I am obliged to my former student F. Okić for the help in finding an offprint of the rare publication.

However, he did not try to give a transcript of the original, and in difficult places his interpretation is only a paraphrase, with some obvious misunderstandings.

The interest of the farmān from the historical and diplomatic point of view would alone justify a new attempt at its interpretation. But its chief importance is in the light it throws on the legal and economic conditions of the time, and in this field the lacunæ of our knowledge are particularly appalling.

As a result of the constant shifting of the capitals in Persia and the adjoining lands,<sup>1</sup> as well as of a long series of invasions, no archives of older times have survived. Apart from the collections of official correspondence,<sup>2</sup> our only hope is that single documents, kept in public libraries<sup>3</sup> or in private hands, will be duly published. Among them the Čengiċ farmān will ever occupy an honourable place.

## 2. PERSIAN TEXT

الحکم لله<sup>4</sup>

الناصر لدين الله ابو المظفر قاسم جهانكير سوزوميز

- (1) حمد و سپاسی که واقفانِ مواقفِ قربت و اختصاص  
 (2) و عارفانِ معارفِ کمالِ محبت و اخلاص در مقام (3) تحمید  
 و تمجید و اداء حق حقیقتِ توحید قیام و اشتغال نمایند مرآن  
 پادشاهی را که بندگان صادق النیّه و خالص العبودیّه را (4) من

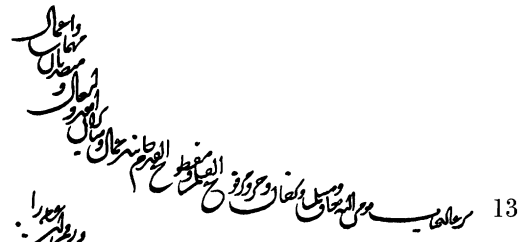
<sup>1</sup> See my article "Geographical Factors in Persian Art" in *BSOS.*, ix/3, pp. 621–652.

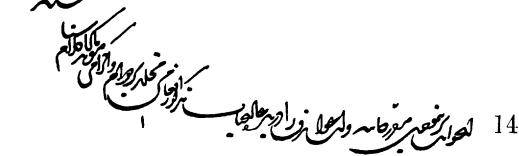
<sup>2</sup> See the MS. collection of the twelfth to thirteenth century documents described by Baron V. Rosen, *Collections scientifiques*, 1886, pp. 146–159; Bahā al-dīn's *al-Tavassul ilā al-tarassul* (towards A.D. 1182–4), recently published in Tehrān (1315/1936); the collection of Jalāyir documents by Muḥammad Hindūshāh, *Dustūr al-kātib* (cf. Melioransky in *Zapiski V.O.*, xiii/1, 1900, pp. 015–023), Ferīdūn-bey (died in 991/1583), *Mūnshē'āt-i Selāṭīn*, printed in Stambul A.H. 1264–5, Abul-Qāsim Ev-oghli Haydar, *Nuskha-yi jāmi'a* (about 1052/1642), cf. Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, p. 388, *Turkish Catalogue*, p. 83, etc.

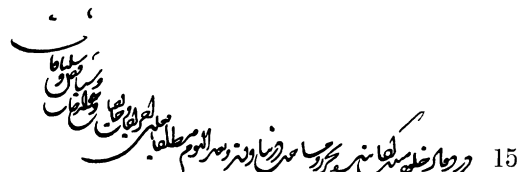
<sup>3</sup> Cf. Brit. Mus. Or. 4935.

<sup>4</sup> Written inside the tribal tamghā of the Bāyandur clan, *vide infra*.

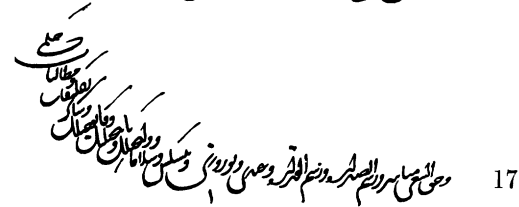


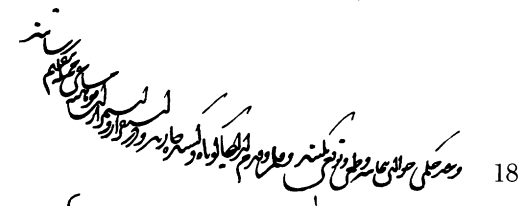
13 

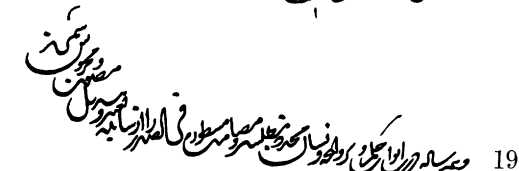
14 

15 

16 

17 

18 

19 

LINES 13-19 OF ABUL-QĀSIM'S FARMĀN.

المهد الى العهد بوفور عواطف و احسان و صنوف لطائف انعام  
و امتنان مخصوص کردانید و عاکفانِ معاکفِ خلوصِ عقیدت  
(5) و صفاء طویت را بیدائع عنایت و مرحمت و صنائع رأفت  
و عاطفت مزیدِ تشریف کرامت فرمود

وصلاتِ صلواتِ نامیات و تحفِ تحیاتِ زاکیات نثار  
بارگاه (6) امت پناهی که منشورِ فائض النورِ جلالتش بتوقیع رفیع  
لَوْلَاكَ لَمَّا خَلَقْتُ الْأَفْلَاكَ مَوْشَحَّ وَمَعْلَى و مَزِينٍ و محلی  
است ویر آل و اصحاب او اجمعین باد

(7) امّا بعد چون مکنون خاطرِ خطیر و مخزون ضمیر  
منیر در اعظام شأن و اعتلاء مکان عالیجناب امارت مآب  
ایالت ایاب حکومت مناب (8) سعادت نصاب رفعت قباب  
معالی انتساب نصفت دثار مکرمت شعار امیر اعظم اکرم  
افتخار الامراء العظام فی الایام قدوة (9) الولاة الکرام بین  
الانام رکن الدولة القاهرة یمین السلطنة المظفریه کمالا للملّة  
والامارة والحکومة والایالة والسعادة والدين اسفندیار بیک  
(10) مصروف و معطوف است و حسن اهتمام و توجه خاطر  
همایون در باره او درجه کمال داشت الکاء اِکَل که اوجاق  
اوست و باغین و هینی را (11) در بسته در وجه سیورغال  
هوابدی (؟) و انعام سرمدی عالیجناب مشار الیه شفقت

فرمودیم و ارزانی داشتیم که مالوجیات و تمامی حقوق دیوانیه  
 محالّ مزبوره (12) [که متصدیان مهمات و اعمال]<sup>1</sup> (13) بر عالیجناب  
 مومی الیه معاف و مسلم و ترخان و جزو مرفوع القلم و مقطوع  
 القدم دانند عمّال و مباشران امور و اشغال و متصدیان مهمّات  
 و اعمال (14) آنجنواب برینموجب مقررّ دانند و این عوارف  
 را در باره عالیجناب مذکور انعامی مخلّد بردوام و اکرایی  
 مؤبّد مالا کلام شناسند و رقم این عطیه (؟) را (15) در دفاتر  
 خلود مثبت گردانیده بحرز و مساحت در نیاورند و بعد الیوم  
 مطلقا بعلتّ اخراجات و خالصات و عوارضات و شناقص  
 و شلتاقات (16) و توجیهات و قسمت و توزیعات و علفه و  
 علوفه و قلمنا والاغ والام و تغار و طرح و بیگار و شکار  
 و ساوری و داروغگی و رسوم عمّال (17) و حق السعی مباشر  
 و رسم الصداره و رسم الوزاره و عیدی و نوروزی و پیشکش  
 و سلامانه و ولحملك و مادحملك و فابوحملك و سائر تکلیفات  
 و مطالبات حکمی (18) و غیر حکمی حوالتی نمایند و طمعی  
 و توقعی نکنند و قلم و قدم از آنجا کوتاه و کشیده دارند  
 و در استقرار و استمرار این موهبه مساعی جمیله بتقدیم رسانند  
 (19) و همه ساله درین ابواب حکم و پروانچه و نشان مجدّد نطلبند

<sup>1</sup> This short line which closes the right column is only a custodian for the top line of the left column.

و مضامین مسطورہ فی الصدر را از شایبہ تغیر و تبدیل  
مصون و محروس شمرند (20) و بر موجب حکم ہمایون بتقدیم  
رسانیدہ تغیر و تبدیل بقواعد آن راہ ندهند و از مضمون آیہ  
کَرِیمَہ فَمَنْ بَدَّلَهُ بَعْدَ مَا سَمِعَهُ (21) فَإِنَّمَا إِثْمُهُ عَلَى الَّذِينَ يُبَدِّلُونَهُ  
إِنَّ اللَّهَ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ محترز و مجتنب بودہ خلاف کنندہ (را)  
در معرض سخط و لعنت الہی (22) و خطاب و عتاب پادشاهی  
دانند از جوانبِ ہمکی برینجملہ مقرر شناسند و مَنْ سَعَى فِي  
إِبْطَالِهِ فَعَلَيْهِ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةِ وَالنَّاسِ أَجْمَعِينَ (23) برینموجب  
عمل نمایند و چون بتوقع رفیع مطاع خورشید ارتفاع کہ  
فہرستِ ابوابِ سعادت و بہروزی و خاتمۂ اعمال ابہت و  
فیروزی است (24) موشح و موضح و مصحح و منقح و معلی  
و مزین و محلی گردد اعتماد نمایند کتب بالامر العالی اعلاہ  
اللہ تعالی و خلد نفاذہ ولا زال مطاعاً متبعا منيعاً (25) بجوسق  
حرزم دار السلطنۃ ماردین فی الخامس من شهر اللہ شعبان  
المعظم لسنة ثلاث و تسعمائة

(verso) بمہر ہمایون بوقوف حضرت صدارت پناہی اسلام

ملادی برسانند مقرب الحضرت زین الدین (?) علی مسکی (؟؟)

پروانجی

## 3. ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Al-Nāṣir li-dini'llāhi Abul-Muẓaffar Qāsim-i Jahāngīr.

(*in Turkish*): Our word.

(*inside the tamghā*): COMMAND BELONGS TO GOD.

(1)<sup>1</sup> Praise and thanks that those who are cognizant of the stations of nearness and proximity, (2) and those who are initiated in the knowledge of perfect love and devotion, (3) are engaged in praises and lauds and in rendering its due to the truth of Unity, with regard to the Sovereign who distinguishes His servants of truthful intentions and sincere submission, by an abundance of attention and kindness and all manner of pleasantness, favours and contentment, (all the time) (4) from their cradles to their prescribed term<sup>2</sup>; and Who increases the honour of grace of the hermits abiding in the hermitages of sincere opinions (5) and pure intentions, by means of wonders of benefaction and mercy, and works of tranquillity and special attention.

(And also) let purses of ascending prayers and gifts of pure congratulations be strewn upon the palace (6) of the Refuge of the Community whose patent of greatness, light-radiating, has been bejewelled, elevated, adorned and embellished by the exalted ratification<sup>3</sup> (of the words): BUT FOR THEE I SHOULD NOT HAVE CREATED THE HEAVENS; as well as upon all his family and associates.

(7) And after. Inasmuch as the secret thought of (our) high mind and the treasures of (our) illuminant heart are spent and turned towards heightening the rank and elevating the station of his High Excellency Isfandiẓār-beg, the Home of Principality, the Refuge of Government, the Lieutenancy of Administration, (8) the Solidity of Happiness, the Cupola of Greatness, the Expression of Highness, wrapt in justice, clad in generosity, the highest and noblest amīr, the Pride (9) of the princes of his days, the Leader of the venerable vālīs among men, the Pillar of the mighty State, the Right Hand of the victorious Sultanate—(all this) in a perfect degree (*kamālan*) for the sake of the Community, Principality, Administration, Government, Felicity (?) and Religion; (10) and inasmuch as (our) August

<sup>1</sup> The difference of constructions in Persian and English allows us to indicate only approximately the lines of the original.

<sup>2</sup> Instead of *ahd* one would expect the usual rhyme word *lahd* "the mortal shroud".

<sup>3</sup> *Tauqī'*. See on the term F. Taeschner, *Tawqī'* in EI. (chiefly with regard to Turkey and Egypt). I translate it, as convenient, "ratification," "confirmation," and even "royal seal".

interest and attention with regard to him were perfect, we have deigned to grant to, and bestow upon the aforesaid Excellency the territory of Igil which is his native home (*ojāq*), as well as Bāghin and Hēnī, (11) all together in the guise of the *soyūrgḥāl* (styled) eternal (*huwa abadī*) and of a perpetual grant.

So that the *mālvajihāt* and the whole of the treasury taxes of the mentioned place should be stricken off and attributed (13) to the aforesaid High Excellency, as a *tarkhān*, and be considered among (the grants) from which the pen (of the collector) is raised and the feet (of the officials) removed.

Let the financial agents, the managers of (state) business and offices (?) and the clerks of more important and (usual) affairs (14) of those parts know that such is the rule, and let them recognize that, with regard to the aforesaid Excellency, all these benefactions constitute an eternal and lasting grant and a bestowal perpetual and incontestable.

Let them register this grant (15) in the books of lasting (deeds) and not include it in the land-survey and measurement. Henceforth, they shall not, absolutely and on any account, present drafts (for payment) of

- |                           |                                    |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (a) <i>ikhrājāt</i>       | (p) <i>bīgār</i>                   |
| (b) <i>khālīṣāt</i>       | (q) <i>shikār</i>                  |
| (c) 'avāriḍāt             | (r) <i>sāvarī</i>                  |
| (d) <i>shanāqīs</i>       | (s) <i>dārūghakī</i>               |
| (e) <i>shiltāqāt</i> (16) | (t) <i>rusūm-i 'ummāl</i> (17)     |
| (f) <i>tauḡihāt</i>       | (u) <i>haqq al-sa'y-i mubāshir</i> |
| (g) <i>qasamāt</i>        | (v) <i>rasm al-ṣadāra</i>          |
| (h) <i>tauzī'āt</i>       | (w) <i>rasm al-vizāra</i>          |
| (i) 'alafa                | (x) 'īdī                           |
| (j) 'ulūfa                | (y) <i>naurūzī</i>                 |
| (k) <i>qonalghā</i>       | (z) <i>pīshkash</i>                |
| (l) <i>ulāgh</i>          | (aa) <i>salāmana</i>               |
| (m) <i>ulām</i>           | (bb) <i>valījīlik (vānjīlik ?)</i> |
| (n) <i>taghār</i>         | (cc) <i>yāpījīlik (?)</i>          |
| (o) <i>tarḥ</i>           | (dd) <i>qāpūjīlik</i>              |

and other official (?) (18) and unofficial<sup>1</sup> services (*taklīfāt*) and demands.

<sup>1</sup> *Hukmī va ghayr-i hukmī* "based on orders" and "not based on orders" (i.e. resulting from a custom, etc.).

They shall not approach him with cupidity or requests; they shall withdraw their pens and their steps from the (said lands). Let them spare no trouble for the maintenance of this grant (donation), nor request (19) every year a new order, paper (*parvānacha*) or decree (*nishān*). They shall consider the contents incorporated in the text (of the present document) as preserved and protected against the blemish of change and alteration. So let them carry it out (20) in conformity with the August order, introduce into its dispositions no changes or alterations and be warned by, and removed from, the tenor of the sacred verse (*Qor'ān*, ii, 177): IF ANY ALTER IT AFTER HAVING HEARD IT THE GUILT OF IT RESTS (21) ON THOSE WHO ALTER IT; VERILY ALLAH IS THE ONE WHO HEARS AND KNOWS. Let them know that he who acts contrary (to the present) will be subject to God's wrath and curse as well as to (22) the king's censure and reproof. On (all) sides, let all know that such is the order established and (23) let them act in conformity with the words: WHOEVER STRIVE TO ABOLISH IT, LET THEM BE CURSED BY GOD, ANGELS AND MEN, BY THEM ALL. And as soon as (this document) has become (24) adorned, explicit, confirmed, clarified, exalted, embellished and beautified by the royal seal (*tauqī*'),<sup>1</sup>—the exalted, the one to be obeyed, the high as the sun,—let them rely upon it!

Written by the high order, may God Almighty exalt it, may He prolong its validity to eternity, may it never cease to be obeyed and followed and may it remain unimpeachable (*manī*').

(25) In the Jausaq of Ḥarzam of the Seat of Government Mārdīn, on the fifth day of the divine month Sha'bān the Exalted, in the year nine-hundred-and-three.

*Verso*: Let them submit it to the August Seal, with the knowledge of His Eminence, the Refuge of Presidency (*ṣadārat*), the Shelter of Islām.

*Muqarrab al-ḥaḍrat* Zayn al-dīn (?) 'Alī Mishkī (?) Parvānachī.

#### 4. THE AQ-QOYUNLU OF MĀRDĪN

The document dated 5 Sha'bān, 903/29 March, 1498, was issued by the ruler of Mārdīn Qāsim [b.] Jahāngir [b. 'Alī b. Qara-'Othmān]<sup>2</sup> of the Aq-qoyunlu ("White Sheep") tribe. I have tried to assess

<sup>1</sup> *Vide supra*. p. 932, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> In قاسم جهانگیر we evidently have a Persian construction *Qāsim-i Jahāngir*, i.e. Qāsim, (son) of Jahāngir.

the historical importance of this Turcoman dynasty in two special articles<sup>1</sup> and here need only explain the origin of the Mārdīn branch. Qāsim's father Jahāngir was the eldest brother of Uzun-Ḥasan but the latter (857–882/1453–1478) became the most famous representative of the dynasty. He gradually conquered Armenia, Georgia, and Iran down to the gates of Herat and the Persian Gulf. After numerous affrays between the two brothers, Jahāngir (in 1453) lost to Uzun-Ḥasan even the original home of the family, Diyārbakr, and had to content himself with Mārdīn. The local history of Mārdīn<sup>2</sup> at that time becomes obscure and we do not even know the date of Jahāngir's death. His only inscription, referring to the repeal of some taxes on the butchers, has no indication of the year.<sup>3</sup> In 1473 (= A.H. 878) Giosafā Barbaro<sup>4</sup> visited Mārdīn and was put up at the hospice built by Ziangirbei (*Jahāngir*). Although coins were struck in Mārdīn in the name of Uzun-Ḥasan (in 875/1470) and of his son Ya'qūb (ruled 884–892/1478–1487), we need not take it for a direct intervention of the more powerful branch in the affairs of Mārdīn, but rather for a voluntary homage of the local rulers to the acknowledged heads of the family. The date of the madrasa of Qāsim b. Jahāngir in Mārdīn is said to be 884/1479.<sup>5</sup> If true, this prince had probably succeeded his father some time before A.D. 1479. After Ya'qūb b. Uzun-Ḥasan's death,<sup>6</sup> 'Ala al-daula, prince of the Zulqadar (< Duḡhadir) Turcomans and master of Albistan and Mar'ash, overran Diyārbakr but the Aq-qoyunlu must have kept Mārdīn.<sup>7</sup> Our firman was issued by Qāsim b. Jahāngir in 903/1498 and, by its high-flown style, bears witness to the pomp affected at the small court of Mārdīn.

<sup>1</sup> "Uzun Hasan" in *EI.*, and "La Perse au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle entre la Turquie et Venise", No. 7 of the *Publications de la Société des Etudes Iraniennes*, Paris, 1933. See now the respective chapters in W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, Berlin, 1936, and Ismail Hakki Uzunçarsilioglu, *Anadolu beylikleri*, Ankara, 1937.

<sup>2</sup> Münejjim-bashi, *Şahā'if al-akhbār*, iii, 157, line 16. Cf. Van Berchem, *Amida*, 1910, p. 116, and my article "Mārdīn" in *EI.*

<sup>3</sup> Von Oppenheim, "Inscripfen aus Syrien etc." in *Beiträge z. Assyriologie*, vii/1, p. 68 (deciphered by M. van Berchem).

<sup>4</sup> Hakluyt Society, vol. 49 (1873), p. 48.

<sup>5</sup> Ismail Hakki, *Anadolu beylikleri*, plates 45 and 46. This may be identical with the *tekye* of Qāsim-Pādishāh mentioned by Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, Copenhagen, 1778, ii, 391–8.

<sup>6</sup> The true date, as recorded in the special *Ta'rikh-i Amīnī*, Bib. Nat., Anc. fonds persan 101, fol. 206v, is 11 Šafar, 896/24 December, 1490.

<sup>7</sup> Hakluyt Society, *ibid.*, 148, according to the anonymous Venetian merchant, 'Alā al-daula established his rule over three towns of Diyārbakr (out of six): Urfa, Kharpūt, and Āmid (the latter being the provincial capital).



Under the miscellaneous events of 907/1501–2 the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh* of Ḥasan-i Rūmlū enumerates the names of twelve princes who “in this year (*sic*) raised in Īrān the standard of *I and no one else*”. Among them is mentioned Qāsim-beg b. Jahāngīr-beg b. ‘Alī-beg in Diyārbakr.<sup>1</sup> The dates of the madrasa (1479 ?), and quite especially of our firmān (1498), show that for a number of years before 1501 Qāsim was ruler of the region Mārdīn-Diyārbakr. Ḥasan-i Rūmlū’s date cannot be taken too strictly, unless it refers to some particular solemn proclamation on the side of Qāsim.

Ahmed Tewhid, in his *Catalogue*, p. 472,<sup>2</sup> tentatively and without any explanations, places in front of Qāsim’s name the date of 908/1502, but on none of the coins quoted as belonging to this prince (Nos. 1047–1069) are the dates distinguishable, and only on one of them can the name of the mint (*Āmid*, i.e. Diyārbakr) be read. Qāsim’s coins described by S. Lane Poole, *The coins of the Turks*, Class XXVI, 1883, Nos. 38–42, also lack dates. On one of them (half effaced) this prince is called: . . . *Sultān . . . a‘zam al-akbar Mir Qāsim khān al-Muzaffar*.

The item in Zambaur’s *Manuel de chronologie*, p. 258, according to which Qāsim ruled “from about 893 to 908”, does not seem to be based on any solid facts.

Bašagić, in his article, says that after the death of Ya‘qūb b. Uzun-Ḥasan (1490, *v.s.*) his possessions were split up and divided. “Diyārbakr and the neighbouring provinces were taken possession of by Sultān Abul-Muzaffar Qāsim who from 1488 (read: 1490 ?) to 1502 ruled independently over Northern Mesopotamia, with his capital in Mārdīn.” In view of what we know of the Zulqadar activities this statement is surely exaggerated. As the source of his information, Bašagić quotes a book called *Fuṣūl-i ḥall-wa-‘aql*, being an abridgment of *Kanz al-akhbār* and written in 1007/1599. These indications leave no doubt that the work in question is the one by Muṣṭafā b. Aḥmad ‘Ālī, who himself wrote this short epitome of his greater work devoted to the rise and fall of Islamic dynasties.<sup>3</sup> The *Fuṣūl* exists in two copies at the British Museum, but neither of them contains the passage quoted by Bašagić.<sup>4</sup>

[*Additional note.*—According to the *Jahān-ārā*, Br. Mus. Or. 141, f. 194a, Rustam beg b. Maqṣūd b. Uzun-Ḥasan was put on the throne (in V. 1492) by the son of Amīr Ayba-sultān. The chief general of the deposed king (Baysunqur b. Ya‘qūb b. Uzun-Ḥasan), Sulaymān beg,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. C. N. Seddon, Baroda, 1931, p. 62 (translation, p. 27).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ahmed Tewhid, “Catalogues des monnaies musulmanes du Musée Impérial Ottoman,” iv partie, Csple, 1903, pp. 472–519.

<sup>3</sup> No copy of the *Kanz al-akhbār* seems to have survived; see Babinger, *GSO.*, 1927, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> *Add.* 7870, ff. 202b–203b, *Add.* 7871, ff. 164b–165a.

fled to Diyārbakr and there was killed by Ayba-sultān's eldest brother Nūr-'Alī beg. The Syriac chronicle edited by Behnisch, Vratislaviae, 1838, completes this story by a most welcome detail. Nūr 'Alī rebelled against Rustam and the latter sent against him an army which put him to flight. Then "Qāsim-beg, maternal (?) uncle ('avunculus') of the prince who had led the army, took possession of Mārdīn and Ḥiṣn-Kayfā. The Marvadī (?),<sup>1</sup> who were in the castle of Mārdīn, were hard pressed and many of them were led into captivity".

These are the very last words of the Chronicle (which ends under the year A.G. 1804 = A.D. 1491-2). The author was well informed on the situation in Upper Mesopotamia and had just returned from Jerusalem via Hezrom (Ḥarzam ?) and Āmid. Consequently there is every reason to think that Qāsim-beg's independent rule in Mārdīn was an indirect repercussion of Rustam's victory over Bāysunqur and Sulaymān and that he began to reign in 1492 (A.H. 897-8).

According to the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī*, part i, p. 86, after the murder of Aḥmad Pādshāh Aq-qoyunlu (in 903/1497), his relative Alvand-mīrzā fled to Diyārbakr where he was proclaimed king by "the vālī of Diyārbakr Qāsim-beg". The latter took over the conduct of state affairs (*salṭanat*) and Alvand, greatly annoyed, left his camp for Tabriz and deposed his brother Muhammadi (905/1499). This is another feature of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr's career. In any case our farmān shows that in 903 Qāsim behaved as an independent ruler.]

In 913/1507 Shāh Ismā'il led his army against the Zulqadar Turkomans of Albistan (north of Mar'ash). He travelled thither via Khoy and Qaysariya and on returning took Kharberd (Kharput). The governor of Diyārbakr at that time was Amīr-beg Mūsullū (Mauṣil-lu) who had been there on behalf of the Aq-qoyunlu "for a number of years". He came to Albistan to see the Shāh and submitted to him, but when Khān Muḥammad Ustājlı was sent to occupy Diyārbakr (Āmid), Amīr-beg's brother Qaytmas-beg called in the Zulqadar amīrs. Only when the latter were defeated by Khān Muḥammad, Āmid was surrendered by an act of treason.<sup>2</sup> Mārdīn shared the fate of Āmid, but the Venetian merchant who visited it shortly after the events says that it was occupied "without bloodshed or resistance".<sup>3</sup> The name of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr is no longer mentioned at this occurrence. The Persians remained in control of the region till 922/1516, when they were succeeded by the Ottomans.

<sup>1</sup> "Marvadenses" according to Behnisch's Latin translation ? [In Syriac *mārōdā* means simply "the rebels" (Ch. Rabin).] <sup>2</sup> *Aḥsan al-tawārikh*, pp. 92-9.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt Society, op. cit., p. 149. In 1507 this merchant joined Shāh Ismā'il's army at Arzinjān and accompanied it to Albistan, though he was not present at the expedition to Diyārbakr. He must have visited the latter region in 1510, see op. cit., pp. 145, 147.

## 5. THE PRINCES OF EGİL

No less obscure are the fortunes of the family to which the addressee of the *farmān* belonged. His name, as it appears from the text, was Kamāl al-dīn Isfandiyār-beg, lord of Igil (Egīl). Sharaf al-dīn's Kurdish chronicle *Sharaf-nāma*<sup>1</sup> contains a special chapter on the Bulduqānī rulers of this fief.

In Kurdistan we have to distinguish between three different classes of population: (1) the agricultural *ra'iyat*, often representing the ancient inhabitants of the country, (2) the 'ashīrat (military caste), which sometimes is the later layer of conquerors from outside, and (3) the rulers' dynasties, mostly outsiders of noble origin, religious chiefs, etc.

Of the *ra'iyat* under the amīrs of Egīl the *Sharaf-nāma* says nothing except that, in the paragraph treating of the Chārmūk branch of the family, mention is made of the "kharāj of the infidels" which the Ottoman government were collecting directly. Probably very many of the Egīl subjects were Armenians. On the other hand, all the area between Egīl, Chārmūk, and Pālū forms the southern part of the territory in which Zāzā dialects are (or were!) spoken.<sup>2</sup> It is not quite clear whether this population was regarded as "subjects" or as "the 'ashīrat". The author of the *Sharaf-nāma* calls the 'ashīrat of Egīl *M.rdāsī* and further, loc. cit., 177, connects it with the Mirdāsī dynasty of Banū-Kilāb Arabs which ruled in Aleppo in 414–472/1032–1079. According to Sharaf al-dīn, these Arabs came to Egīl after the defeat of Šālīḥ b. Mirdās by the Fātimids in 420.<sup>3</sup> This theory is subject to some doubt and is perhaps based only on some similarity of names.<sup>4</sup> As regards the dynasty of Egīl, the same source attributes to it an Abbāsīd origin. The great ancestor Pīr Maṣṣūr was a saintly

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Veliāminof-Zernof, St. Petersburg, 1860, i, 178–183.

<sup>2</sup> The Zāzā dialects are not considered now as being Kurdish proper. They are more connected with the northern and western dialects of Persia, see Mann-Hadank, *Mundarten der Zāzā*, Berlin, 1932.

<sup>3</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 277, does not give any details.

<sup>4</sup> It is quite possible that \**Mard-āsī* is a parallel formation to *Kurdāsī* in a proverb quoted by H. Makas, *Kurdische Texte aus der Gegend von Mardin*, Leningrad, 1926, p. 93: *Kūrdī Kurdāsī, pēra mā-kā tu nāsī; ham tē u ham do-zwā u ham do-zwāzī*, "a Kurd is a true Kurd; do not make his acquaintance; he comes, eats and wants (more)." Possibly -*āsī* is a suffix corresponding to the Persian -*āsā* "like, similar to". \**Mard-āsī* would then mean "the one like a *mard*", in the sense of "a true *mard*". *Mard* in Iranian languages means "a man, homo, vir", but after all it may also mean "a *Mard*", one of the ancient people *Márhoi*. If the term *M.rdāsī* refers to the Zāzā, the proposed etymology may eventually lead to further speculation as to the origins of the enigmatic Zāzā.

man who first lived in Ḥakkārī (east of Van) but later came to Egil and settled in the village of Pīrān. The Mirdāsī tribes gathered round the family. Maṣṣūr's grandson Pīr Badr seized the castle of Egil, but "some Seljuk Sultān" took it from him and he had to flee to Mayyafāriqīn and take refuge under the protection of Amīr Ḥisām al-dīn (?). Under Alp-Arslan (455-466/1063-1072) Amīr Artīq<sup>1</sup> took Mayyafāriqīn and Pīr Badr perished in the affray.

The background of the tradition may be true, but the details are somewhat shaky. At the period in question, the Marwānid rulers of Mayyafāriqīn were Nizām al-dīn Abul-Qāsim Naṣr, A.H. 453-472, and Naṣir al-daula Abul-Muzaḥḥar Maṣṣūr, A.H. 472-8. It was Nizām al-dīn's brother Sa'īd who first brought in Seljuk troops in 455, but Mayyafāriqīn was not taken and Sa'īd had to content himself with Āmid. Nizām al-dīn was presented to Alp-Arslan and kindly received by the latter. In 477/1084 Ibn Jahīr, then in the employ of the famous vazīr Nizām al-mulk, led a Seljuk army to Mayyafāriqīn. In 478 Artīq brought new reinforcements, and finally (after the arrival of another general, al-Kūhyārī) the town was taken in Jumādā i, 478/August, 1085, and the Marwānids lost their power.<sup>2</sup> Probably the death of Pīr Badr is to be associated with this event but the latter took place under Malik-shāh and not under Alp-Arslan.

Egil was left without a ruler and the hopes of the Mirdāsī tribe were transferred to the child which Pīr Badr's spouse was about to bear. The latter proved to be a boy and someone wanting to express his satisfaction in a covered way (*ba-vaḍ'-i ramz*) said in Turkish: *Choq shükür khudāya ki istādūgimizi bulduq*, "Many thanks to God, we have found what we wanted." Thereupon the child was surnamed Amīr Bulduq<sup>3</sup> and brought up by the Mirdāsī grandees. When he came of age all the tribes recognized his authority and he became his father's successor in the government and possession of Egil, and in the leadership of the tribes.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Amīr Ibrahīm and the latter by his son Amīr Muḥammad. This prince had three sons of whom

<sup>1</sup> The reading *Ortoq* is erroneous.

<sup>2</sup> See Amedroz in *JRAS.*, 1903, 123-154.

<sup>3</sup> All this naturally sounds like a legend. *Bulduq* means in Turkish "a founding" (> Arabic *bunduq*) but is also used as a personal Turkish name (cf. a parallel name *Taptiq*). On the other hand, under 513/1119, Ibn al-Athīr, x, 393, mentions in the neighbourhood of Baṣra two Ghuz tribes, respectively called Ismā'īlī and Bulduqī (*sic*). Could not at least the mother of the founder of the Bulduqānī dynasty have been of Turkish origin, which would also explain the Turkish phrase quoted in the *Sharaf-nāma*?

the eldest 'Īsā (or, according to Sham'ī, *Ghaybī*) continued the dynasty at Egil. The second son, Tīmūr-tāsh, became, during his father's lifetime, the governor of Bāghin and its neighbourhood and from him came the special branch of princes of Pālū. The third Ḥusayn,<sup>1</sup> also during his father's lifetime, was put in possession of the Bardinch castle and the district of Charmūk and founded the branch of the latter fief.

With the support of the Mirdāsī tribe, Daulat-beg, son of Amīr 'Īsā (*Ghaybī*), became his successor at Egil, and in his turn was succeeded by his son 'Īsā (*Ghaybī*) II. This ruler had two sons: Isfandiyār and Shāh Muḥammad; the latter, though apparently the younger of the two, became his father's successor "in view of his merits" (*istiḥqāq*). Of his four sons (Qāsim beg, Maṣṣūr beg, Isfahān beg, Amīrān beg), Qāsim inherited the rights and became so prominent that, after the rise of the Turcoman dynasty of Aq-qoyunlu, he was appointed to be the tutor of the royal prince and became known as Lālā Qāsim.<sup>2</sup> In 913, when the Ṣafavids occupied Diyārbakr, Qāsim resisted them. Egil was occupied by Khān-Muḥammad Ustājilū, and for seven years governed by some Qizil-bash called Maṣṣūr beg. After the battle of Chaldiran, Qāsim was reinstated at Egil by Sulṭān Selīm. It is even said that he was instrumental in capturing Āmid (Diyārbakr) from the Persians and in giving it over to the Ottomans.

Under the new sovereigns, the family still carried on. In the reign of Sulṭān Sulaymān, Qāsim was succeeded by his nephew Murād ibn 'Īsā (*Ghaybī*) II<sup>3</sup> who built over his uncle's grave a hospice known as Khān-i Sharbaṭīn (near Aukhān, at one day's march from Diyārbakr).

The sons of Murād, 'Alī-khān and Qāsim-beg II, ruled for short periods one after the other at Egil. Qāsim II left two sons, Ja'far and Ghaḍanfar, the former of whom was confirmed by Sulṭān Selīm II in 980/1572 and was still in power in 1005/1596.

Towards 1095/1684 a Turkish translation of the *Sharaf-nāma* was prepared by a Sham'ī, at the instigation of his patrons, Muṣṭafā-beg of Egil and Muḥammad Qūjūr (Qojur ?) beg of Pālū, and owing to this happy circumstance we possess two supplements continuing the local history for about another century.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to another version he was a cousin of Amīr Muḥammad.

<sup>2</sup> The *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, f. 55a, mentions the governors of Arghana, Hēnī, Attāq, Egil, Bāghin, Silvān, Charmūk, Rubā, etc., who paid homage to Ya'qūb b. Uzun-Ḥasan on his arrival in Diyārbakr in 883/1478, but does not give their names.

<sup>3</sup> This is an obvious mistake. Murād must have been the son of Maṣṣūr, or Isfahān, or Amīrān.

<sup>4</sup> Brit. Mus. Add. 18547, fol. 59a-68b; cf. Rieu, *Cat. Turkish MSS.*, pp. 71-2.

We learn that Ja'far-beg was succeeded by his son Mu'min-beg and the latter by his three sons, in succession to one another: Murād 'Alī, Mūsā, and Muṣṭafā. The last-named ruler served under Qaplan Muṣṭafā-pāshā of Diyārbakr during the Russian campaign of 1089/1678, and distinguished himself at Chihirin (Chigirin in the Ukraine).

The addressee of the farmān of 903/1498, Isfandiyār-beg, whose father's name is omitted in the text, seems to be identical with Isfandiyār b. 'Īsā (Ghaybī) II, b. Daulat-beg b. 'Īsā (Ghaybī) I, b. Ibrāhīm b. Bulduq. Isfandiyār-beg's nephew Qāsim b. Shāh-Muḥammad was in charge of an Aq-qoyunlu prince whose name is omitted in the *Sharaf-nāma*. From the fact that Qāsim resisted the Ṣafavīs in 913 and was active after the battle of Chaldīran (920/1514), chronologically the date 903 is quite possible for his uncle Isfandiyār. As the *Sharaf-nāma* merely mentions his name and vaguely refers to the preferment of his brother, it would seem that there was some irregularity in his career. Curiously enough the farmān of 903/1498 lacks the seal mentioned in the endorsement and consequently may represent the original draft of his instalment as a vassal, later replaced by another document in favour of some other person. As neither Isfandiyār nor his direct descendants are mentioned any more in the annals, it would be possible to suppose that the dissatisfied addressee tried his luck under some other skies. This may be the cause of the expatriation of the Čengiċ-begs' ancestors.

If we accept the local tradition, as recorded by Bašagić, op. cit., p. 8, the family appeared in Bosnia towards the middle of the sixteenth century (?). The name Čengiċ is said to be a corruption of Čangrlić (?), derived from the town of Changrī,<sup>1</sup> where the family is supposed to have possessed a fief before coming to the Serbian lands. If, indeed, on the way from Egil to Bosnia, the ancestors of the Čengiċ spent some time at Changrī, that sojourn must have lasted under 50 (?) years.

## 6. GEOGRAPHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The geographical facts recorded in the farmān admit of the following conclusions. The lord of Mārdīn could hardly have disposed of the fiefs lying beyond and to the north of Diyārbakr if he had had no control over the latter.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, we know that Qāsim struck coins at Āmid, and in 903 this town must have been in his possession.

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Gangra, on a left affluent of the Qizil-irmaq, halfway between Ankara and Kastamuni.

<sup>2</sup> Amir-beg, *vide supra*, p. 937, may have been his representative.

Jausaq Ḥarzam, “the Kiosque (or fortress) of Ḥarzam,” is probably the royal camp. Mārdīn itself, in view of its crowded situation on a rock, was hardly suitable for stationing troops. Ḥarzam lies at 10 km. to the west of this town and is mentioned by historians in connection with Saladin’s unsuccessful attempt to occupy Mārdīn in 579/1183 (Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 323<sub>3</sub>, 324<sub>20</sub>).

The hereditary fief of Egīl<sup>1</sup> occupied a considerable area. The castle of Egīl lies on the southern bank of Arghana-su above its confluence with the Upper Tigris (Zibene-su). Hēnī (sometimes spelt in Arabic *Hānī*) lies at the source of Ambar-chay which flows parallel to the Zibene-su, to the east of it. As regards Bāghin, two places of this name are known: the one (ancient Armenien *Paṭin*) is situated in the basin of the Murād-su (Eastern Euphrates), on the latter’s northern affluent Peri-chay; the other Bāghin lay between Pālū and Arghana,<sup>2</sup> and it is more probable that the latter is meant in our case, as the former lay too far north and must have belonged to the Pālū branch of the Balduqānī family.

## 7. FORM OF THE DOCUMENT

The chart, disposed in two columns, contains twenty-five lines of text and is written in *ḍivānī* script, which is bold and clear, although the reading of its numerous ligatures and dotless words requires considerable exercise. The king’s title (right top) and the Arabic quotations are in gold.

From the diplomatic point of view, the document (perhaps called *ḥukm* “order”, see addition p. 960) consists of (A) the king’s titles and tamghā, (B) the text of the grant, and (C) the endorsement on the verso.

A. The king’s name (Qāsim) is accompanied by that of his father (Jahāngīr) and is preceded by the title (*laqab*): Nāṣir li-dīni ’llāhi, and the *kunya*: Abul-Muẓaffar. An interesting feature of the title is the *tamghā*, i.e. tribal sign of the Aq-qoyunlu:—



<sup>1</sup> Egīl corresponds to ancient Ἰγγιληνός, Armenian Angeł; on this region cf. Hübschmann, “Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen,” in *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, pp. 293, 303.

<sup>2</sup> I presume that it is identical with Barin, on the left affluent of the Arghana-su which joins the latter north of Astvatsatsin; see Lynch’s Map of Armenia.

This tamghā belongs to the Turkish Oghuz clan called after Bāyandur, one of the four sons of Kōk-khan (himself one of the six sons of the legendary Oghuz-khan). In Rashīd al-dīn's enumeration of *tamghās*, *onghons* (totems), and parts of meat allotted to each of the Oghuz clans,<sup>1</sup> the tamghā of Bāyandur looks like the part of the Arabic letter ص above the line (i.e. without its tail). This tamghā figures also on Aq-qoyunlu coins<sup>2</sup> where it has a more stylized form :—



Another curious detail in our Persian text is the use, after the ruler's name, of the Turkish formula : *sözümüz* "our word", in obvious imitation of Chengizid documents.<sup>3</sup>

B. The chart proper may be summarized in the following scheme :—

(α) praises to God for his kindness to his faithful servants (ll. 1–4) and to Muḥammad (ll. 5–6) ;

(β) the king's kind intentions towards Isfandiyār beg (ll. 7–9) find their expression in the soyūrgḥāl (ll. 10–11) by which Isfandiyār beg becomes a *tarkhān* free from taxation (ll. 12–13) ;

(γ) instructions to the administrative agents in the above sense (l. 14) ;

(δ) a detailed enumeration of thirty kinds of taxes from which Isfandiyār-beg is exempted (ll. 15–18) ;

(ε) additional recommendation to the officials to conform with the disposition of the decree, under threats of punishment and curse (ll. 19–24) ;

(ζ) confirmation of the authenticity of the decree, with the date and place of its issue (ll. 24–5).

C. The endorsement made by the *parvānachī* (registrar ?)<sup>4</sup> that the document should be submitted to the royal seal with the knowledge of the Ṣadr.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Berezin, *Trudi V.O.*, vol. vii, p. 35. In Br. Mus. Or. 7628, fol. 425–6, these signs are unfortunately missing.

<sup>2</sup> See Lane Poole, op. cit., p. 187, Ahmed Tewhid, op. cit., 472–519, and the coin photographed in Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg*, to face p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the *yarligh* of Toqtamīsh-khan of the Golden Horde to the Polish king Jagailo (795/1392) and the numerous documents emanating from the khans of Crimea edited by Velyaminov-Zernov, St. Petersburg, 1864.

<sup>4</sup> In Bukhārā, one of the duties of the *parvānachī* was to stick the farmān into the grantee's turban ; see A. Semenov, *A Sketch of the Land-taxes in the former Khanate of Bukhara*, Tashkent, 1929, p. 14 (in Russian).



## 8. LEGAL AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF THE DOCUMENT

I hope to give in another place a fuller bibliography of studies (still very scarce!) on social and economic conditions of the Middle East. Here I shall only explain my references to some special works in Russian and Turkish, which otherwise would not be clear (Russian titles are translated into English).

Berezin, "On the internal organization of the ulus of Juchi," in *Trudi Vost. Otd.*, viii, 1864, pp. 386-494; Barthold, "A Persian inscription on Manuche's mosque at Ani," St. Petersburg, 1914; A. Z. Validi, "Moğollar devrinde Anadolunun iktisadî vaziyeti," Istanbul, 1930; B. Vladimirtsov, *Social organization of the Mongols*, Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1934 (a capital work); I. P. Petrushevsky, "On *immunity* in Azarbayjan in the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries," in *Istoricheskiy sbornik Akademii nauk S.S.S.R.*, 1935, No. 4, pp. 35-72 (an important historical study based on first-hand knowledge of local archives); *Colonial policy . . . in Azarbayjan*, edited by the Academy of Sciences, Leningrad, 1936-7 (collection of official documents for the period 1827-1868); the abbreviation *Tadhkira* refers to a Persian manual of Şafavid administration which I am preparing for publication.

The act incorporated in the present chart is given the name of *soyūrghāl*<sup>1</sup> "grant, bestowal", the absolute character of which is particularly insisted upon. The word *soyūrghāl* (l. 12) is accompanied by an unusual qualificative term written in cursive. I tentatively transcribe it *هوابدی* (*hw* in the beginning is clear, and the ending *dī* is necessary for a rhyme with the following *sarmadī*). My learned friend M. Qazvīnī has called my attention to the term *هوجاری* standing in a similar position in Sultān Ya'qūb's *farmān* (*vide infra*). I do not think that the two qualifications are variants (or misreadings) of one single unknown term, but I am inclined to take them for parallel constructions: *huwa abadī* "this [document] is eternal", and *huwa jāri* "this [document] is current, lasting". The terms may refer to some formula of endorsement used in the chanceries. This supposition is supported by the fact that the word *abadī* "eternal" is said to be frequent in Caucasian official practice, cf. Petrushevsky, *op. cit.*, 55, note 1. In line 14 our grant is again called "perpetual and eternal" and it is added (l. 19) that it needs no periodical confirmation.

<sup>1</sup> From Mongol *soyurkhal* "hereditary grant", Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 115. I do not think Hinz, *op. cit.*, 107, is right in restricting the meaning of the term and in interpreting it as "prebend" (Pfründe, Kirchenlehen). Both our document and that of Qara-Yūsuf clearly show that the term had a much larger sense. Moreover, western European terms, useful as parallels, are dangerous as "equivalents".

Like Qara-Yūsuf's farmān (*v.i.*, p. 952), but unlike that of Shāh Sultān-Ḥusayn (*v.i.*, p. 958), our nishān does not contain any indications as to the counterpart of Isfandiyār-beg's obligations towards the suzerain. The amīr of Egīl is called *tarkhān*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. immune from the intervention of the suzerain's agents. The chart uses an Arabic expression *marfū' al-qalam maqṣūr al-qadam* (l. 11), later (l. 18) repeated in Persian garb, which forms a parallel to the medieval European formula *sine introitu iudicum*. The vassal's lands are also excluded from the cadastral survey. Consequently our document is a typically feudal act by which the suzerain delegates to the grantee a part of his sovereign rights, within a defined territory.

Quite especially, the independence of the vassal is proclaimed with regard to taxation. It is true that the chart does not record any right of the beneficiary to introduce alterations into the system of taxation, but all the taxes belonging to the state or duties collected by the government agents are surrendered to the vassal. In the first place are mentioned "the *mālvajihāt* and all the taxes going to the treasury". The second part of the formula covers all the cases, and does not seem to be something outside the *mālvajihāt*. The latter<sup>2</sup> is a well-known term which figures in numerous documents.<sup>3</sup> It is usually spelt in one word but must be composed of *māl-va-jihāt*. In the *Bahār-i 'Ajam* Dictionary, *māl-va-jihāt* is explained: *naqd-va-jins-va-asbāb-va-ashyā*. Consequently the term consists of *māl* ("property, cash, money") and *jihāt* (which must refer to taxes other than money?).<sup>4</sup> The term might suggest that at least a part of *mālvajihāt* was payable in cash, but we know for certain that, for example, in Transcaucasia (Ganja, etc.), *māljihāt* referred to the annual rent in kind amounting to one-tenth, and even three-tenths, of the agricultural produce payable to the dīvān (treasury), or to the local feudal lords. At some places (Qubba), a corresponding rent was called *dah-yak* ("the tithe") or *bahra* "the part".<sup>5</sup>

Apart from the basic taxes (l. 12), the beneficiary was exempted from a number of other levies of which thirty are enumerated by

<sup>1</sup> From Mongol *darkhan*, "a manumitted slave, a freedman," cf. Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 69, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Often *māljihāt* or in the combination *mālvajihāt-va-vujāhāt*.

<sup>3</sup> *Silsilat al-nasab*, 104, \**mālvajihāt*, Khanikov's firmān, many documents from the Caucasian archives, cf. Petrushevsky, pp. 52, 56, 64, *Kolonialnaya politika*, ii, index.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. also the use of the term *jihāt* in Sultān Ya'qūb's farmān, *vide infra*, p. 953.

<sup>5</sup> *Kolonialnaya politika*, ii, 432; *ibid.*, i, 439, with reference to the lands belonging to the state, *bahra* is fixed at one-fifth of the crops and *māljihāt* at one-tenth.

name. Of many of them only tentative explanations are possible. We must not forget that such terms often change their sense locally. Therefore in our case we cannot confidently utilize the rich material available for India.<sup>1</sup> Ottoman Turkish documents also use a special terminology.<sup>2</sup> Historical research of the social and economic conditions in Persia is still only beginning. The facts available for Transcaucasia<sup>3</sup> are more numerous and well sifted, but they mostly refer to the nineteenth century, or at least to the time after the collapse of Nādir-shāh's power (A.D. 1747). Some of the data of our document have no explanations yet and we may only take stock of them and quote the available parallels, *v.i.*, under (*f*).

We shall now consider the taxes and services one by one.

(a) *Ikhrajāt*, in modern parlance, would designate the occasional expenses and disbursements, as for the entertainment of officials and their retinue, etc. This interpretation is supported by Juvaynī, i, 23<sub>s</sub>: *ikhrajāt-i šādir va-vārid* "the expenditure for the outgoing and incoming (travellers)", and i, 24<sub>10</sub>: *mašālīh-va-ikhrajāt-i har yām* "the paraphernalia and the expenditure (?) of each post-station".

(b) *Khālīṣāt*, in the sense which the term has had in Persian down to our own time, means "government lands" administered by special officials or rented to private persons (whose tendency was to perpetuate their lease and to transform it into some kind of possession). In Transcaucasia the *khālīṣa* were the lands belonging to the begs and colonized by the latter; the ownership in this case was comparable to a freehold property (*Kolonialnaya politika*, i, 103; ii, 53). Neither of these interpretations is of much help in establishing the meaning of the fiscal term.

(c) *ʿAvāriḍāt* "additional or extraordinary payments and duties".<sup>4</sup> In Transcaucasian practice the term referred to the compulsory services (mowing, reaping, building, etc.) of the whole village community for the benefit of the landlord, who in this case provided the food for the workers. This obligation for the owner ceased if the work was of general utility (building canals, bridges, etc.), cf. below under

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, book iii, *ā'ins* 5 and 11.

<sup>2</sup> See even such an old document as the *Qānūn-nāma* of Sulṭān Muḥammad II, drawn up soon after A.D. 1453; cf. Kraelitz-Greifenhorst in *Mitt. zur Osman. Geschichte*, i, 1921-2, pp. 13-48.

<sup>3</sup> We must realize that, in Mongol times, all the lands from Transcaucasia to Upper Mesopotamia (Mārdīn!) were parts of the same kingdom (*ulūs-i Hūlāgū*) governed from Tabriz. Consequently, similarities in the administrative terminology and institutions of the whole region are quite natural.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the *yarliq* of Temir Qutlugh (800/1398), in *Zapiski V.O.*, iii, 1888, p. 37.

(p) *bīgār*. The collective work comprised under ‘*avāriḍ*’ was in addition to the regular service due to the landlord for a definite number of days in the year, see *Kolonialnaya politika*, ii, 57 and 426.

(d) *Shanāqīs*, a plural form of sing. *shanqaṣa* which is explained in Arabic dictionaries as *istiḡṣā* “to proceed to extremities”.<sup>1</sup> The *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, ed. M. Iqbal, 388, 507, describing the oppression of a Hamadān ruler, says *va-tannūr-i shanqaṣa chinān garm shud ki Hamadhān va-navāḥi-yi ān bisūkht*. This passage suggests for *shanqaṣa* the sense of “extortions” in general. I wish to place here on record the existence in Kurdistān of a village called *Shanakhṣa* (on the Lesser Zāb, near Ālān) which may reflect a popular pronunciation of the term in question.

(e) *Shiltāqāt*, is derived from the Mongol *siltaghan*, *siltaq* “cause”, which, similarly to the Persian *bahāna*, must have acquired the sense of “pretext”, and finally was used as “arbitrary intervention, oppressions”.<sup>2</sup>

(f) *Taujīhāt*. According to Johnson’s *Persian Dictionary* (probably with special reference to India) *taujīh*, in a technical sense, means “rolls” and *taujīh-nivīs* “keeper of description rolls”.<sup>3</sup> In the present enumeration this sense may be more appropriate than that attested in Transcaucasia (Shekki) where *touji* (\**taujīh*) meant taxes in cash, Petrushevsky, 57, *Kolonialnaya politika*, 402. [There may have been confusion between *taujīh*, pronounced in Persian *toʻjī(h)*, and the Turkish term *tāvāji* “messenger”. This latter word is attested in Bukhārā with reference to “levies for sending messengers”, Semenov, op. cit.; cf. also J. Deny, *JA.*, July, 1932, pp. 161–2.]

(g) *Qasamāt* (?). The term may refer to oaths, either in the sense of “fees for administering oaths” or in the sense of the obligation for a vassal to be witness in trials and to take the oath, but more probably the reading is *qismāt* “divisions”, with reference to the remuneration of the estimators (*qismdār*) whose task was to define the part of the harvest to be collected as *māljiḥāt*. Cf. *Kolonialnaya politika*, i, 454.

<sup>1</sup> In the *Mafātīḥ al-ʿulūm* (end of the tenth century A.D.), ed. van Vloten, 1895, p. 119, *shanāqīṣa* is explained as *qaum min al-jund* “a detachment of troops” (?). The origin of the word is not clear. My friend Shaykh M. Gomaa suggests that *ṣnqṣ* (similarly to *ṣqlb*, *ṣʿl*, *ṣḥbr*, *ṣḥlb*) may belong to the rare *ṣafʿal* form of verbs (?).

<sup>2</sup> In Zamakhsharī’s *Muqaddimat al-adab*, ed. Poppe, Leningrad, 1938, p. 333, Mongol *shiltaq* (sic) is explained in Turkish as *bahāna*!

<sup>3</sup> Whatever the meaning of this explanation, we learn from the *Tadhkira* that, in Ṣafavid time, *ṣāḥib-taujīh* was the Auditor General whose business was to check (*ham-qalam*) the expenditure accounts.

(h) *Tauzi'āt*, “distribution, partition,” but in what particular case? The term may be a match of (g).

(i) ‘*Alafa*, in the sense of “food, or victuals of soldiers” is attested in Arabic, see Lane’s *Dictionary*, p. 2131. Among the Turks ‘*alafa* must have had the meaning of “the keep” allotted to an official or a guest, which gave rise to the Russian loan-word *alafa*, *lafa*. The Russian traveller A. Nikitin, who was in India A.D. 1468-1472, says, p. 338, that in the Port of Shibait (?) “they give the Khorasanians a tenka a day for their *alafa*”, cf. also *ibid.*, p. 339.

(j) ‘*Ulūfa* “forage”, cf. Juvaynī, i, 22s, in the description of the Mongol post service: *yām-va-ulāgh-va-‘ulūfāt* “post stations, relay horses, and forage”.

(k) *Qonalghā*. The word is spelt without dots but the probability of our reading is enhanced by the fact that in the *Bābur-nāma*, ed. Ilminsky, 465s, ‘*ulūfa-va-qonalgha* are coupled with reference to the hospitality to be extended to ambassadors. *Qonalgha*, a Mongol form from Turkish verb *qonmaq* “to be put up”, means “lodging (for the night)”. Cf. Barthold in *Zap. V.O.*, xv, 269.

(l) *Ulāgh*, from Mongol *ulagha*, “post-service, relay horses,” cf. Juvaynī, i, 24<sub>22</sub>.

(m) *Ulām* is not found in the dictionaries. The word *ulāgh* is usually mentioned together with *yām* “post station” (see under (j)). The word *yām*, naturally expected in our text; not being found in it, one might surmise that *ulām* stands for *yām* (?), i.e. “the duty to keep post stations”. Some light on the meaning of our *الام* (clearly written) is thrown by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 50, who says that, when the time of a royal hunt came, the Mongols used to inform the troops all around *ulām-ulām*. Blochet in his Appendix, p. 28, explains that in Mongol this expression means “progressivement, d’une façon continue”. Such is indeed the indication of Kowalewsky’s Mongol dictionary, p. 300, but originally the meaning may have been more concrete, such as “stage by stage”, etc. Some derivations of the word clearly show its connection with the service of messengers: *ulam-jīlaq-chi* means “celui qui transmet ou remet, postillon [*sic*]”. Consequently the *ulam* service in our document is quite naturally coupled with the *ulāgh*. The combination of the two must refer to the “post-and-messenger service”.

(n) *Taghār* or *taqār* is a well-known dry measure equal to 100 Tabriz maunds, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 138, n. 17.

According to L. Budagov's *Turkish Dictionary*, p. 361, 1 taghār = 750 Russian pounds = 675 pounds avoirdupois. However, in our text *taghār* must refer to a tax and not to a measure, and in this sense the word is found in the Armenian historian Kirakos (thirteenth century). Speaking of Mongol oppression he writes: "Voici quelques exemples entre mille. Arghoun [A.D. 1284–1291] avait imposé le *mali* et le *khaphitchour*, taxes auxquelles Houlavou [Hulagu, A.D. 1256–1265 !] ordonna de joindre celle dite thaghar (*Թաղար t'ayar*). De tous les gens inscrits au registre royal on exigeait 100 litras de froment, 50 de vin, 2 de riz et de *dzndzat*, trois topracs [probably *tobra*, *torba* "nose-bag"], deux cordes, un blanc (monnaie), une flèche, un fer à cheval, sans compter les autres présents, le vingtième animal et vingt stacs [\*spitaki 'white', i.e. silver coins]. A celui qui n'avait pas ces choses on enlevait ses fils et ses filles, au lieu de la contribution." <sup>1</sup> In this badly formulated passage the concluding part seems to explain the two basic taxes mentioned in the beginning, viz. "20 white coins" must represent the tax called *mali* (\**mal*, in its technical sense "money"), and "each twentieth animal" the well-known tax on animals, *qopchur*.<sup>2</sup> Then *t'ayar* must refer to the taxes in kind enumerated in the central part of the passage. In Dulaurier's translation, *t'ayar* is followed by the word "capitation", which is apparently the translator's own interpretation of the term. Originally *taghār* referred probably to the "100 litras of grain", the word *litra* standing here for "maund" (*vide supra*). The remaining duties in kind may have been "understood" under the principal item. In our text, too, *taghār* must refer to some tax in kind, though the amount of the levy in 1498 was undoubtedly more moderate than at the time of Mongol conquest.

(o) *Tarḥ* is an obscure term. According to Barthold, *Manuche*, p. 401, in the formula *farsh-va-tarḥ*, found in Rashīd al-dīn with reference to Ghazan-khan's pious foundations, the word *tarḥ* has the meaning of "the whole of the sums assigned (to a foundation ?)". On the other hand, in another passage, Rashīd al-dīn says that after Ghazan's reforms "all the corn in the villages remains in the granaries, so that there is no need to give (it ?) to people by means of *tarḥ*". According to Barthold, the term would suggest in this case some allotment of subventions to the needy inhabitants (?). The passage,

<sup>1</sup> Brosset, *Deux historiens arméniens*, St. Pétersbourg, 1870, p. 182. Cf. Dulaurier, "Les Mongoles d'après les historiens arméniens," *JA.*, June, 1858, p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> However, according to Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 256, *qobchur* amounted to one out of 100. Cf. Barthold, *Manuche*, p. 32, A. Z. Validi, op. cit., 19.

as it stands, suggests some opposition between the system of granaries and some perfunctory way of getting rid of corn by means of *tarḥ*. The term certainly conveys the idea of "quotas". Barthold admits that *tarḥ* may have been used also in collecting taxes in quotas.

(p) *Bīgār* is the bounden service of the peasants, usually without pay. Juvaynī, i, 22<sub>20</sub>, describes a *bīgār-i nafsī* referring to personal services: "if the man is not at home, his wife goes out in person and does the task." This duty more or less corresponds to the Ottoman *angariye* (< *ἀγγαρία*) "corvée, réquisition, travail sans retribution". Bašagić uses it in his translation, though it is not clear which Persian term is explained by it.

(q) *Shikār* must be some particular obligation with regard to the princely hunting, e.g. participation in the battues, such as Juvaynī describes in detail, i, 20; cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, p. 50.

(r) *Sāvarī*, a Turkish term explained in Persian dictionaries as "presents" (*tuhfa va pīshkash*); the numerous examples collected by Quatremère in his edition of the *Matla' al-sa'dayn*, in *Notices et Extraits*, xiv/1, p. 27, show that originally *sāvarī* meant "homage".

(s) *Dārūghakī*, in Turkish *darughalīq*, is any payment in favour of the *dārūgha*,<sup>1</sup> i.e. the lord's official (bailiff) stationed in a particular village. In towns *dārūgha* had many other special functions.

(t) *Rusūm-i 'ummāl* are the additional charges levied in a certain proportion to the basic taxes by the financial agents, as a fee for their services.<sup>2</sup>

(u) *Ḥaqq al-sa'y-i mubāshir*, "reward for the endeavours of a mubāshir," i.e. a similar fee of a lesser official.<sup>3</sup>

(v) *Rasm al-ṣadāra* are apparently the fees of the religious official called *ṣadr*. In the endorsement of our farmān (*vide supra*, p. 934), the apposition of the royal seal is subject to the "knowledge" of the *ṣadārat-panāhī islām-malādhī*. This circumlocution stands certainly for the office of the *Ṣadr*, and points to the latter's religious character. In *Ṣafavi* times the business of the *Ṣadr* was to appoint *qāḍīs*, etc., see *Tadhkira*. On his emoluments see *ibid.*, f. 85b.

(w) *Rasm al-vizāra*, ditto of a *vazīr*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Mongol "chief", see Vladimirtsov, *Obščestvennŭy stroy Mongolov*, 1934, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> The Manual of *Ṣafavi* administration (*Tadhkira*), of which I am preparing an edition, has an elaborate chapter on the distribution of the *rusūm* among the members of each department.

<sup>3</sup> The term *ḥaqq al-sa'y* is mentioned in the *Tadhkira*, f. 85a.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Tadhkira*, fol. 85b, the Grand *Vazīr* of the *Ṣafavids* had no salary but received grants (*in'ām*) and collected fees (*rasm al-vizāra*).

(x) *‘Īdī* and (y) *naurūzī* are the presents offered to the officials on the occasions of religious festivals and of the Persian New Year (21st March).

(z) *Pīshkash* are all kinds of informal presents (but *v.i.*, p. 954).

(aa) *Salāmāna*, presents offered by way of congratulation.

The last three items form a special group of Turkish terms similarly formed with the suffix *-jīlik*. Regularly they would represent the names of professions (cf. *araba-jīlīq* “drivership”), but in our case it is possible to imagine that they refer to some professional services to be rendered to the suzerain. The most clearly written of the three is (dd) *qāpūjīlik*, derived from *qapu* “door”. But even then we cannot decide whether the document has in view the service of “door-keepers” or that of “makers of doors”, or finally some duty on “building doors”.<sup>1</sup> Our (cc) is dotless but, as it stands before *qapujīlik*, it may be read *yāpījīlik*, from *yapī* “building, construction”; the whole would again mean either “help to the suzerain in his constructions” (as attested in Caucasian lands), or a duty to be paid on new buildings. Linguistically the parallel use of the forms *qapu* and *yapī* is curious. Both names are similarly formed but *qapu* (instead of *qapī*)<sup>2</sup> is older in Turcoman dialects. Even the reading of (bb) is not certain: both *valījīlik* and *vānjīlik* have no clear meaning. The latter might mean “trading with Van”, but Van had no commercial importance in 1498.

On the whole, the long list of levies gives a curious picture of the vagaries obtaining in the financial life of a feudal Muslim principality. Very striking is the mixture of Mongol, Turkish, Arabic, and Persian terms, characteristic of the region of Mārdīn lying in high Mesopotamia and exposed to many invasions. However, it is quite possible that several of the levies had been long extinct and figured in documents only as conventional rhymes and embellishments, as was the case of the European feudal charts.

## 9. OTHER SIMILAR DOCUMENTS

The number of Persian grants published until now is extremely limited and we shall quote the contents of four other documents found in rather unexpected places and very helpful for establishing the chancery tradition. They are respectively dated A.D. 1417, 1488, 1559, and 1702.

<sup>1</sup> For a nomad “the door” is a symbol of settled conditions. Sedentary Turkish tribes in Persia are called *takhta-qapī* “wooden doors”.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps to avoid a confusion with *qapījī* “ferocious (animal)”.



## (a)

The nearest parallel to our document is the “*nishān*” which the founder of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty Qara-Yūsuf addressed to the prince of Bitlis Amīr Shams al-dīn, in A.D. 1417.<sup>1</sup> The document is much more sober in its style but is similarly arranged and does not mention the counterpart of obligations imposed to the beneficiary. The copy gives only the text proper of the *farmān*.

(α) Qarā Yūsuf addresses it to his sons, to the officials and dignitaries of Kurdistān and to the population of Bitlis, Akhlāt, Mūsh, and Khunūs (Khniīs);

(β) the attachment and services of “the dear child” Shams al-dīn are praised;

(γ) decision is taken to distinguish him with diverse signs of attention and *soyūrghāls*;

(δ) the governorship of the said districts and “the *mālva jihāt* and the taxes belonging to the *dīvān*” are once more (*ba-tajdīd*) confirmed to him;

(ε) the officials, under threat of responsibility, must not interfere with his rights (*madkhal na-sāzand va pīrāmūn na-gardand*);

(ζ) the officials must consider Shams al-dīn their amīr and governor; their affairs must be submitted to his representatives;

(η) as soon as the document receives the royal endorsement (*tauqī'*) it must be relied upon;

(ι) dated 10 Rabī' i, 820/27 April, 1417.

## (b)

The second document, slightly earlier than ours, was issued by Uzun-Hasan's son Sultān Ya'qūb, at Tabrīz, A.D. 1488, and refers to taxes in Fārs. As regards its object, the grant considerably differs from our other documents. The king remits the taxes on the sources of revenue which a religious chief assigns as a *vaqf* for the upkeep of a madrasa and a shrine inscribed with the Sultān's name. All these circumstances may account for the peculiarities of the chart. The document is called *yarlīgh* “order”<sup>2</sup> and, curiously enough, the term *soyūrghāl* does not occur in the text. At this place, we concentrate

<sup>1</sup> Quoted verbatim in the *Sharaf-nāma*, pp. 386–7.

<sup>2</sup> With regard to the meaning of this word, it is curious that in Mongol and Turkish *yarlīgh* was used with reference to the Qor'ān and “God's words”, see Melioransky, *Zap. V.O.*, xv, p. 154.

only on the general contents and terminology of the lengthy farmān<sup>1</sup> without touching on the subsidiary problems.

(α) The chart begins similarly to Qāsim b. Jahāngīr's farmān. After the formula *al-ḥukm li 'llāh* comes the name of the king Amīr Abul-Muẓaffar Ya'qūb Bahādūr, followed by \**sözüimiz*. The copyist seems to have omitted the *tamghā* of the Bāyandur clan.

(β) Let the governors, vazīrs, noyins, kātibs, mustaufis, 'āmils, mubāshirs, and mutaṣaddīs, of the matters *sultānī* and *divānī*, in the province of Fārs, in Shīrāz, Shabānkāra, Kurbāl, and Fasā, know

(γ) that, whereas it is the duty of the king to exalt the sayyids and naqībs, who are the light of the eye of the saying "BUT FOR THEE" [*vide supra*, p. 932], and especially those who, among other acts of charity, succeed in raising pious foundations,

(δ) the most learned of the doctors of the time Sayyid Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad<sup>2</sup> founded, "in the days of our splendid reign and August caliphate" (*sic*), in the *dār al-mulk* of Shīrāz, a madrasa and a shrine (*buq'a*) adorned with (the inscription of) our titles and our name, and assigned to them as a *vaqf* the sources of revenue (*raqabāt*)<sup>3</sup> enumerated below, of which the total (revenue?) (*jam'*) in the year of the Monkey (*bichin-yīl*), as confirmed by the officials of the divan, is 242.783½ dinars in current Tabrīz coins.<sup>4</sup>

(ε) —Follows an enumeration of some fifty villages and sources of revenue with their value indicated in the *siyāq* numerals.—

(ζ) Therefore, in conformity with the previously issued farmān, . . .<sup>5</sup> we have decreed that (the aforementioned officials, *vide supra* (β)) should consider these *raqabāt* and *jihāt*<sup>6</sup> as exempted (from taxes)

<sup>1</sup> Quoted verbatim in Ḥasan Fasā'ī's excellent *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāṣirī*, Tehran, 1313, i, 81-3. The builder of the Manṣūriya madrasa Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad Dashtakī was the author's ancestor in the ninth generation. The madrasa is still extant, see *Shīrāz-nāma*, ed. Karīmī, 1311/1932, Preface, p. ٥٠.

<sup>2</sup> See his biography in the *Fārs-nāma*, part ii, 135. He was born on 2 Sha'bān, 828/19 June, 1425, and on 12 Ramaḍān, 903/4 April, 1498, was killed by the "tyrannical heretics Bāyanduri Turcomans", cf. *ibid.*, i, 86, first line.

<sup>3</sup> On a high authority, I hear that, in a technical sense, *raqabāt* is used in Persia with regard to lands assigned to some pious foundation (*vaqf*) or belonging to the state-domains (*khālīsāt*). These are all registered in the *daftar-i raqabāt*. Cf. Arabic *ruqbā* "life-estate".

<sup>4</sup> This seems to be the amount of *annual revenue* and not the *value* of the estates; cf. below (under ι) the amount of revenue from a single item. The year of the Monkey began on 23rd February, 1488 (S. H. Taqizadeh).

<sup>5</sup> "And this *mithāl* with regard to (or over?) the said madrasa." Something fallen out in the copy. Perhaps the word: *ba-raqaba* as below, p. 954 (θ).

<sup>6</sup> This distinction of *raqabāt* and *jihāt* is noteworthy: the latter apparently represents the amount of taxes due from the *raqabāt*. Cf. above, p. 945.

and withdrawn from their competence (*mu'āf-va-musallam-va-marfū'-al-qalam*) and should on no account importune the manager (*mutavallī*), his agents (*gumāshṭa*), and the peasants and agriculturists of the said *vagf*, with regard to

- |   |                                   |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (a) <i>māl</i>  | (k) <i>khārij-i sāliyyāna</i>     |
| (b) <i>manāl</i>  | (l) <i>rusūm-i dārūghakī</i>      |
| (c) <i>thimār</i> “products”  | (m) <i>cherik</i>                 |
| (d) <i>kharāj</i>   | (n) <i>shīlān-bahā</i>            |
| (e) <i>mavāshī</i> “animals”  | (o) <i>haqq al-tagrīr</i>         |
| (f) <i>marā'ī</i> “pastures”  | (p) <i>vujūh-i 'alamdārī</i>      |
| (g) <i>wujūh al-'ayn</i>  | (q) <i>rasm al-himāya</i>         |
| (h) <i>jihāt</i>  | (r) <i>sāvarī</i>                 |
| (i) <i>pīshkash</i> , both <i>jam'ī</i> (in lump sums ?) and non- <i>jam'ī</i>  | (s) other <i>takālīf-i dīvānī</i> |
| (j) <i>dūshallik</i> , both by special order ( <i>hukmī</i> ) and appropriate to certain offices ( <i>istiṣvābī</i> ), levied on the <i>khārijīyāt</i> either in lump sum ( <i>jam'ī</i> ) or in quotas ( <i>sihāmī</i> ) | (t) <i>tafāvut</i>                |
|   | (u) <i>bāzdīd</i>                 |
|   | (v) <i>harz</i>                   |
|   | (w) <i>masāhat</i>                |
|   | (x) <i>shumāra</i>                |
|   | (y) <i>ta'dīl</i>                 |
|   | (z) <i>tarḥ</i>                   |
|   | (aa) <i>bīgār</i> , etc.          |

(η) They shall “withdraw their pens and their feet” from the *vagf*, not include it in the estimates (*jam'*), exclude it from the budget (*jam'-i mamlakat*), on no account place it on the rolls (*nuskha* ?), nor hover around it under pretexts of estimate, measurement, and increased value (*tafāvut*). They shall regard this notification (*'ārifa*) as a “perpetual, lasting, and incontestable grant (*in'ām-i mu'abbad bar davām va-iḥsān-i mukhallad-i mā-lā-kalām*), and, in the guise of *huwa-jārī* (بقرار هو جاری ?), consider it as being exempted (from Government interventions) (*mu'āf-va-musallam-va-marfū'-al-qalam*)”.

(θ) While we have “exempted” the said *raqabāt*, as such (*ba-raqaba*), for the benefit of the madrasa, we have decreed that the annual *jihāt* used for the expenditure (*ba-kharj . . . mujrā*) of the said *raqabāt* should continue to be so in the following manner: follows a table in *siyāq*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be that the Government duties having been appropriated to the *vagf*, they will be used for the upkeep of the latter. The table in *siyāq* mentions 115,460 *dinārs* granted to Ghiyath al-dīn Maṣṣūr (father of Ṣadr al-dīn) on different occasions (*qadīmī, jadīdī, muḥaddad*).

(ι) A moiety of the arable lands of Lāhījī in the district of Kurbāl, formerly lay uncultivated (*bā'irāt*), but the said Maulānā (Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad) brought them into a state of cultivation and gave (*dāda*) them to the divān. The total (*jam'* "total revenue"?) of these lands, as confirmed by the divan officials and stated in writing by the *mi'mār* ("architect, surveyor") of Kurbāl in the past year was equal to 54.000 (?) dīnārs of Tabrīz.<sup>1</sup> We have decreed that those lands should be taken over (accepted? *bāz sitanand*) from the said benefactor, as from the beginning of the said year, for the above mentioned sum, and be taken possession of (*dabt*) on behalf of the divān. The officials shall not importune either the said sayyid or the manager (of the *vaqf*) with regard to any profits or losses on this account. They shall take the situation as decreed, refrain from trespassing on the provisions of the present *yarlīgh*, preserve the latter from the blemish of (wrong) interpretations and alterations, and not request every year a new *nishān*. They shall have full confidence in the royal seal (*tauqī'*), consider praises and complaints (resulting from this matter) as highly momentous (*'azīm mu'aththir*), and not fail in the execution (of this order).

(κ) Written in the capital of Tabrīz on the 7th of Dhul-qa'da, 893/13th October, 1488.

(λ) In the accompanying text it is explained that the farmān, written on "Khānbāligh" paper, in good *ta'līq* script, is sealed on its lowest edge (*ākhir-i dāmana*) with the king's signet ring; on its verso there are found the seals of 'Isā b. Shukrullāh, 'Alī b. Shukrullāh, and some other amīrs and mustaufīs.

The list of taxes in Sultān Ya'qūb's farmān has many obscure points: (a), (b), (c), and perhaps (d) apparently correspond to *mālvajihāt* in Qāsim's chart; (e) and (f) must represent Mongol *qopchur*; (d), (g): according to A. Z. Validi, op. cit., 19, *kharāj* and *vujūh-al-'ayn* are found in Rashīd al-dīn, respectively for *qopchur* and *tamghā* (taxes levied on townsfolk)<sup>2</sup>; (j) *dūshallik* (in this spelling) is found in the *Tadhkira*, with reference to some chancery fees, cf. also Shāh Tahmasp's farmān (A.H. 939) quoted in *Mustadrik-i Wasā'il*, p. 433 ultima, *dūshallikāt*; (m) *cherīk* (Mongol *tserik* "soldier"), which, as a term for "levy troops", survived till the beginning of the twentieth century, stands here for the duty to supply such men;

<sup>1</sup> *Dīnār-i tabrizī-yi jinsī* "dīnārs payable in kind"?

<sup>2</sup> I should doubt this statement until further verification.

(*n*) as *shīlān* means “entertainment at table, food, festival”,<sup>1</sup> *shīlān-bahā* may be some substitute for the entertainment (cf. *khūn-bahā* “blood-wit”); (*u*), (*v*), (*w*) are the fees payable to surveyors; (*x*) ditto to the official counting the herds; (*y*) is “re-assessment”; (*z*) the fact that in this case *tarḥ* (*v.s.*, p. 949) follows *ta’dīl*, may point to some similarity in the procedure (some kind of “re-adaptation”).

## (c)

The third document (A.D. 1559) is embedded in the text of Shaykh Ḥusayn’s genealogical history of the Ṣafavids (written after 1059/1649).<sup>2</sup> The author, in his enumeration of the favours bestowed on his family by the Ṣafavids, quotes verbatim a certificate (*al-wathīqa*) which Sulṭān Ḥaydar (father of Shāh Ismā’īl I) addressed in his own hand to the family of Shaykh Zāhid, in Rajab, 888/August, 1483. According to this statement certain arable lands (*mazāri’*) called Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād (some confusion in the text!), “from the days of old down to the present,” had belonged to Shaykh Qutb al-dīn Zāhidī, and in the “day of partition” (*rūz-i muqāsama*) were allotted to the said shaykh, to the exclusion of his relatives. By virtue of the documents issued by the previous “sulṭāns” (of Ardabīl), these lands came to the said shaykh as an heirloom. The governors and revenue agents (*ḥukkām-va-‘ummāl*) of Mughānāt<sup>3</sup> shall not fail to recognize the status in accordance with what has been couched in writing (*ḥasab al-masṭūr*). In the margin Sulṭān Ḥaydar drew in his own hand (*tughrā qalamī numūda*): *ḥarrara-hu al-faqīr Ḥaydar b. Junayd b. Shaykhshāh b. Mūsā (sic) al-Ṣafawī*.

It is further explained that after the advent of the Ṣafavī kings, Shāh Ismā’īl and Shāh Tahmāsp issued several orders concerning the exemption (*mu’āfī*)<sup>4</sup> of the lands of the family, and the *soyūrghāl* held by them. The author refers to Shāh Tahmāsp’s confirmation (*ḥukm-i ta’kīd*) to the effect “that even though the controllers (*mumayyizān*) find an increment of revenue (*tafāvut*) in the soyūrghāl

<sup>1</sup> See *Ahsan al-tavārīkh*, 17, 136: “daily one hundred sheep were killed in his kitchen for his *shīlān*,” and *Silsilat al-nasab*, p. 111. I wonder whether this word is not connected with Mongol *shilen* “soup”, cf. Zamakhsharī, ed. Poppe, p. 333.

<sup>2</sup> *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviya*, ed. Berlin, 1343/1924, pp. 103–5.

<sup>3</sup> See my articles *Mūkān* in *EI.*, iii, and Supplement. “The community of Ūrunqād” mentioned in the document is apparently a remnant of some Mongol tribe settled in Mughān in the thirteenth century. Perhaps Ūranqād = Ūryangqit in Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, part i (vii), p. 186.

<sup>4</sup> The Persian term *mu’āf* seems to be a mutilation of Arabic *mu’awwaf* “exempted”.

they shall not interfere with it".<sup>1</sup> This document is then quoted verbatim. The copy seems to omit a part of the initial formula and the endorsement, and it is difficult to decide whether the order emanated directly from the Shāh or was only issued "in his name".

(α) The document begins with the words *hādhā al-ḥukm* "this is the order", and then *farmān-i maymūn shud* ("the felicitous order has been given").

(β) By virtue of the royal order (*ḥukm-i jahān-muṭā'*) the original *mālvaḥihāt* (mis-spelt *b.lvaḥihāt*) of the arable lands Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād belonging to the district (*ulkā* < Turkish *ölgā*) of Mughānāt had been conferred perpetually (*mustamarr*) as a *soyūrgḥāl* (hereditary grant) to the sayyids, children of Shaykh Zāhid Gīlānī and no changes have been made in it (since).

(γ) "Our royal attention" towards the sayyids being perfect, we have decreed that our eldest brother Abul-Faṭḥ Bahrām mīrzā,<sup>2</sup> his representatives (*vakīl*), the maliks of the said *ulkā* and the tenants (*musta'jirān*) of the arable lands of Mughānāt

(δ) should not address any requests (*ṭalab*) with regard to the increment and excess of revenue (*tafāvut va-taufīr*) from the lands granted as *soyūrgḥāl*, nor collect poll-tax (*sarāna* ?).

(ε) If there be any *tafāvut* for the past years, at present (and) in future, let the officials, in accordance with the original instruction (*dastūr-i aṣl*), consider it as settled by the "eternal *soyūrgḥāl* and the perpetual grant" belonging to the sayyids.

(ζ) If any (part) of the said grant happens to be included in the *tiyūl*<sup>3</sup> of Our eldest brother, this (inclusion ?) must be considered as cancelled.

(η) The officials shall clearly explain this situation, so that the accountants (*mustaufī*) of the supreme dīvān should exclude that part (*vaḍ' kardā*) from the *tiyūl* and, on the strength of the (present) order, credit it to the (sayyids') *soyūrgḥāl*, in due consideration (of the present order) and for the avoidance of disobedience which is punishable with censure (*khiṭāb*).

<sup>1</sup> This explanation is important for establishing the sense of *tafāvut*.

<sup>2</sup> Died on 19 Ramaḍān, 956/11 October, 1549, at the age of 33, see *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, p. 342.

<sup>3</sup> See my article *Tiyūl* in *EI*. *Tiyūl* is a non-hereditary attribution of the government taxes to the person on whom it is bestowed.

(θ) The *dārūghas*, maliks, and *tūshmāls*<sup>1</sup> of the said *ulkā* shall recognize (the legal position) accordingly, and under no pretext or custom (*ism-va rasm*) present any drafts for payment (*ḥavālāt*) of *ikhrājāt*, *khārījīyāt*, *tauḡhāt*, and *takhfīfāt-i masdūda*; they shall withdraw their pens and feet (from the said lands) and not hover around the latter (*pīrāmūn nagardand*). Anything they have already collected shall be restored (to the sayyids), without any excuses. The officials shall consider the matter as *qadaghan* ("taboo") and not ask every year for a renewed document. While undertaking (the execution of the order) they shall refrain from (provoking) complaints.

(ι) Let Shāh Ghāzī (?) recognize (the situation) in accordance with what has been couched in writing<sup>2</sup> and let (the officials) not interfere with the sphere (of the sayyids' *soyūrghāl*), nor hover around it, considering it as excluded from the lease (*muqāṭa'a*) of the maliks and tenants of the arable lands of Mughānāt.

(κ) Written on 25 Jumādā ii, 966/6 April, 1559. Final endorsement omitted (?).

(d)

The fourth document, first found and described by N. Khanikov,<sup>3</sup> is of considerably later date. It was issued in 1113/1702 by the Ṣafavid Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn to Amīr Bāyandur-sulṭān,<sup>4</sup> governor of Qarāja-dagh. Its contents are narrower than those of the charts quoted, but it is curious as indicating the counterpart of the obligations of a petty vassal, and the hereditary character of a *soyūrghāl*.

(α) Reflecting the sanctimoniousness of its times the document opens with a *basmala* and the names of God, Muḥammad, 'Alī, and the twelve imāms. The king's seal has a very elaborate form: *Abul-Muẓaffar Shāh Sulṭān-Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī al-Mūsavī al-Ṣafavī*

<sup>1</sup> *Tūshmāl* from Mongol *tüsimel* "a trusted person, a clerk". In Mughān the word may have survived among the Mongol settlers. In the sense of a "petty chief" it is still used in Luristān where Mongol influence in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries was strong, see my articles *Lur-i Buzurg*, *Lur-i Kūchik* in *EI*.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence looks somewhat disturbed. This may be an additional endorsement addressed to some local official.

<sup>3</sup> "Lettre de M. Khanykov à M. Dorn (16 sept., 1856)," printed in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, St. Petersburg, 1857, iii/1, pp. 70-4. The text needs a careful revision. The essential part of it is reprinted in Petrushevsky, op. cit., 59 (several misprints).

<sup>4</sup> Here *sulṭān* is used in the connotation of Ṣafavid times as a title of a middle rank official. In the Persian army until the reign of Rīḍa-shāh *sulṭān* meant "captain". The Ottomans in order to dissociate themselves from this conception used with reference to Persians the spelling سلطان.

*Bahādur-khān, banda-yi Shāh-i Vilāyat* ("slave of the King of Sanctity", i.e. of 'Alī), in the year 1113 (= 1701). (Device): "God suffices unto me." (Couplet):—

"He who is not on good terms with 'Alī,  
Whoever he be, I do not befriend him.  
He who is not like dust on his threshold,  
Let dust be on his head, even though he be an angel."

(β) The governor of Qarāja-dagh<sup>1</sup> Amīr Nizāman lil-imāra wal-hukūma (i.e. *Nizām al-dīn*)<sup>2</sup> Bāyandur-sultān has lately reported as follows:—

(γ) In recognition (*ba-izā'*) of the services of Ilyās-khalīfa, a sum of 6 tomans 3096½ dinārs had been granted him from the government revenue (*mālvaḡihāt-va-vuḡūhāt*?) of the Dizmār district; after his death, it was confirmed to his son Shams al-dīn khalīfa, on condition that, during the Shāh's campaigns, he should provide seven men fully armed and equipped. Shams al-dīn having died heirless, the soyūrgḥāl, at Shams al-dīn's recommendation, was given to his cousin (Maḥmūd Sultān), father of Bāyandur-sultān, from whom it was withdrawn to be given to someone called Ilyās-khalīfa (II) who affirmed that he was Shams al-dīn's son. Then it passed to Burhān al-dīn khalīfa, Ilyās-khalīfa II's son.

(δ) Burhān al-dīn having died heirless, Bāyandur has applied for the transference of the soyūrgḥāl to his own son, Sirājan (= *Sirāj al-dīn*) Muḥammad Qāsim-beg;

(ε) therefore, the soyūrgḥāl formerly having belonged to Maḥmūd-sultān is given to Qāsim-beg under the same condition, namely of providing (seven) men all ready (*safarkash*) to the Shāh's call and orders (*ba-jār-va-yasāq-i shāhī*);

(ζ) the headmen (*katkhudā*) and the peasants of Dizmār must every year remit the *mālḡihāt*, the *vuḡūhāt*, and the government dues to the new beneficiary of the soyūrgḥāl;

(η) as before, the officials must "withdraw their pens and feet" from levying any taxes or *'avāriḡ*, etc.

(θ) Let it be adorned with the royal seal (*tauḡī'-i waḡī'-i manī'*) and let them depend on it. Written in Isfahān in Dhul-Ḥijja, 1113 (May, 1702).

<sup>1</sup> On the southern bank of the Araxes, to the north-east of Tabriz. It consists of seven bulūks: *Arvandul*, *Dizmār*, *Ḥasan-ābād*, *Ahar*, *Dīgla*, *Yāft*, *Vargahān*, and *Kalaybār*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. lower down *Sirājan* and in Qāsim's firman: *Kamālan lil-milla*.



In spite of some differences in details, our five documents equally contribute to the knowledge of the "immunity" (*soyūrghāl*) as practised in the Middle East in the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries A.D. The hereditary character of the institution stands out as against the conditions of a *tiyūl*<sup>1</sup> which only temporarily conferred on the beneficiary the right to collect the Government taxes for his own benefit.

The persistence of the administrative tradition, as attested in our five documents, is very striking, and their comparative study enables us to clarify certain obscure details. The object of the present article is chiefly to explain Qāsim b. Jahāngīr's farmān but, as a side issue, it is confidently hoped that it will form a sort of introduction to further research into social and economic conditions of Iran, without which our study of Persian history is bound to remain shallow and superficial. The collection and close analysis of documents similar to those which we have described is one of our most urgent tasks.

PS. The present article, written in the gloomy days of Sept.-Oct., 1938, is dedicated to my colleagues and friends in Prague.

#### *Additions*

p. 942, l. 25. An allusion to *Nukm* may be contained in the opening formula *al-ḥukm lillāhi*, cf. p. 959. Judging by pp. 952, 955, the term *nishān* may refer to the periodical confirmations of the original chart.

p. 943. The formula *sözümiz* appears in Tīmūr's *ḥukm*, quoted in Ḥāfiz-i Abrū's *Dhayl*, ed. Tauer, *Archiv Orientální*, Prague, VI (1934), p. 434.

p. 944. The reading *huwa abadī* is confirmed by the farmān of Shāh-Sulaymān (Br. Mus. Or. 4935): *soyūrghāl-i abadī va iḥsān-i sarmadī* (M. Minovi).

<sup>1</sup> See my article *Tiyūl* in *EI*.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on Finance

Author(s): M. Minovi and V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (1940), pp. 755-789

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608840>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:35

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī on Finance

By M. MINOVI and V. MINORSKY <sup>1</sup>

## PART I

### A. FOREWORD

THE text of this tract is based on two MSS., which I call *O* (old) and *M* (modern). The first, written in a "Tarassul" <sup>2</sup> hand of the ninth (fifteenth) century, is defective at both ends and lacks one folio between fols. 1 and 2; the second, in a modern hand, was copied from a copy made by Muḥammad Ḥusain-i Garakānī (Shams al-'Ulamā), who claims to have transcribed it, with corrections, "from a MS. of mixed contents written in a *ta'liq* hand in the ninth century A.H." This reference probably belongs to *O*, for, after I had acquired *M*, I bought the original fragment of five leaves among the books which had belonged to the late Shams al-'Ulamā. The page before fol. 1 and the one after fol. 5 of the fragment must have remained in the original collection, but what happened to the missing folio I cannot say. Instead of the titles and divisions written in the original in red ink, a more adequate system of paragraphs has been introduced into the text.

I dedicate this "edition" to my friend Professor Jan Rypka, of Prague, as a token of respect and sympathy. I had offered both my copies to him and requested him to edit the text himself, but he sent them back to London in June, 1939.

M. M.

March, 1940.

### B. PERSIAN TEXT

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

§1 پادشاه جهان، مادّة امن و امان، از مولاناء اعظم، استاد  
البشر، افضل المتقدمين والمتأخرين، نصير الحق والدين، حجة  
الإسلام والمسلمين، محمد بن محمد الطوسي، قدس الله روحه

<sup>1</sup> In the present article M. Minovi is responsible for Part I and V. Minorsky for Part II.

<sup>2</sup> This is a popular term to designate the *ta'liq* script of Persian calligraphers.

<sup>3</sup> This part between the square brackets is based on *M* only.

العزیز، درخواست کرده است که آنچه راه و رسم پادشاهان قدیم بوده دران ولایتها که عالم آبادان داشته اند و لشکر و رعیت را آسوده بر جای<sup>1</sup> بنویس و بر ما عرضه دار، بحکم اشارت نافذ این فصل تقریر فرمود،

§2 بسبب آنکه پادشاهان ختای چون<sup>2</sup> ملکه های قدیم داشته اند، از هزار سال و کم و بیش، و ولایت های بزرگی را داشته اند<sup>3</sup>، رسم و آیین ایشان یکی بوده است، و همیشه برقرار مانده، امّا ولایت های عجم چون پادشاهان زود بزود مبدّل میشوند و شده، و ولایت های خُرد میداشته اند، رسم های ایشان دیگر گون میشده، و هر ولایتی را قاعده ای بوده،

§3 فصل، امّا آنچه پادشاهان قدیم و دانایان ولایتها گفته اند، [1 r. و رسم ایشان بوده، اینست که نوشته میشود، گفته اند که بنیاد پادشاهی بر دو چیز است، یکی شمشیر و دیگر قلم، و شمشیر در دست سپاهیان باشد، و قلم در دست نویسندگان، و مردم سپاهی را چهار شرط باشد، اوّل آنکه بایکدیگر متّفق باشند، دوم با پادشاه یکدل، سوم آنکه جز بفرمان پادشاه کار نکنند، چهارم آنکه مردان کار باشند، و ادب سلاح آموخته، و هر کس که درو این چهار

<sup>1</sup> Probably برجای .

<sup>2</sup> The word is either superfluous, or mis-written for وختن . <sup>3</sup> M داشته که .

شرط نبُود لشکرا نشاید، و اگر در میان لشکر درآید  
 لشکرا بفساد آورد، و پادشاه باید که بالشکر چهار شرط  
 رعایت کند، اول آنکه ایشانرا بملوفه و جامه و سلاح و چهارپای  
 بازماندگی نباشد، دوم آنکه بزرگانرا بجای بزرگت،  
 و خُردانرا بجای [خُرد] بدانند<sup>1</sup>، سوم آنکه بهادرانرا  
 که خدمت بهتر کنند بزرنگانی بهتر دارد، و پس از مُردن فرزندانِ  
 ایشان [را] غمخوارگی نماید<sup>2</sup>، چهارم غنیمت که از یاغی باغی گیرند  
 برآستی. 1 v. بایشان دهند، چنانکه بعدازین گفته شود، و فایده  
 لشکر چهار چیز است، اول قوّت و هیبت و شکوه پادشاه، دوم  
 دفع یاغیان، سوم امن داشتن رعایا، چهارم پاک داشتن راهها از  
 دزدان، و علفخوارها از جانوران درنده<sup>3</sup>، و چون پادشاهی را یاغی  
 باشد باید که رعایت چهار چیز کند، اول آنکه اگر قوّت جنگ  
 ندارد صلح کند، و طلبِ صلحِ اُولی، دوم آنکه اگر جنگ کند  
 تدبیر حرب و مردمان و جای و وقتِ موافق<sup>4</sup> تعبیه نیکو کند،  
 سوم آنکه اندیشه بد نکند تا نیک پیش آید، و اگر یاغی  
 غلبه کند اندیشه تدارک آن کرده باشد، و احتیاط<sup>5</sup> زن و فرزند  
 خود و لشکر، و خزانه و بُنه و رعیت بجا آورده باشد، چهارم  
 آنکه<sup>6</sup> بر یاغی غلبه کند مغرور نشود، و تعجیل نکند، و از سر

<sup>1</sup> One would expect بدارد.      <sup>2</sup> O. نمایند.      <sup>3</sup> O. درنده.

<sup>4</sup> Both MSS. موافق.      <sup>5</sup> O. wrongly اختیار.      <sup>6</sup> M adds اگر.

احتیاط و عقل و عدل و فکر و رویت کارها تمام کند، و اگر پادشاهی را یاغی نباشد چهار چیز نگاه دارد، اول آنکه لشکر را همچنان ساخته میدارد که هنگام جنگ، [دوم آنکه از پدید آمدن یاغی ناگاه غافل نباشد، سوم آنکه دشمن خُرد را خُرد ندارد، چهارم آنکه اطراف مُلک را از مرد و سلاح خالی نگذارد، این همه سخنها تعلق بشمشیر دارد، § 4 و اما قلم در دست چهار قوم باشد اول اهل دین، دوم اهل علمهای باریک، چون حکمت و نجوم و طب، سوم کسانی که کارهای بزرگ میسازند، چون وزیران و یارگوچیان<sup>2</sup> و نویسندگان که سخن پادشاه بایل و یاغی رسانند و نویسند، چهارم کسانی که حاصل دخل و خرج نگاه دارند، و فایده قلم چهار است، اول راه خدای تعالی در میان خلق نگاه دارد تا دیگرگون نشود، دوم خبرهای پوشیده را آشکارا کند، سوم سخنهایی را یاد دهد تا فراموش نشود، چهارم آنکه راستی در میان مردم نگاه دارد،

§ 5 و دخل پادشاه از چهار موضع بُودِ اول از میراث گذشتگان، دوم از مال رعیت، سوم از کفایت خود، چهارم از عطای خدای تبارک و تعالی، و مال پادشاه دِنوعِ بُودِ اول خاصّه او، دوم مال مصالح پادشاهی، اما آنچه از گذشتگان بُود،

<sup>1</sup> Based on M only.<sup>2</sup> MS. یاغورچیان.

مثل پدران و برادران، که باو رسد، خاصّه پادشاه بُود، و امّا آنچه از رعیت ستاند از چهار قوم باشد، اهل زراعت، و اهل تجارت، و چهار پای داران، و از طيَّارات، و آنچه از مملکت پادشاهان یابد مال پادشاه بُود، § 6 و امّا آنچه از رعیت ستاند اگر اهل زراعت بُود، یا توانگر باشد یا درویش، و آنجا که کشت کنند یا باغ باشد، یا آب و زمین نیکو بُود، باید که اگر توانگر و جای نیک باشد از ده یکی بدهد، و آنرا عشر گویند، و اگر جای بد بُود و مرد درویش از بیست یکی، و نصف عشر گویند، و درویشان را علوفه و خرج از سربهند، آنچه بر سر آمد از ده یکی، یا از <sup>1</sup> بیست یکی بدهند، و اگر بر سر نیاید هیچ ندهند، و رسم قدیم آن بوده است، بعد ازان چون ولایتها بسیار شده است قسمت دشوار شده، و باید رعیت را آنچه بوده است تا ده یک بیرون نکنند تصرف نتوانند کرد، پادشاهان عادل منصف فرموده اند تا دخل زمینها و باغها را حساب برگرفته <sup>2</sup> اند، در سالی بهتر و در سالی میانه و در سالی بد، که چند باشد، و ده یک یا بیست [یک] چه رسد، و بهای آن نه گران و نه ارزان چند حصّه هر سال باز کرده اند <sup>3</sup> براسی معین، و بدان زمینها و باغها نوشته اند <sup>4</sup> و ازان <sup>5</sup> خراج خواهند، و اگر زمین هر سال

1 MS. یکی باز. 2 = افتتاح. 3 نوشته می. 4 و آنرا M - و آنرا O.

5 خواهند. O.

نکارند، و باغ هر سال میوه ندهد، خراج آن نستانند، و بحکم  
 لیسَ عَلٰی الخرابِ خراجٌ عمل نمایند، و بهر چند سال زمینها و  
 باغها باز بینند، اگر آبادان خراب شده باشد خراج بیفکنند<sup>1</sup>،  
 و اگر خراب معمور<sup>2</sup> باشد بردو قسم است، خراب قدیم، که  
 يك قرن که عبارت از سی سال باشد، سه سال مرفوع القلم  
 دانند، و چیزی نستانند، و بعد از آن نصفی خراج تاده سال مقرر  
 دانند<sup>3</sup>، تا در آبادانی مستمر باشند<sup>4</sup>، و بر غبت مردم باشد، و اگر  
 در آن نزدیک خراب بوده باشد و عمارت کنند ملاحظه در  
 واجب خراج او کنند، و اگر زمین باغ شود، و باغ زمین،  
 بقدر آن طلبند براسی، نه کم و نه بیش، § 7 و زمینها و باغها که  
 نادرشاهان قدیم خراج نهاده اند<sup>5</sup> بسببی از اسباب، v. 2 آرا حُر<sup>6</sup>  
 خوانند، و بهای آن زمین گرانتر بود، و کسانی باشند<sup>7</sup> که خراج  
 ایشان بیفکنده باشند، و آنرا بعضی بلاد اسقاط خوانند و بعضی  
 موضوع<sup>8</sup>، و کسانی باشند که زری معین ایشان [را] ادرار کرده  
 باشند<sup>9</sup>، و در وجه خراج ایشان رانند، یا جهت معیشت بایشان دهند،  
 و این هر سه، یعنی حُر و اسقاط و ادرار، بمیراث برفته باشند،  
 و یکدیگر فروخته باشند، و از حساب مال و دستگاه مردم باشد،

<sup>1</sup> O. نیفکنند.    <sup>2</sup> M adds شده.    <sup>3</sup> One would expect دارند, as in M.

<sup>4</sup> O. باشه.    <sup>5</sup> O. نهاده می.    <sup>6</sup> O. حُر.    <sup>7</sup> O. باشد.

<sup>8</sup> The sentence اسقاط خوانند و کسانی is here repeated in O.

<sup>9</sup> O. repeats ادرار کرده باشند آنست که زری معین.



آنرا بهیچ وقت باطل نکنند، ویاسای بزرگ چنگیزخان  
 همچنانست که آنرا مقرر دانند، تا مال مردم کم نشود،  
 § 8 و خراج ولایتها را قانونها باشد در هر ولایتی، که بدان کار کنند،  
 و بهر موضع نوعی باشد که لایق آن ولایت باشد، و این مال جهت  
 مصالح پادشاهی شناسند، § 9 و امّا اهل مال و تجارت در بیشتر  
 اوقات ازیشان چیزی نخواسته اند<sup>1</sup>، الا آنکه گفته اند از اصل  
 مال 3 r چیزی پادشاه بدهند، چنانکه از دوست و چهل دینار  
 یک دینار گرفته اند، و آنرا مال طمغا مقرر کرده اند<sup>2</sup>، و بعد از  
 زمان چنگیزخان بتمغا مشهور شده، § 10 و امّا از چهارپای، و از ان  
 هم در قدیم چیزی نگرفته اند، بعد از ان هر چهارپایی که زاینده  
 بُود [و] بصحرا چرانند از صد یکی گرفته اند<sup>3</sup>، و از آنچه کمتر بود  
 زر گرفته اند<sup>4</sup> بهمان نسبت، و آنرا مراعی خوانند، و بعد از ان از پنجاه  
 یکی گرفته اند<sup>5</sup>، و بهر موضعی و جایی نوعی دیگر گرفته اند همه  
 جهات مال پادشاهی را، § 11 و امّا طیارات<sup>6</sup> چهار قسم [است]،  
 اوّل مالی که او را هیچ میراث خوار نبود، دوم کسی که مال  
 پادشاه خورده باشد، سوم بلارغو و چیزهای گم شده، چهارم  
 غایبانه کسی که مرگ و زیست آن شخص معلوم نباشد و او را وارث  
 نبود، و آن هر دو چون خداوند مال باز آید عوض مال او باز دهند،

<sup>1</sup> O. نخواسته بی.<sup>2</sup> O. کرده بی.<sup>3</sup> O. گرفته بی.<sup>4</sup> O. گرفته تا.<sup>5</sup> O. گرفته بی.<sup>6</sup> O. طیارا.

و این همه مصالح پادشاهی باشد، § 12 و اما آنچه از یاغیان و دشمنان مُلک باشد دو نوع باشد، نوع اوّل آنک لشکر گرد کند از اسیر و چهارپای و سلاح و مال، از آنچه بهادران <sup>v. 3</sup> بیپادری گرفته باشند بایشان دهند، از باقی پنج يك ازان پادشاه جهان حاجت بردارد، باقی بلشکر قسمت کند، سوار را دو دهد و پیاده <sup>1</sup> رایکی، دوم آنچه لشکر یافته باشد مانند آب و زمین و چهارپای و مال که در ولایت باشد، و آن از حساب مال پادشاهی بود، § 13 و اما آنچه [از] کفایت حاصل کند چهارنوع باشد، اوّل از آبادان کردن جایها بود که آبادان نبوده باشد، یا آنچه خراب شده بعد از آنکه حق مالکان بدهند، دوم آنچه از کانهای زرو سیم و مر و اریدو آهن و دیگر کانها برآید، سوم آنچه از کارخانها و افران(?) و ارتاقان و ملکهای زرخریده حاصل شود، چهارم آنچه از صید دریا و بیابان پادشاه رسیده باشد، این جمله خاصّه پادشاه باشد، و این جمله رسم پادشاهان گذشته است، § 14 و درین روزگار نزدیک بعضی مالهای دیگر افزوده بودند، و آن هم چهار قسمست، قسم اوّل فرعهای که از مالهای ده یازده و ده دوازده میستند اند از جهت مر سوم کارکنان، <sup>r. 4</sup> قسم دوم مالی که از اوزان یا از خراباتها میستند، قسم سوم مالی که از قبالة دادن بعضی حرفتها

<sup>1</sup> . ساد . O.

زیادت میکردند، قسم چهارم مالی که از میراث کسانی که خویشان دور داشته میگرفتند، و آن معنی پادشاه جهان چنگیز خان و اروغ او پسندیده نداشته اند<sup>1</sup>، § 15 و پادشاهان بزرگ از چهارمال ننگ داشته اند<sup>2</sup> اول از گرفتن باج و بدرقه راهها و کشتیها، دوم آنچه از تباه کردن زرو سیم حاصل کنند، سوم خریدن آنچه مردم بدان محتاج باشند و باز فروخت کردن، چهارم آنکه<sup>3</sup> مالی که بسبب گناهها از مردم ستانند، چون کشتن و زدن و خمر خوردن، § 16 و از مردم بر سرهای ایشان چیزی نگرفتندی، و این در مسلمانی گرفته اند و در پیش ازان نگرفته اند<sup>4</sup>، و آن قویجور که اکنون بحکم یاسای بزرگ میستانند نستانندی، و اکنون هم بحکم یاسق از پنج کس<sup>5</sup> نمیگیرند، اول از مردم طرخان که پادشاه ایشان را طرخان کرده باشد چون دانشمند[ان] و ارکاون<sup>6</sup>، دوم از پیران، سوم v. 4 از رنجوران و معلولان، چهارم از درویشان، پنجم از کودکان، و در قدیم مردمانی که<sup>7</sup> برزیگری و بازرگانی و اوانی<sup>(?)</sup> و کار دیگر نکردندی چون جلد و جوان<sup>8</sup> بودند بی کار نگذاشتندی، § 17 و اما آن مال که از بخت و روزی یابند چهار بود، اول آنچه اول<sup>9</sup> رسیده است

<sup>1</sup> نداشته می.<sup>2</sup> داشته می.<sup>3</sup> Probably spurious.<sup>4</sup> نگرفته می.<sup>5</sup> هیچکس.<sup>6</sup> Spelt: اکارون.<sup>7</sup> مردمان که.<sup>8</sup> خلد و خوان.<sup>9</sup> Probably spurious.

از کسانی که مال خویش بیادشاه بخشیده باشند، دوم گنجبانی باشد که ناگاه یابند، سوم پیشکش و تحفه و هدیه باشد که بخدمتی آورند، چهارم آنچه پادشاهی دیگر فرستد،

§ 18 سخن در خرج پادشاه، پادشاه را از دو گونه خرج باشد،

اول خرج خاصّه خود، و آن از مال خاصّه خود کند که آن را جدا دارد، و بامال پادشاهی در نیا میزد، و آن میراث پدران باشد، و پنج يك<sup>1</sup> غنیمتها، و آنچه بکفایت بدست آید، یا بیخت و روزی 5 r. باو رسد، یا بنوعی دیگر خاصّ باو، و آن در چهار وجه صرف

کند، اول خرج خاصّه خود و فرزندان، دوم عطا و بخشش کسانی که اورا خدمتی کنند، سوم ساختن تجمّلتها و زینتها، چهارم عمارتها که ضرورت بود از آرزوهایی که دل او<sup>2</sup>، § 19 و امّا مصالح پادشاهی در [چهار] وجه صرف کنند، اول خرج لشکر و کسانی که کار پادشاه کنند، چون نویسندگان و یارغوچیان و نائبان، تا در مال پادشاه تصرف نکنند، و رشوت نستانند، و روی ذلّ نبینند، و از مردم چیزی نخواهند، و بر مال پادشاه بشفقت باشند، دوم خرج ایلچیان و آیندگان و شوندگان، سوم خرج بازماندگان و درویشان و کودکان بی پدر و زنان بی شوهر و مصلحت شهرها و ولایتها، چهارم نهادن یام، و در قدیم برید<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O. هیچ يك. <sup>2</sup> A verb is necessary, such as خواهد, or should be اوراست.

<sup>3</sup> O. بریده.

بوده است در راهها بر هر چهار فرسنگ ایستاده تا کیسه بر زمین  
 نهند<sup>1</sup>، شب را و روز را بکوبند<sup>2</sup> تا بجایگاه برسانند، و مردم  
 بسیار که از جایی بجایی شدند تا بحضرت پادشاهی v. 5 بر چهار پایان  
 از مال پادشاهی [شدندی]، که بهر شهر و محله آماده بودی،  
 ورعیّت را زحمت الاغ نبودی، § 20 و پادشاه در چهار مال تصرف  
 نکردی، اوّل معیشتها اهل خیر که دیگر پادشاهان داده  
 بودند، دوم مال یتیمان، سوم مال یغیان<sup>3</sup> که امید مراجعت  
 ایشان باشد، و امانتهای مردم، چهارم مال وقف، و وقف جهت  
 خیر ات کرده اند، پادشاهان آن را بفال نیک نداشتندی  
 و فرمودندی تا ازان معتمدی برخبر باشد تا چنانچه<sup>4</sup> وقف کرده اند  
 دران خیرات صرف کنند، و بموجب شرط واقف بمصرف  
 استحقاق رسانند، و آنچه مصرف باطل یا کم شده بودی، و بآن  
 رسانیدن ممکن نه، در وجه درویشان و باز ماندگان یا چیزهای<sup>5</sup>  
 دیگر، مثل پول و رباط و علاج رنجوران و دیگر مصلحتها،  
 صرف کنند، و نگذاشتندی که هر کس بی راه تصرف کند،  
 تا ثواب آن ایشان را مدّخر باشد، اینست خرجها<sup>6</sup>، و شرح هر یک  
 بتطویل می انجامد، اگر فرمان شود آن شرح نیز نموده گردد،

<sup>1</sup> O. نهند.      <sup>2</sup> O. نکوبند.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in MSS., but probably یغیان must be read.      <sup>4</sup> Stands for چنانکه.

<sup>5</sup> O. تاخیرهای.      <sup>6</sup> O. سرچها.

§ 21 وپیش ازین پادشاهان برین قاعده میرفته‌اند، لاجرم<sup>1</sup>  
 [مردم ایشان از رعیت و لشکر مرّقه و معمور بوده است،  
 و نام نیکو از ایشان مانده، و خرج از دخل کمتر مقررّ میکرده‌اند،  
 و خزانه‌های پُر مال و گنجها جهت ذخیره روزگار و دفع  
 دشمن مینهادند، ایزد تعالی ایّام سلطنت پادشاه بردوام دارد،  
 و بندگان در ظلّ او مرّقه گرداند، بحقّ محمد وآله اجمعین، الخ .

## PART II

- I. Introduction
- II. Translation
- III. The system of taxation
- IV. Some technical terms

### I. INTRODUCTION

In the opening paragraph of the document discovered by M. Minovi its authorship is attributed to the famous astronomer and philosopher Naṣīr al-Dīn of Tūs (b. 11 Jamādī i 597/18th February, 1201,<sup>2</sup> d. 18 Dhul-Ḥijja 672/26th June, 1274). The author's name is accompanied by epithets which would have been excessive on the author's own tongue. Such formulas were introduced by editors and scribes, and in themselves cannot invalidate the authenticity of the document.<sup>3</sup> The formula following Naṣīr al-Dīn's name clearly shows that the original copy of the Memorandum was prepared only after his death. There are other indirect considerations to support the attribution.

<sup>1</sup> This latter portion is based on M only.

<sup>2</sup> Strothman, *Die Zwölfer-Schī'iten*, 1926, p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> The *Naurūz-nāma*, ed. Minovi, 1933, is attributed to 'Omar Khayyām in a similar grandiloquent formula, while there are considerable doubts concerning this attribution, cf. Minorsky, *'Omar Khayyām in EI*. (English edition), and F. Gabrieli in *Annali d. Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, viii, Giugno, 1939; on the other hand the *Naṣīhat al-mulūk*, ed. J. Humā'ī, 1317, in spite of such an introduction, seems to belong to Ghazālī, for only one century after the latter's death the book was recognized by the translator into Arabic as Ghazālī's work.

The language of the document is characteristic of the Mongol epoch,<sup>1</sup> and contains numerous Turkish and Mongolian terms (*ūzān*, *b.lārghū*, *ārkāvīn*) which do not occur in later times. The concise form of the Memorandum tallies with Naṣīr al-Dīn's style in his other works.<sup>2</sup>

This brings us to the question of the identity of the "Universal Sovereign" to whom the memorandum was presented. The non-Islamic *pādshāh-i jahān* seems to echo some Mongolian title, probably *Dālāy-khān* "the Oceanic, i.e. Universal khan", although it could be used only as a term of politeness with regard to the *il-khān* of Western lands who was under the suzerainty of the Great Qā'ān of Mongolia.<sup>3</sup> The Memorandum was destined to throw some light on the administration of "the Iranian provinces (*vilāyāt-i 'Ajam*)", and it would have been useful to Hülāgū, coming as he was straight from Mongolia. On the other hand, Abāqā, too, on his accession to the throne, A.D. 1265, may have wished to possess a brief statement on the financial organization of his dominions. Very curious is the particular stress which the author lays on the appointment of a trusted person for the supervision of the *vaqfs*. It may specially point to the time of Abāqā Khān, during whose reign the versatile astronomer was appointed inspector of the pious endowments and died on an inspection tour in 'Irāq.

Naṣīr al-Dīn wrote on Islamic law (*fiqh*), dogmatics, philosophy, mysticism, mathematics, physics, astronomy, medicine, mineralogy, and auguries, but finance is not represented among the fifty-seven works which still go by his name.<sup>4</sup> It is probable that our document is one of the occasional reports *de omni re scibili* which the court sage had to supply at the beckoning of the king's finger. This explains the hurried style of the Memorandum and its abrupt, though natural, ending. Naṣīr al-Dīn reports on matters which needed no special

<sup>1</sup> See Naṣīr al-Dīn's record of the capture of Baghdād printed in the Appendix of Juvaynī's *Jahān-gushā*, iii, 280-292: the title given to Hülāgū, p. 280 (*pādshāh-i jahān*, *mādda-yi amn-u-amān*), is identical to that found in our document; p. 281, the use of the verbal particle *ba*: *tartīb bāyad kard va bi-firistād* can be compared with our *bi-raftā bāshand* and then *furūkhta bāshand*. The title of the Memorandum *Faṣl* is a favourite term with Naṣīr al-Dīn: one of his works is called *Fuṣūl*, and his *Auṣāf al-ashrāf*, ed. Tehran, 1306, is also subdivided into *faṣls*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bāqir Majlisī, *Biḥār al-anwār*, xxv, i, p. 4, praises Nāṣir al-Dīn's *Fuṣūl*, which contains everything a student needs, "in spite of its unusual conciseness, reaching the limits of the permissible," quoted in Strothmann, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Juvaynī calls Möngke: *pādshāh-i jahān farmān* (i, 3), or *pādshāh-i jahān* (iii, 2).

<sup>4</sup> Brockelmann, *GAL.*, i, 508-9, Supplement, i, 925. But the historical memorandum on the capture of Baghdad is also missing in this list. A general characteristic of Naṣīr al-Dīn's theological and mystic works is found in Strothmann's book on the "Twelver Shī'a", pp. 51-81.

research; but some of his references to earlier times seem to reflect a knowledge of the *Tārīkh-i Jahān-gushā*, which was completed by 'Aṭā Malik Juvayni about 658/1260, and which contains important passages on the financial reforms of Möngke Khan.<sup>1</sup>

Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum on Finance is a responsible and independent outline compiled by a shrewd contemporary. Even though the "mathematical" arrangement in which the taxes are presented in groups of four is artificial, the desire to systematize the facts is praiseworthy. The author lived at a time when the established foundations of Islamic civilization were revolutionized by the intrusion of entirely distinct principles and habits hailing from the Farther East. For obvious reasons, Naṣīr al-Dīn could not overtly take sides in the conflict of the two cultures, but his personal feelings, filtering as they do through his classification, form a particularly interesting feature of his survey. In any case the Memorandum is a welcome supplement to the sources on the economic conditions of Iran under Mongol dominion.<sup>2</sup> The subject has already been treated in several special works,<sup>3</sup> and for a general revision of the system of taxes one must wait for the publication of the remaining portion of Rashīd al-Dīn's work,<sup>4</sup> of Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh's *Dastūr al-kātib* and of the sources discovered in Turkish libraries by Professor A. Z. Validi. For the present it will suffice to translate and interpret Naṣīr al-Dīn's work.

<sup>1</sup> Both Naṣīr al-Dīn's and 'Aṭā Malik Juvayni were in Hülāgū's suite in 655/1257, see Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 264. Naṣīr al-Dīn dedicated his *Auṣāf al-ashraf* to Juvayni's brother Shams al-Dīn. Cf. also a story reported by Ibn Shākir, *Fawāt*, ii, 187, quoted in the Preface to Juvayni, i, p. QKD.

<sup>2</sup> Juvayni, *Jahān-gushā*, ii, 256, 261, on qopchur; iii, 75-9 (= Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 308-317, 340), on Möngke's institutions; Rashīd al-Dīn, iii (ed. Jahn), 263-8, etc., on Ghazan's reforms; Rashīd al-Dīn on *chao*, see Jahn, *Das iranische Papiergeld*, in *Archiv Orientalní*, x (1938), Nos. 1-2; Vaṣṣāf, who was himself a financial agent, frequently speaks of taxation, ed. Bombay, 161, 405, 435, 441-5, etc.; Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, gives passim very valuable data on assessment (analysed by Barthold, A. Z. Validi and Petrushevsky).

<sup>3</sup> Barthold, *Persidskaya nadpis na stene aniyskoy mecheti Manuche*, 1911, has analysed the terminology of a decree of ilkhān Abū Sa'īd. In his important article *Mogollar devrinde Anadolu'nun iktisadi vaziyeti*, Istanbul, 1930, 42 pp., A. Z. Validi has surveyed the sources on Mongol taxation. I. P. Petrushevsky's *Ḥamdallāh Qazvīnī kak istochnik . . . Vostochnago Zakavkazya*, *Izv.Ak.NaukSSSR.*, 1937, pp. 873-890, is a remarkable study of the economic structure of Āzarbāyjān and Transcaucasia in the fourteenth century. The new book by B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran*, 1939, according to the prospectus, contains a special chapter on taxation ("Steuerwesen", pp. 306-331).

<sup>4</sup> K. Jahn intends to publish this portion comprising the period of A.D. 1265-1291.



In order to facilitate the study of the Memorandum we have divided it into the following paragraphs :—

A. *Introduction.* § 1. The origin of the treatise. § 2. Causes of the variety of administration in western lands. General principles of administration, as referring to : § 3. Men of the Sword, and § 4. Men of the Pen.

B. *Royal Revenue.* § 5. Its sources. Private and state revenue. Various taxes : § 6. Taxes on land and their rates. Survey of lands. Evaluation of taxes in cash. Lands lying fallow. § 7. Immunities. § 8. Provincial cadastre (*qānūn*). § 9. Taxes on capitalists and merchants. § 10. Taxes on animals. § 11. Casual revenue. § 12. Booty. § 13. Revenue from *kafāyat*. § 14. Additional levies. § 15. Illicit levies. § 16. Novelties : poll-tax, qopchur. § 17. Revenue from good luck.

C. *Royal Expenditure.* § 18. From the khāṣṣa. § 19. For the needs of the kingdom.

D. *Conclusion.* § 20. Exemptions. Vaqfs. § 21. Principles of economy.

## II. TRANSLATION

### A. *Introduction*

In the name of God, Clement and Merciful.

§ 1. The Universal Sovereign, the Mainstay of tranquillity and security, requested the Exalted Maulānā, Master of mankind, the most learned among the ancient and the modern, Naṣīr al-ḥaqq wal-dīn, the Proof ("paragon") of Islām and the Muslims, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī, may God hallow his beloved spirit—saying : "Put down in writing and submit to us the ways and regulations of the ancient kings in those provinces,<sup>1</sup> which (regulations) maintained the world in a flourishing state, and the army and the subjects in contentment and (good) order." In obedience to the puissant instruction (Naṣīr al-Dīn) drew up the following memorandum (*faṣl*).

§ 2. As the sovereigns of Khitāy<sup>2</sup> possessed ancient kingdoms (*mulūk*) dating back a thousand years, more or less, and vast provinces (*vilāyat*), their habits and laws were one, and always remained in vigour. Meanwhile, in the Iranian provinces (*vilāyat-hā-yi 'Ajam*) the sovereigns

<sup>1</sup> Evidently in the western, non-Mongol provinces, which are referred to in the following paragraph.

<sup>2</sup> M. M. restores : "of Khitāy and Khotan" ? After all, *chūn* may be expletive, but should a restoration be necessary, one would suggest : "of Khitāy and China (*Chīn* instead of *chūn*)."  
Khitāy stands for Northern China, and Chīn (*Mahā-Chīn* > *Māchīn*) would refer to the southern territories of the Sung kingdom, usually called in Persian sources Manzī.

often changed—as is still the case now—and as they had small provinces, their customs used to undergo alterations, and each province had a special rule.

§ 3. Memorandum (*faṣl*).<sup>1</sup> What the ancient sovereigns and the sages of the provinces said [f. 1r.]<sup>2</sup> and what their customs were, is as follows. They said that the foundations of the kingship depend on two things, viz. the Sword and the Pen, of which the former is in the hand of the military, and the latter in the hand of the scribes.

Four qualifications are necessary for the military : (a) they should be in agreement with one another ; and (b) of one heart with the king ; (c) they should act only on the king's orders ; (d) they should be warlike (*mardān-i kār*), and taught the wielding of arms (*\*ādāb-i silāḥ*). He who does not possess these four qualifications (*shart*) is not suitable for the army ; if he enters the army, he will disgrace it.

With regard to the army the king must observe four rules : (a) the military should not suffer from a deficiency in keep, equipment, arms, and (riding) animals ; (b) the king should place the great in great places and the small in small places ; (c) he should secure a better living to *bahādurs* ("knights") who render greater services, and after their death, show his sympathy to their children ; (d) the booty taken from the enemy should be equitably [f. 1v.] assigned to them, as will be said hereafter (§ 12).

The utility of the army is fourfold : (a) for the King's might, majesty, and pomp ; (b) the repelling of enemies ; (c) the security of his subjects ; (d) protection of roads from thieves, and of pastures from wild animals.

If the king has enemies, he must observe four points : (a) if he has no strength for war, he must make peace, and to sue for peace is preferable ; (b) if he makes war, he must make dispositions for military operations, men, the place, and the time, in conformity with an appropriate plan ; (c) he must not be apprehensive, so that things turn out well ; should the enemy overpower him, he should have taken (necessary) measures and the (required) precautions for his wives and children, as well as for the army, treasury, baggage, and his subjects ; (d) should he overpower the enemy, he must not be (too) elated and must not be precipitate, but complete the affair with caution, cleverness, justice, reasoning, and consideration (*raviyyat*).

<sup>1</sup> This division does not mean that the introductory § 2 does not belong to Naṣīr al-Dīn's memorandum.

<sup>2</sup> Here begins the extant part of the older copy.

Even though the king has no foe, he must observe four points : (a) he must keep the army as fit as in time of war ; (b) he must not ignore (the possibility) of a sudden appearance of the foe ; (c) he must not under-estimate a small foe ; (c) he must not leave the marches of his kingdom bare of men and arms.

These words refer to the Sword.

§ 4. The Pen is in the hand of four classes of people : (a) divines ; (b) scholars in such subtle sciences as philosophy, astronomy, and medicine ; (c) men who perform important duties, such as vazirs, yārghūchis (" investigators, prosecutors "), scribes who transmit or commit to writing the words which the king addresses to friends<sup>1</sup> and enemies ; (d) persons who keep the accounts (*ḥāṣil*) of income and expenditure.

The utility of the Pen is fourfold : (a) it maintains the path of the Almighty among the people, lest it suffer an alteration ; (b) it renders covert news manifest ; (c) it records (*yād-dihād*) words lest they be forgotten ; (d) it maintains truthfulness among men.

[B. *Discourse on the Revenue of the King*]

§ 5. The Sovereign's revenue (*dakhl*) is from four sources : (A) from the heritage of those who have passed away ; (B) from the taxes (*māl*) of the subjects (§§ 6, 9, 10, and 11) ; (C) from his own *kafāyat* (" lawful exertions ") (§ 13) ; (D) from what is granted by the Almighty (§ 17).

The king's property (*māl*) is of two categories : (a) his personal property (*khāṣṣa*), and (b) the property destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣālih-i pādshāhī*).

(A) What the kings receive from those who have passed away, such as their fathers and brothers, becomes their *khāṣṣa*.

(B) The levies collected from the subjects are of four classes<sup>2</sup> (coming as they are from) : (a) agriculturists (§ 6) ; (b) merchants (§ 9) ; (c) cattle-breeders (§ 10) ; and (d) casual sources (*tayyārāt*) (§ 11). What the king conquers (*yābad*) from the kingdoms of (other) kings (*mamlakat-i pādshāhān*) becomes his property (*māl*).<sup>3</sup>

§ 6. (a) What the king levies from the subjects (*ra'īyyat*), in consideration of the people engaged in agriculture, (may apply) either to the wealthy (*tavāngar*) or to the poor (*darvīsh*), and, in consideration

<sup>1</sup> *lī* : " those with whom there is peace."

<sup>2</sup> *Qaum* means " people ", but this meaning does not cover *tayyārāt*.

<sup>3</sup> This sentence seems to announce § 12, but it is badly formulated.

of the sown—either to a garden, or good irrigated land.<sup>1</sup> Should the (man) be wealthy and the soil good, he must give a tithe, called *'ushr*; should the soil be bad and the man poor, (the tax) is one-twentieth, which they call a half-tithe. Moreover (from the produce of) the poor, fodder (*'ulūfa*) and expenditure (*kharj*) should be deducted (*az sar bi-nihand*); from the surplus (*ān-chi az sar āmad*) they must pay  $\frac{1}{10}$  or  $\frac{1}{20}$ ; should there be no surplus, they must not pay anything. Such was the ancient custom; but when the number of provinces increased, the partition (of crops?) (*qismat*) became difficult.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the subjects cannot take possession (*tašarruf*) of what they have (produced) before the tithe has been deducted from it.<sup>3</sup>

The just and equitable kings have ordained that income (*dakhl*) from lands and gardens should be estimated (*hisāb bar-girifta*) [f. 2r] in a good, middling, or bad year, and the amount of the tithe or half-tithe (for each of them fixed). In the beginning of each year, the average price (*bahā*)<sup>4</sup> (of the produce from the tithes) was fixed in all exactness and (divided into) several instalments (*hiṣṣa*). [These sums] were fixed to the said lands and gardens, and (in this way) the *kharāj* is collected from them. If the land is not sown annually, and if the garden does not bring fruit annually, the *kharāj* is not levied and the procedure follows the principle “there is no *kharāj* on what is not cultivated (*kharāb*)”. Every few years the lands and gardens are surveyed, and, if eventually cultivation has been replaced by non-cultivation, the *kharāj* is written off. If the fallow (*kharāb*)<sup>5</sup> (lands) have come under cultivation, the case is twofold: (a) if the abandonment of cultivation is ancient, dating from a *qarn*, i.e. a period of thirty years, the land is exempted<sup>6</sup> for three years, after which, for (another) ten years, the *kharāj* is fixed at half-rate, in order that the land should continue in cultivation (*ābādānī*), and that there should be an incentive for men. If the abandonment of cultivation has been of recent date (and then the land) has become cultivated,

<sup>1</sup> Literally: “either a garden, or good water-and-land.”

<sup>2</sup> Meaning by this probably that the individual assessment had to be replaced by a pre-arranged system of survey. *Vide infra*, line 14.

<sup>3</sup> This circumstance is meant to indicate a further complication under the older system.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the money equivalent?

<sup>5</sup> *Vide infra* § 13, *kharāb*, “lying fallow,” is distinguished from what from the beginning was not “cultivated” (*ābādān*).

<sup>6</sup> Lit.: “the pen is withdrawn from it.” Cf. Minorsky, *Asoyūrghāl*, BSOS., IX, 4, p. 933.

the sum due from it as *kharāj* shall be considered. If a piece of land (*zamīn*) has been converted into a garden, or vice versa, the request will be made in true proportion, without excess or diminution.

§ 7. The lands and gardens which for some reasons the ancient (previous) sovereigns had not assessed with *kharāj* [f. 2v] are called "free" (*ḥurr*), and their price (*bahā*)<sup>1</sup> is more elevated. There are also some people exempted from *kharāj*; this is called at some places *isqāt* and at some others *mauḏū*. There are also some people to whom a definite sum of money (*zarī*) has been fixed as a stipend (*idrār*); (either) it is counted in payment of their *kharāj*, or some subsidy (*jihat-i ma'yishat*) is given to them. These three (privileges), i.e. *ḥurr*, *isqāt*, and *idrār*, are transmitted by heritage,<sup>2</sup> or (may be) ceded to others by sale; they are considered as a part of the man's property and establishment (*māl va dastgāh*) and are never abrogated (*bāṭil*). The Great Yasa of Chengiz Khān (requests) that this be maintained in order that the property (*māl*) of men should not decrease.<sup>3</sup>

§ 8. For the provincial *kharāj*, special registers (*qānūn*) are kept in each province, and in accordance with them action is taken. At each place (the *qānūn*) is such as to suit (the local conditions of) the province. These taxes (*māl*) are considered (as destined) for the needs of the kingdom (*jihat-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*).

§ 9. (b) As regards the capitalists (*ahl-i māl*) and merchants, for most of the time, nothing was demanded from them, except for what they were told to give to the king [f. 3r] from the capital itself (*aṣl-i māl*), so that 1 dinar out of 240 dinars used to be collected and this was called the *ṭamghā* levy (*māl-i ṭamghā*), and after Chengiz Khān's time it became known as *ṭamghā*.

§ 10. (c) In old times also nothing was collected from the animals (cf. § 16), but later from each (class of) animal capable of reproduction and grazing in the open (*ṣaḥrā*)<sup>4</sup> one out of one hundred was levied, while from smaller numbers money (*zar*) was collected in the same

<sup>1</sup> Here apparently "the sale price" is meant.

<sup>2</sup> Curious construction with verbal particle *ba-*: *ba-mirāth bi-rafta bāshand*. The translation is meant to express the probable distinction in the forms *bi-rafta* and *furūkha* (without *bi-*).

<sup>3</sup> The meaning is not very clear, but possibly the author's intention is to invoke the authority of Mongol Yasa for the support of the existing privileges.

<sup>4</sup> *Zāyanda*. Does it mean "of female sex", or "with the exclusion of the mules, which are incapable of reproduction"? Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 3, refers to the *qopchur* levied on "horses, sheep, and cows". The second condition may reflect the stipulation of the Islamic *zakāt*, according to which the animals on which the tax is to be imposed must be "freely grazing" (*sā'ima*); Juynboll, 101.

proportion. This (levy) is called *marā'ī*. (Still) later, one out of fifty was levied.

And at each place and locality, all the items<sup>1</sup> of taxes [destined for the needs] of the kingdom were levied differently.<sup>2</sup>

§ 11. (d) The *ṭayyārāt* ("casual revenue") are of 4 classes: (α) property (*māl*) to which there are no heirs ("escheat"); (β) men<sup>3</sup> who have appropriated the king's property; (γ) *b.lārgḥū* (*bularghu*?) and lost things<sup>4</sup>; (δ) *\*ghāyibāna* ("property of the absent"), i.e. of the men of whom it is not known whether they are alive or dead, while they have no heirs. These two (last kinds of property) are restored to the owner when he comes back, in return for the tax (due from him) (*'avad-i māl*?).<sup>5</sup>

These all are (levies destined) for the needs of the kingdom (*maṣālīḥ-i pādshāhī*).

§ 12. (ε) Whatever is taken from enemies (*yāghī*) and foes (*dushman*) of the kingdom is of two classes:—

(aa) Of (the booty) which the army has brought together, viz. of captives, animals, arms, and (movable?) property (*māl*): whatever the *bahādurs* have taken [f. 3v] by their (personal) valour (*bahādurī*) is given to them; from the rest, one-fifth is levied by the Universal Sovereign for his needs (*vide supra*, § 5B),<sup>6</sup> and the remainder is divided among the army, the horsemen and foot-soldiers receiving respectively in the proportion of two to one.<sup>7</sup>

(bb) What the army has conquered (*yāfta*) of waters, lands, and animals, and property in the (conquered) provinces goes to the account of the revenue (destined) for the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I restore *\*jihāt* instead of *jahān*.

<sup>2</sup> This sentence would better come at the end of § 11.

<sup>3</sup> Probably not the men themselves but their confiscated property (*muṣādara*).

<sup>4</sup> The "revenue" evidently came in only in case the property was not claimed. It is possible that the author couples in this paragraph the Mongolian *b.lārgḥū* with the Islamic *luḡaṭa*.

<sup>5</sup> An alternative interpretation that "the substitute, or equivalent of the property" was remitted to the owner would be less satisfactory as not applying to *b.larghu*. In fact M. b. Hindūshāh states that the owners of the lost property "must pay a definite tax, in exchange for which the property is returned to them", Hammer, *Gesch. der Goldenen Horde*, 476.

<sup>6</sup> Thus the *khums* is transferred to the *il-khān*! Qor'ān, viii, 42: "Know that one-fifth of your booty belongs to Allāh, to the Prophet, to the Prophet's family, to the orphans, to the destitute, and to the wayfarers."

<sup>7</sup> So according to Abū-Ḥanīfa, while the other doctors attribute to the horsemen a threefold share, see *Ghanīma* in *EI*.

<sup>8</sup> This is the Islamic *ḡay'* the revenue from which belongs to the whole community, see *Fai'* in *EI*.

§ 13. (C) What (the king ?) obtains by way of *kafāyat* ("lawful exertions") is of four classes : (a) what accrues from the bringing to cultivation of the places which were (never) cultivated or were lying fallow—after the rights of the owners (*ḥaqq-i mālīk*) have been redeemed<sup>1</sup> ; (b) what is obtained from the mines of gold, silver, iron, etc., and the pearl-fisheries ; (c) what accrues from factories, artisans,<sup>2</sup> merchants associate (*ortāqān*), and purchased estates ; (d) what the king obtains from sea-fisheries and from hunting in the uninhabited places (*biyābān*).

These all belong to the king's *khāṣṣa*.

These together constitute the system (of taxation) of the former kings.

§ 14. In these later times some other taxes (*māl-hā*) have been added (to it), which are also fourfold : (a) the additions (*far'*) which have been levied in proportion (?) of eleven to ten or twelve to ten of (the amount of) the taxes<sup>3</sup> as the fee of the officials (*jihat-i marsūm-i kār-kunān*) ; [f. 4r] (b) the tax levied on weights<sup>4</sup> and on disreputable places (*kharābāt*) ; (c) the additional tax on the issue of licences (*qabāla*) of some crafts (*ḥurfat*) ; (d) the tax on the inheritance of the persons who had (only) remote relatives.<sup>5</sup> The Universal Sovereign Chengiz Khān and his family (*urūgh*) disliked such amplifications (*ān ma'nā*).

§ 15. The great kings abhorred four kinds of taxes (*māl*) : (a) levying tolls (*bāj*) and convoy-money (*badraqa*) on roads and on ships<sup>6</sup> ;

<sup>1</sup> In the latter case.

<sup>2</sup> I read *ūzān* اوزان (instead of the dotless اعران). This word is found jointly with *ortaq* in Rashid al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 306.

<sup>3</sup> More probably, each sum was augmented by one-tenth or two-tenths for the benefit of the officials. In Ghazan khan's time, the population was to pay the taxes "with (an additional) one-twentieth, and the treasury fees (*bā dah-o-nīm va ḥaqq-i khāzāna*), Rashid, iii, 253. A list of additional levies is found, *ibid.*, p. 255. On *nemeri* (spelt *n.mārī*), see Barthold, *Manuche*, 37.

<sup>4</sup> Arabic *auzān* "weights" is more suitable here than Turkish *ūzān*, for revenue from the latter is mentioned above as a legal levy. The words *auzān* and *ūzān*, both spelt in the same way, occur side by side in Rashid al-Dīn, iii, 286, 336. Ghazan, *ibid.*, 334, ordered that the *sang al-vazn* (*sic*) should be suppressed at the treasury, and that the latter "should make expenditure by the same weight by which it purchases, namely by the legal *sang-i 'adl* bearing the seal". Naṣīr al-Dīn must have in view the abuses with the special *sang al-vazn*.

<sup>5</sup> Juvayni, 25, says that the Mongol treasury never appropriates heritages of private people, and that he himself had to suppress in the province of Baghdad the offices in charge of heritages (*shughl-i tarakāt*).

<sup>6</sup> This telescoped phrase apparently has in view tolls levied on roads and in ports, and money (*rāh-dārī*) levied by road-guards.

(b) what accrues from spoiling (*tabāh*) gold and silver<sup>1</sup>; (c) buying what people stand in need of and the re-selling of it (at a profit)<sup>2</sup>; (d) (fines) levied on such offences as murder, blows, and drinking.

§ 16. Nothing used to be levied as a poll-tax (*bar sar-hā-yi īshān*).<sup>3</sup> This was levied in the times of Islamic (domination) (*musalmānī*) but not before. Nor did they (previously) levy the *qopchur* which is now collected by virtue of the Great Yasa (cf. § 10). Even now, in view of the interdiction (*yāsaq*) (it)<sup>4</sup> is not collected from five categories of people: (a) from the *tarkhāns* raised to that state by the king, such as (Muslim) sages and Christian (clergy)<sup>5</sup>; (b) from old people; (c) from [f. 4v] the sick and ailing (*ma'lūl*); (d) from paupers (*darvīsh*), (e) from children.

In the old days those people who were not engaged in agriculture commerce, crafts (?),<sup>6</sup> and other (similar) pursuits, but who were smart (*jald*) and young were not left without employment (*kār*).<sup>7</sup>

§ 17. (D) The revenue (*māl*) which (the kings) have from good luck and good fortune is fourfold: (a) what was formerly received from the persons who presented their property to the kings; (b) treasure-trove (*ganj*) unexpectedly found<sup>8</sup>; (c) gifts, presents, and donations brought in accomplishment of a service; (d) what is sent from other kings.

### C. Discourse on the Expenditure of the King

The King's expenditure is twofold:—

§ 18. The *khāṣṣa* expenditure, which he makes from his own *khāṣṣa*, the latter being kept separately and not confounded with the revenue (destined for) the kingdom (*māl-i pādshāhī*). This *khāṣṣa* consists of the following items: the inheritance from his ancestors (§ 5), the "fifth" of the booty (*ghanīmat*) (§ 12), what is received by

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps by debasing and snipping the coins.

<sup>2</sup> Such as making "corners" in cereals (*ih̄tikār*).

<sup>3</sup> *Bar sar-hā* seems to be distinct from the expressions *az sar*, *bar sar āmad*, vide *supra*, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. the poll-tax, gradually comprised under *qopchur*, v.i. p. 783.

<sup>5</sup> Read: *ār̄kāvūn*.

<sup>6</sup> *اورانی* gives no meaning. I read *اوزانی* *ūzānī* "craftsmanship".

<sup>7</sup> This may suggest that formerly all the able-bodied persons, being employed by the king, were exempted from the payment of a poll-tax (?).

<sup>8</sup> Does the author mean that such finds became the king's property? In Islamic law the finder of a treasure (*rikāz*) pays only one-fifth of it, as *zakāt*, Juynboll, *Handbuch d. Islam. Gesetzes*, 1908–1910, p. 104. Even the attribution of this fifth to the King's *khāṣṣa* (§ 18) would be a complaisance.



the way of *kafāyat* (§ 13), or acquired through good luck and good fortune (§ 17) [f. 5r], or in (any) other way becomes his *khāṣṣ* ("personal property").

The king spends it in four ways : (a) for his own household (*khāṣṣa*) and that of his children ; (b) for grants and gifts to the persons having rendered some services ; (c) for the making of ornaments and embellishments ; (d) for the construction of buildings, such as are necessary (or ? correspond) to his heart's desires.

§ 19. (The expenditure) for the needs of the kingdom (*maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*) is fourfold : (a) expenditure on the army and the persons doing the king's work, such as scribes, *yārghūchīs* and *nā'ibs*,<sup>1</sup> so that they should not trespass on the king's property or accept bribes, or suffer humiliations, or beg anything from (other) people, but should be kind towards the king's property ; (b) expenditure on ambassadors and travellers in-coming and out-going ; (c) expenditure on the destitute, paupers, fatherless children, husbandless women, and (the general) interests (*maṣlaḥat*) of the towns and provinces ; (d) (expenditure) on the establishment of *yām* ("relay service"). In olden days there existed the *barīd* ("post service"), placed on the roads at the interval of four farsangs,<sup>2</sup> so that (the couriers), without putting down their bags, could push on day and night until they reached the place (of destination). Numerous people travelling from one place to another down to the king's capital [f. 5v] (were using) animals belonging (*az māl*) to the king and kept in readiness at each town and place, and the subjects were not disturbed by the (obligation of) *olaḡh*.<sup>3</sup>

#### [D. Conclusion]

§ 20. The king did not encroach upon the property of four classes : (a) the subsistence (*ma'yīshat*) of righteous people which had been granted by other kings ; (b) the property of orphans ; (c) the property of the absent of whose return there is still hope,<sup>4</sup> as well as people's deposits ; (d) the *vaqf* property. *Vaqfs* have been constituted for pious purposes, and the kings did not consider it auspicious (to despoil

<sup>1</sup> The term *nā'ib* is often found in the contemporary sources, see Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 333 : *nā'ib-i vazīr* "a kind of registrar".

<sup>2</sup> Juvayni, i, 24, says that each two tomans, i.e. 20,000 men, had to keep up a *yām*, while according to Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 275, in Ghāzān's time there was a *yām* at each 3 farsakhs. Juvayni may have in view earlier conditions in Mongolia, or take a *yām* as being of several relays.

<sup>3</sup> Obligation to supply horses to travellers.

<sup>4</sup> Contrary to § 11 (d).

them?). So they used to ordain that a trusted person should be aware (of their functioning); (namely), that (the revenue) should be spent on pious endowments in accordance with the constitution of the *vaqf*, and that it should be used for due purposes in conformity with the stipulations of the founder; and whenever (the requirements for) an expenditure ceased or diminished and it was impossible to use (the money) in that way, (the amount) should be spent on the poor and destitute or for other purposes, such as construction of bridges and *rabāṭs*, the healing of sick and other good deeds. (The kings) prevented anyone from interfering (with the *vaqfs*) in an inopportune way, in the hope that a recompense (in the next world) (*thavāb*) should accumulate for themselves.

These are the items of expenditure. The explanation of each one of them would be too lengthy, but, should it be so ordered, that explanation will be also presented.

§ 21. In former days the kings observed the above-mentioned rules, and necessarily (*lā-jaram*) their people, both the subjects and the army, were tranquil and prosperous, and a good name has survived them. They used to fix the expenditure at a lower amount than the income. They stocked their treasury full of money (*māl*) and precious objects (*ganj*), as a store (*dhakhīra*) for (the vicissitudes of) fortune and the repelling of enemies. Let the Almighty prolong the days of the sultanate of (our) Sovereign, and let Him secure tranquillity to (His) slaves under the shadow (of the Monarch), for the merits of Muḥammad and his family, all of them! Praises be to God, Master of the Worlds, and peace be on him who follows the right path.

[Colophon.] “Written by the sinful ‘Alī Rīdā, 1331/1913. This copy has been written from a collection of texts (*majmū’a*) which was written in *ta’līq* hand in the ninth to fifteenth centuries and was full of errors and out of order. As much as possible, I have striven to check it (*taṣḥīḥ*). Tehran, 14 Ṣafar 1331/23rd January, 1913. Shams al-‘Ulamā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Garakānī.”

### III. THE SYSTEM OF TAXATION

As already mentioned, the characteristic and praiseworthy trait of Naṣīr al-Dīn’s Memorandum is the author’s tendency to bring his facts into an orderly system. His habits of a mathematician make him even exaggerate the regularity of his divisions, based as they are on the number “four” throughout. The main classification of the king’s revenue is given under four headings in § 5, but further it is

somewhat obscured by other details and paragraphs. The sources of revenue, as presented in the Memorandum, can be tabulated as follows :—

- A. Heritage from ancestors
- B. Levies from the subjects :
  - (a) agriculturists : *kharāj*
  - (b) merchants : *tamgha*
  - (c) cattle-breeders : *marā'ī*
  - (d) casual revenue : *ṭayyārāt* of 4 + 1 kinds :
    - (a) escheat (heirless property)
    - (β) confiscations
    - (γ) lost property
    - (δ) property of the absent
    - (ε) war booty : (aa) movables, (bb) immovables
- C. Income from *kafāyat* :
  - (a) bringing new lands under cultivation
  - (b) mining industry
  - (c) manufacturing industry
  - (d) fisheries and hunting-grounds
- D. Income from “good luck” (cf. Bd) :
  - (a) offerings to the kings
  - (b) treasure-trove
  - (c) presents from service men
  - (d) presents from other kings
- E. Sundry <sup>1</sup> :
  - (I) additional levies
    - (a) collectors' fees
    - (b) weights (?) and disreputable places
    - (c) issue of licences
    - (d) inheritance from remote relations
  - (II) unlawful levies
    - (a) tolls and customs
    - (b) debasing of money
    - (c) making “corners”
    - (d) fines for offences
  - (III) novelties
    - (a) poll-tax
    - (b) “qopchur”

Very systematic is the distinction between the king's own revenue (*khāṣṣa*) and that destined for the needs of the kingdom (*māl-i maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī*). The Mongolian terms for these two classes were *injū* “special” (?) and *dālāy* “oceanic”, i.e. “universal”; Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 305 (ibid., *injū* and *ḍivān*).

Most of the revenue was of the “public” class, the items belonging to the Private Purse (*khāṣṣa*) being the following :—

<sup>1</sup> Although in the text the three paragraphs of E come directly after C, they do not belong to *kafāyat* and represent something additional to the four lawful divisions enumerated in § 5. Therefore, we place them after D.

1. inheritance from ancestors (§ 5, A)
2. one-fifth of the movable booty (§ 12, Bd)
3. revenue from *kafāyat* (§ 13, C)
4. revenue from good luck (§ 17, D)

The twofold character of revenue is indicated under each item and then resumed in the chapter on Expenditure. §§ 18 and 19 contain important indications as to the use made of each class of revenue but it is doubtful whether in practice there was so much regularity. Rashīd al-Dīn's description, iii, 331-3, shows that the (King's?) treasury was in utter disorder before Ghāzān Khān reorganized it by dividing it into two departments: *nirun* "thin, fine", for more rare objects, and *bidūn* "thick, coarse", for objects of constant use (*payvasta kharj kunand*).

The taxation of the Mongol period, which reflects the conflicting tendencies of the age, is characterized by an intensive amalgamation of two entirely different systems: of the Islamic imposts incorporating pre-Islamic customs, on one hand, and, on the other, of the entirely non-Islamic levies imported by the motley staff of Mongol administration. Some curious evolution and readaptation were taking place under the early Mongol rulers. The rights which in Islamic law belonged to the Imām were being transferred to an infidel conqueror. The wall between the dominant "faithful" and the subject "infidels" of various categories was crumbling away under the impact of the invaders, for whom "Mongol" and "non-Mongol" was the only distinction having importance. To some extent, Naṣīr al-Dīn's Memorandum bears traces of a desire to find a compromise. He is ready to put under the same roof the Yasa and the Shari'at as regards the rights of the il-khāns (§ 7), but he does not conceal his disapproval of the taxes which reduced the Muslims to a status which, in Islamic terms, could be described as that of *dhimmīs*.

Hiding himself behind the authority of "the great kings", Naṣīr al-Dīn disapproved of such imposts as tolls (*bāj*, § 15) which belonged to non-religious levies (*mukās*) of Islamic states but became particularly obnoxious under the Mongols. With regard to the poll-tax (§ 16), now that it struck Muslims, he even gives a twist to historical facts while denying its existence before Islām. Another significant point is § 9, where some tendency is felt to safeguard the position of the capitalists and traders (mostly Muslims!) in spite of the obvious insufficiency of their liabilities. [Cf. p. 773, note 3.]

We shall now speak in some detail of the more important sources of revenue referred to in the Memorandum.

(a) *Kharāj*. The paragraph has a very abstract character in spite of the author's admission concerning numerous local varieties of taxes (§§ 2 and 10). Naṣīr al-Dīn records only two rates of the land-tax, amounting to one-tenth of the crops on the lands of higher category, and to one-twentieth on those of lower category. As the partition of crops in each individual case became difficult,<sup>1</sup> a survey was carried out and embodied in a *qānūn* (cadastre) fitted to the local conditions of each province. Moreover, a threefold scale of rates was fixed to suit the years of good, middling, and bad harvests. The reference to *bahā* ("the price") suggests that *kharāj* was collected not in kind but in money substitute, the rate of which was fixed yearly and divided into several instalments (*hiṣṣa*),<sup>2</sup> though it is hardly imaginable that this procedure had a general character.<sup>3</sup> There was no *kharāj* on lands lying fallow, and, by means of periodical surveys, the rates were adapted to the various transformations in the condition of lands.

The poor were treated exceptionally while they were assessed only on the excess of their produce over their *Existenz-minimum* as represented by fodder (*ulūfa*) and personal expenditure (*kharj*?).

Finally (§ 7) the author refers to the immunity from taxes of certain lands (*hurr*) and men (the Mongol term *tarkhān*, § 16), and to the assignment of salaries on local taxes (Mongol term *soyūrghāl*, in later times *tiyūl*).

(b) *Tamghā* is presented as a capital levy amounting to  $\frac{1}{240}$  of the capital. Even if the levy was annual the rate was very low. Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 312-323, has a long and interesting chapter on the formation of a powerful class of "nouveaux riches" under Abāqā Khān. Merchants, contractors, and speculators were exploiting the simplicity of the il-khān, under the protection of the powerful dignitaries and ladies.<sup>4</sup> In ordinary parlance, *tamghā* referred to various kinds of town levies, such as octrois, etc. (cf. *E.*, iia). Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 245, refers to *tamghā-yi shahr* and at another place, iii, 273, speaks of *tamghā* appreciatively as "the most liquid (*naqdtarīn*) of the taxes in the realm". In later times (fifteenth century), the term *tamghāwāt*

<sup>1</sup> Similarly Juvayni, iii, 78, on *qismat* in connection with the poll-tax, *vide infra*, p. 784.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Rashīd, iii, 264: a detailed list of the dates of payment.

<sup>3</sup> In Rashīd, iii, 263<sub>18</sub>, 267<sub>12</sub>, *vujūh al-'ayn* (money) is opposed to *irtifā'āt* (crops, levies in kind).

<sup>4</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 788, *ortaq*.

denoted all kinds of non-Qor'ānic levies considered as abuses; see *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, MS. Bib. Nat., No. 101, f. 163r.

(c) *Marā'ī* is the non-Islamic "pasturage levy" collected per number of animals.<sup>1</sup> The Mongolian equivalent of the term was *qopchur*, as stated in Juvayni, iii, 79 (= Rashīd, ii, 314). According to Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 300, "all the army had to pay yearly a *qopchur* of horses, sheep, cows, felts, furs,<sup>2</sup> etc., for (the benefit of) those parts of the *ordu* and the army which became impoverished." This seems to suggest that *qopchur* comprised also some products of pastoral life, unless the passage has in view only a limited group of members of the army. The same author, iii, 304, speaking of the old Mongolian army, uses the term of *qopchūr-i mavāshī* "q. of animals", evidently to distinguish the narrower connotation of *qopchur* in the conditions of nomad life from its more general and very different meaning which was ascertained by Quatremère in Rashīd, p. 256, and Barthold, *Manuche*, pp. 32-3, and which we record in the paragraph on the poll-tax.

(d) *Kafāyat*. The usual connotation of this Arabic term is "competence", as applied to ministers and other high officials, cf. Juvayni, iii, 74, with regard to Arghūn-āqā.<sup>3</sup> In our text, the revenue which the king draws *az kafāyat-i khud* definitely refers to his "lawful exertions and prosecutions", as specified in four points. In the *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* (circa A.D. 1410), Bib. Nat., anc. fonds persan, No. 101, fol. 162v, *abvāb-i kafāyat* stands for lawful Islamic sources of revenue (especially *kharāj*, *ibid.*, f. 163b) as opposed to *tamghāvat* representing the novelties introduced after Chengiz Khān. In our text the line between the customs of the good "old king" and the additions and novelties of which Naṣīr al-Dīn clearly disapproves, is drawn immediately after § 13.

Several of the subdivisions of *kafāyat* belong to a class on which Muslims had to pay a *zakāt* destined for definite pious purposes.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Islamic law, there is only an elaborate system of *zakāt* from camels, cows, and sheep, Juynboll, 100.

<sup>2</sup> The form فروت is strange. The expected Persian singular of Arabic فروة "a fur" (Juvayni, iii, 88, uses the plural *farviyāt*) would be فروم *farva*. One is tempted to restore the word as \*قروت *qurūt*, "a common kind of cheese" in Turkish.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 260: Amīr Ḥusayn "was clever both in Mongolian language and in Uyghur writing, and at the present time these constitute learning and competence (*fadl va-kafāyat*)".

<sup>4</sup> The *zakāt* which the Muslims paid on gold and silver extracted from mines was one-fifth (sometimes one-fortieth) of their value; on merchandise it was one-fortieth; Juynboll, pp. 102, 104. According to the Shī'a law the Imām or "the

Naṣīr al-Dīn hardly means that the king appropriated the sums of zakāt. More probably he refers to the direct exploitation of the sources of revenue by the king.

The liabilities of private holders of land had been defined under *kharāj* in § 6. At this place the author (*a*) speaks of the necessity (for the king?) to redeem the rights of former owners of the lands lying fallow, and refers (*c*) to the estates purchased by the king.<sup>1</sup>

Paragraph (*c*) must further refer to the produce of the artisans who were employed by the king and were his slaves (*asīr*) (cf. Rashīd, iii, 337), as well as to the benefit obtained through the merchants to whom capital was lent and protection accorded (cf. Juvayni, iii, 79, etc.).<sup>2</sup> In this light, (*b*) and (*d*) must also envisage the profits of the king's direct exploitation.

(*e*) *Poll-tax*.—Naṣīr al-Dīn quotes no technical term for what he describes as a poll-tax. He is wrong in saying that the poll-tax was unknown before Islām. Ṭabari, i, 2, 920–3, explains the financial system (*abrāstār*), introduced under Khusrau Anūshirvān, in which, along with the *kharāj* (land-tax), figured the *jizya* (poll-tax), payable by men from twenty to fifty years of age, in proportion to their wealth, at the rate of 12, 8, 6, or 4 dirhams. The author does not explicitly identify the Islamic *jizya* with the Mongol *qopchur*, the latter being based on Chengiz Khān's Yasa. Nevertheless, by including them in the same category, he assimilates both. It is clear then that Naṣīr al-Dīn uses the term not as an equivalent of *marā'ī* (*vide supra*), but in a more general sense. A parallel connotation of *qopchur* is found in Juvayni, i, 256; but in the important passage on Möngke's reforms, iii, 77–9, he uses, in this sense, a more neutral *mu'an*, "contributions (to subsistence)".<sup>3</sup> That he means the same thing as Naṣīr al-Dīn by his *qopchur*, is plain from the similarity in the lists of exemptions from the levy. Naṣīr al-Dīn begins his enumeration with the tarkhāns, such as Muslim *dānishmandān*<sup>4</sup> and Christian *arka'un*, after which follow the other four categories (the old, children, the sick, and poor).

person replacing him" received one-fifth (*khums*) on all such revenue, Querry, *Droit musulman*, p. 175.

<sup>1</sup> The non-cultivated lands (*mawāt*) could be cultivated by anybody, but according to Abū Ḥanīfa the agreement of the authorities was necessary.

<sup>2</sup> This association with the merchants (*ortaq*) may be the reason for the very light levies imposed on them, *vide supra*, § 9.

<sup>3</sup> In the parallel passage Rashīd, ii, 313, substitutes: *takālīf* for *mu'an*.

<sup>4</sup> This is the usual appellation of Muslim divines in Mongol times. In Mongolian the word has taken the form of *dashman*, plur. *dashmad*, see Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, i, 333 (as against Blochet in Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 129).

On his part, Juvayni says that are “excused” (*mu’āf*) “among the Muslims: the great sayyids and the noble imāms; among the Christians, who are called *arka’ūn*: the monks (*rahābān*) and clergy (*aḥbār*), and among the heathen: the priests (*kashīsh*) who are called *toyin*”, as well as “those of the above-mentioned classes (?)<sup>1</sup> who have become old and incapable of work and earnings”. Juvayni definitely says that Jews did not enjoy this privilege (see, however, the interpolation on p. 77, note 10), while Naṣīr al-Dīn is non-committal about the other classes of *tarkhāns*.

In general use *qopchur* was applied to various casual imposts levied on the spot chiefly to defray the expenses of messengers and officials on special missions (*īlchī*). There was a multitude of such “burdens, requests, and additional levies”; Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 313. Nothing is more pathetic than what this historian says, iii, 243–256, on the exactions to which the population was exposed. The governors by personal assignments (*barāt*) collected *qopchur* from two to thirty times over again, *ibid.*, iii, 243. These irregular levies exhausted the population and prevented the collection of the government taxes (*ḥuqūq-i dīvānī*, *ibid.*, iii, 245).<sup>2</sup> The poet Pūr-i Bahā Jāmī dedicated to ‘Alā al-Dīn Juvayni a long poem of forty-five verses in which he describes the sufferings caused by *qopchur*. It begins:—

“Again the *qopchur* is spreading evil and enmity in the world;

Both old and young are groaning under *qopchur*.

All the world is scattered and roving

On account of the incalculable *qalān* and endless *qopchur*,” etc.<sup>3</sup>

The Mongol higher administration was trying to stop this lawlessness by introducing a unique poll-tax, on a strict basis leaving no room to arbitrariness on the spot. But even in this form, the rates of *qopchur* were constantly changing. In the chapter on Möngke’s accession to the throne, Juvayni, iii, 78, states that in view of the impossibility “for each single functionary to make the distribution (*qismat*)” of *qopchur*,<sup>4</sup> an annual scheme (*sanavī muvāda’a*) was introduced

<sup>1</sup> Rashīd, ii, 313: “of all the classes.”

<sup>2</sup> The latter term is not very clear: it may refer to the land-tax (*kharāj*), but Rashīd al-Dīn states, iii, 243, that there existed provinces in which the *ḥuqūq-i dīvānī* consisted of *qopchur* and *taṃghā*.

<sup>3</sup> B.M., Or. 9213, f. 12a–13b.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide supra*, p. 781. When the historians protest against abuses, they concentrate on the *barāts* (assignments) which the governors indiscriminately drew on the population, and on the *qismat*, i.e. distributing of such levies among the population. Instead of *qismat*, Rashīd al-Dīn refers to the evils of *muqāsama*, iii, 163, 267, and surely 258 (instead of *maqālāt*).



about 650/1252), under which the tax varied: in Northern China (Khitāy) and in Transoxiana, between 11 dinārs and 1 dinār, and in Khorasan, between 10 dinārs and 1 dinār. When in the autumn of 651/1253 the famous administrator Arghūn Āqā arrived in Khorasan to apply the yasa of Möngke, the rate of *qopchur* (*sic*) was fixed at “70 dinārs (Ruknī) per ten men”, Juvayni, i, 256.<sup>1</sup> Later, when Juvayni, i, 261, speaks of the reforms in Georgia (in 656/1258), he says that previously to the introduction of “qopchur” some people who participated in several companies<sup>2</sup> used to pay up to 500 and 1,000 dinārs. Then qopchur was applied at the rate of 10 dinārs, which, even if increased (*muḏāʿif*), was no burden to the rich, but weighed heavily on the poor. Therefore, on Arghūn Āqā’s advice, the new proportionate scheme extended from 500 dinārs to 1 dinār.

Some additional details on the taxes will be found in the footnotes; but, in conclusion, we should repeat that the main object of the present article is only to explain the text of Naṣīr al-Dīn’s Memorandum.

#### IV. SOME TECHNICAL TERMS

- |              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| 1. arka’ūn   | 6. ortāq      |
| 2. bahādur   | 7. tarkhān    |
| 3. b.lārgḥū  | 8. urūq       |
| 4. kār-kunān | 9. ūzān       |
| 5. māl       | 10. yārgḥūchī |

1. *Arka’ūn* (i.e. *ārka’ūn*, in view of Mongolian *erke’ūn*), “a Christian,” as indicated by Juvayni, iii, 77: *naṣārā ki īshān-rā arka’ūn mī-khwānand*. On the other hand, Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 313: *az naṣārā arkavūnān va qasīsan*, suggests for *arka’ūn* the narrower meaning of “Christian divines”. The same hesitation is found in Chinese sources. Deveria, *Notes d’épigraphie mongolo-chinoise*, *JA.*, 1896, t. viii, 407: “*arkaon* [read: *Ye-li-k’o-uən*] est le nom d’une religion,” but in the subsequent passages: “Christian priests.” The usual derivation of the word is from Greek ἄρχων; see M. Qazvīnī’s note in Juvayni, iii, 301, where Arabic parallels are also quoted: *urkūn* with the specific meaning of “head of a village” and *arkhūn* or *arkhūl*, “Christian notables.”

An original hypothesis was proposed in N. Y. Marr’s article *Ark’aun* in *Vizantiyskiy vremennik*, xii, 1906, pp. 1–68. He connects the term *ark’aun* found in Armenian sources of the Mongol period with Arm. *ark’ai* “king”, which may have been used for rendering the Semitic term “Melkites”. Marr points out that already in the eighth century there were Armenian Chalcedonites = Melkites in Central Asia, and

<sup>1</sup> In a parallel passage, Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 341, speaks of a qalān of 7 dinārs for the rich, and of 1 dinār for the poor.

<sup>2</sup> Evidently as *ortaqs*; *vide infra*, p. 788.

that in the fourteenth century Armenians had a monastery on the banks of the Issik-kul; consequently they may have been responsible for the transmission of the term. However, Christianity was spread in Central Asia chiefly by Nestorians, and it is rather unexpected that the generic appellation of Christians should be due to an insignificant group of Armenian Melkites.

Mongolian scholars find no satisfactory etymology for *erke'ün*.<sup>1</sup> Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, i, 1925, 334, still explains it (with a query!) by *әрхүн*. The influence in the Far East of some Arabic renderings which have left no traces in the Middle East, is questionable, but a possibility of transmission of *әрхүн* by Aramaic Christians or Manichæans cannot be disregarded. What is important, however, is the fact that the word belongs to the "soft" (palatal) series as confirmed by its transcription in Persian characters (with *k* and not with *q*).<sup>2</sup> The form *erke'ün* (and still more the archaic and probably artificial, *erkegün*) suggests a vocalic stem *erke-* followed by a suffix. In Mongolian *ērke* (Turkish *ärk*) means "strength" (and even "a lot", *Muqaddimat al-adab*, p. 164); in Turkish *ärkä* is "a favourite", *ärgä*— "to be gathered". Thus there is no lack of possible indigenous derivations, especially as the term *erke'ün* may be a nickname with somewhat unexpected connections and allusions, as is the case of Persian *tarsä* ("a Christian", as a calque of Syriac *rahbän* but *prima facie* "a fearful man"), or of English "Quaker".

2. *Bahädur* (Mong. *baghatur*, Russian богатырь), "knight, distinguished warrior." From the fact that the *Mu'izz al-ansäb*, after each reign, gives a list of bahädurs, along with a list of other dignitaries, Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols*, p. 307, concluded that they formed "a class of high dignitaries". Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stroy mongolov*, 74, quotes *baghatur* only as an honorary title of some of the *noyan*, i.e. leaders of the aristocratic houses.

3. *B.lärghü*, in our case "lost property". This meaning is absolutely certain; but the reading and the etymology of the word still present considerable difficulties, and its use in the sources is twofold.

(a) The interpretation "lost property" is fully supported by M. Polo, transl. A. C. Moule, i, 230: whenever someone finds a hunting-bird belonging to an unknown master, he carries it "to a baron who is called *bularguci*, which means to say in our tongue the Keeper of the things which find no master. For I tell you that if by chance one finds a horse or a sword or a bird or other thing that is lost or strayed and he does not find whose it is, then it is carried immediately to this baron and he has it taken and carefully kept till it is demanded by the owner. And he who finds it—anything which may be lost—is bound immediately to carry it to its owner, and if he does not do

<sup>1</sup> Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, xv, 1914, p. 637: "l'origine d'*ärkägün* est beaucoup plus obscure."

<sup>2</sup> The parallel form with an alif, namely *arkävün*, is only a *scriptio plena*, as usual in Turkish and Mongolian words; it must be read *ärkävün*, not *ärkävün*.

this he is held for a thief if he does not carry it promptly to that baron. And those who have mislaid or lost the things go off to this baron and he, if he has it, has it given back to them quite immediately. And this baron always stays in the highest place of all the host (in quella chanpagnia) with his ensign aloft so that those who have lost or found the things may see him clearly at once where he is. And in this way no things can be lost which are not soon found and given back". In the Italian text of a grant of privileges issued by the Mongol il-khān (on 12th December, 1320), the Venetians are requested to return the stray horses ("se algun cavalo *bolargo* forse trovato apresso de algun vostro veneciano, etc."). The collection of state documents prepared by Muḥammad b. Hindū-shāh Nakhchavānī in the second half of the fourteenth century A.D., contains a diploma issued to a *b.lārghūchī* of the royal camp. The duty of his subalterns was to find lost slaves and animals and bring them to the *b.lārghūchī*, by whom they were remitted to the owners against the payment of a definite tax. The interesting text is at present accessible only in Hammer's German translation, *Geschichte der Goldenen Horde*, 1840, 476.<sup>1</sup>

(b) In describing the customs of the Mongol court in China, Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Blochet, 479, refers to a nā'ib who was in charge of the gates of the palace: "as soon as a *b.lārghūy* (variant: *y.rghūy*) is taken (or received), it is carried to the Nā'ib, who makes an inquiry—and this is the divan called *lī-she*. When the inquiry has been completed, a report is drawn up and, jointly with the *b.lārghū* (variant: *y.rghū'ī*) sent to the divan called *lū-she*," and so on up to the highest instance called *shīng*. Here the meaning of *b.lārghū* is not at all clear. Had it stood for "lost property", even including slaves, there was no need for the latter to be sent up to the high instances. Moreover, it is said that at the *shīng*: "they interrogate those persons who are concerned (or 'in litigation', *dar sukhān bāshand*) and take their finger prints."

Already Klaproth, who commented on Rashīd al-Dīn's passage, *JA.*, xi, 1833, pp. 335–352 and 445–470, wrote (p. 350): "Je ne connais pas la signification du mot *belargoui*. Je suppose pourtant qu'il est mongol et dérivé de *balar* qui signifie ce qui n'est pas mis en ordre, chose embrouillée, brouillon." Cf. Kovalevsky, *Mongolskii slovar*, 1076: *balar* "dark, embroiled, nonsense, etc.", and Ramstedt, *Kalmückisches Wörterbuch*, p. 31: *balarxā* "undeutlich geschriebenes, gesudeltes, unleserliches" (literary Mongolian: *balarqai*). Blochet went still farther in explaining the term as "la minute d'un acte qui sera plus tard mise au net et recopiée", Rashīd al-Dīn, ii, 479. Mutatis mutandis, a similar explanation might apply even to case (a). Professor W. Kotwicz, whom I consulted on the latter, wrote to me (Lvov, 23rd June, 1939): "there is a series of Mongolian words from the

<sup>1</sup> B.M., Or. 3344, does not contain this *farmān*. Hammer's No. 8, fol. 295b, No. 13, fol. 301b, Nos. 9–12 being left out.

root *bala-* with the meaning ‘indistinct, obscure’, e.g. *balarkhay* ‘indistinct, effaced, smudged’. So the term *balarghu* might refer to the indistinct, unknown origin (of the found object).’’

However, the positive testimony of the European sources cannot be disregarded. M. Polo has *bularguci* (only one fifteenth century MS. giving an aberrant *barlarguci*) and the Venetian charter *bolargo*. Taking these transcriptions as a starting point one may quote Radloff’s Turkish dictionary, *Versuch*, iv, 1670, which connects the word *bölar-ghuchi* (in Chaghatay dialect ?) with the verb *böla-* ‘‘to report, to submit to a superior instance’’. The verb *böla* (< *bö-la* >) is attested in Eastern Turki and Taranchi, both strongly influenced by Chinese. If we take it that in the Peking palace *b.lārgḥū* was a petition (transmitted to higher instances), Radloff’s meaning fits into Rashīd al-Dīn’s passage quite well. Radloff’s *ō* suits the form *bolargo*, but its non-Turkish length is suspect. Were we to accept the explanation of *b.lārgḥū*<sup>1</sup> in the case (b) through *böla*, we might imagine that in the first case (a) ‘‘lost property’’ was considered as something ‘‘to be reported on’’ by the finder (?).

However, the identity of the two cases is not certain. A variant of *بلارغوی* is *یرغوی* \**yārgḥū* ‘‘a lawsuit’’, and it is possible that *بلارغوی* in MS.B is a mis-spelling from the parallel *يارغوغو* (in Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 149: *yārgḥū-nāma* and *yārgḥū* stand side by side). The meaning may be consequently restored as follows: ‘‘and when they begin a lawsuit (*va yārgḥū’rā nīz ki bigīrand*), they take it to the nā’ib . . . and when the inquiry has been completed (*pursīda bāshand*) the report, together with the \*litigation (files), are sent to the *lū-she*. . . .’’ The Persian verb *pursīdan* is in harmony with *yārgḥū*, for the latter chiefly consisted of ‘‘interrogatory’’.

The case (b) being thus eliminated, two explanations remain for (a). *Böla-* does not give a very satisfactory meaning, and the length of *ō* probably would have been stressed in Arabic writing. If on the other hand we accept M. Polo’s form, it is tempting to connect it with the Turkish verb *bul-* ‘‘to find’’. Hammer translated \**bularghuchi* first as ‘‘der Lagervogt’’, and then as ‘‘der Auffinder’’. Indeed, from a different point of view, ‘‘lost property’’ could be considered as ‘‘found property’’.

4. *Kār-kunān* (§ 14) ‘‘officials, financial agents’’, probably rendering Arabic *‘ummāl*. Where Juvayni, iii, 78, writes *ṣāḥib-shughl*, Rashīd, iii, 267, uses *kār-kunān*.

5. *Māl* (1) ‘‘property’’; (2) ‘‘movable (?) property’’ (§ 12); (3) ‘‘a tax.’’ In Mongolian *mal* (a loan-word ?) means ‘‘cattle’’.

6. *Ortaq*, ‘‘a merchant associate.’’ In Turkish the word means ‘‘common, together, a companion,’’ Radloff, i, 1067. Rashīd al-Dīn says that when Abāqā and Qāydū established friendly relations, they called each other *ortaq*; see Quatremère, 308. At present in the

<sup>1</sup> Regularly *u* or *o* in the first syllable would be marked in *scriptio plena* with *w*.

Soviet republic of Uzbekistan, *ortaq* serves to render the Communist "comrade". At the time of the *il-khāns* the word had acquired a specialized meaning of "a merchant trading in association", i.e. borrowing capital from princes, princesses, or dignitaries of Mongol and Uyghur origin; Rashīd, iii, 318. Speculation, which grew rife under Abāqā, caused great losses to the treasury and affected all the economic structure of the state, until finally Ghāzān Khān forbade any lending of money, see Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 312-323.

7. *Tarkhān*, "exempt from taxes." As pointed out by Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 592, the title *tarqan* found in the Orkhon inscriptions must be Turkish. In Mongolian, *darkhan* means "a smith, a master, exempt from taxes". Laufer thinks that it is an independent word "subsequently amalgamated with *tarqan*". According to Vladimirtsov, *Obšč. stroy*, 1934, p. 117, *darkhan* means "a freedman, a manumitted slave"; as the manumission of a slave was usually due to the latter's merits, it could have been accompanied by the additional privilege of exemption from taxes (?). Whatever the origin of the word, its use in Persian follows the official Mongolian usage.

8. *Urūq*, "the family, members of the family" (Quatremère, op. cit., 7), as opposed to *yad* "strangers" (Vladimirtsov, op. cit., p. 59).

9. *Ūzān*, "an artisan, artisans." Some of the *ūzān* were Mongols. Ghāzān organized the *ūzāns* into guilds, see Rashīd, iii, 337. The reading is attested by numerous examples in Quatremère, op. cit., 306, 308-9, and in Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 336-8. However, sometimes the word is transcribed *ūrān*. Ibn Muḥannā in the Arabic-Mongolian dictionary *Ḥilyat al-insān* (ch. xxiii) explains *uran* as *al-ṣan'a* ("a craft") and اورت (\**ūzan* ?) as *al-sānī* "an artisan", and Melioransky in his edition of the text, *Zap.V.O.*, xv, 1914, p. 124, confirms the fact that in Mongolian *uran* means "skilful, dexterous, an artist". This form has been adopted by Blochet, Rashīd al-Dīn, pp. 49, 135, cf. also M. Qazvinī, *Jahān-gushā*, iii, 478, in spite of the clear reading *ūzān* in the MSS. Even though the original Mongolian form of the word is *uran*, the parallel form *uzan* is attested in Turkish; see Radloff, *Versuch*, i, 1759, *uzan* - "to work skilfully"; in Ottoman Turkish *uzan* means "a bard, a chatterer, swaggerer" (which seems to be a further development of the original meaning of "a skilful man"); cf. Radloff, i, 1742, *us* - "skill, craft". The fluctuation *r/z* is characteristic as between Mongolian and Turkish: Mong. *boru*, Turk. *boz* "gray", Mong. *ükür*, Turk. *öküz* "an ox". The Turkish form may have been specially used in Persian.

10. *Yārghūchī* "judge, prosecutor" (from Mongolian *yarghu* "litigation, law suit"); see Quatremère, op. cit., i, 122, note 4. In Rashīd al-Dīn, iii, 139, the function of the *y*. is that of "examining magistrate".

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Some Early Documents in Persian (I)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 3 (Oct., 1942), pp. 181-194

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25221865>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:36

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## Some Early Documents in Persian (I)

By V. MINORSKY

THIS article consists of a short Introduction enumerating the oldest documents in Modern Persian, and of a decipherment of a deed from Khotan (501/1107) and of some private documents from Bāmiyān (607/1211).

### (a) INTRODUCTION

One of the great disadvantages of Persian studies, both linguistic and historical, is the extreme scarcity of original documents having a personal character, such as private correspondence, records, commercial documents, etc. Here an attempt is made to list such documents; and to increase our knowledge of some of them. A natural limit of our survey is the year A.D. 1220; for the Mongol invasion was bound to change the whole aspect of Iranian life.

*A limine* we exclude from our list the following categories of early texts:—

A. Any epigraphics, of which a number has come to light recently in connection with the revival of the studies of Persian architecture and the exhibitions and congresses of Persian art.<sup>1</sup> A very unusual Kufic inscription in Persian from Khorram-ābād (Luristān) dated 513/1119 and belonging to Amīr Tughrīl-tegin Bursuq, still awaits publication by Professor Herzfeld.<sup>2</sup> The Persian inscription of a pādishāh of Khitāy at Zunka (Tibet), referred to in the *Tārīkh-i Rashādī*,<sup>3</sup> is too vague for identification. More or less assimilated to epigraphics are legends on coins and inscriptions on pottery. The most curious example of the first category is the formula found on a coin of the Georgian king Giorgi Lasha (430 of Paschal cycle = A.D. 1210): *ba-nām-i khudā-yi pāk īn-sīm-rā zada-and ba-tārīkh-i chahār-sad-u-sī-sāl*, see Pakhomov, *Monetī Gruzii*, *Zap. Num. Otd. IAO*, 1/4, 1910, p. 106. The importance of pottery (bowls, plates, tiles, etc.) for epigraphics cannot be underestimated. General lists of such material have been compiled by Kühnel, "Datierde persische Fayencen," *Jahrb. Asiat. Kunst*, i, 1924, 45–54, and R. Ettinghausen, "Important pieces of Persian

<sup>1</sup> H. Massé, "Persian inscriptions," in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1794–1804, deals chiefly with later periods.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. de Bode, *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, ii, 251, with a plate.

<sup>3</sup> Transl. by Sir D. Ross, p. 416.

pottery," *Ars Islamica*, II/1, 45,<sup>1</sup> to say nothing of additional articles (by Bahrāmī, etc.) in the special organs of Asiatic Art.

B. The early texts of literary character in whatever garb they have come down to us :

(a) In Hebrew script, such as the early Commentary on Ezechiel which Salemann quotes in his article "Zum Mittelpersischen Passiv", *Bull. Ac. St. Petersbourg*, xiii, No. 3, 1900, pp. 269-276, and which uses a Middle Persian form of passive (*xwānihad*) entirely lost in classical Persian. The age of early Judæo-Persian translations is difficult to ascertain. It is also possible that their language is affected by the local dialects of Jewish colonies and contains some archaic features already lost in the speech of the original Persian-speaking population.

(b) In Syrian script, such as (a) a fragment of an "early Modern Persian" translation of Psalms found in Bulayīq (Turfan) and published by F. W. K. Müller in *Festschrift E. Sachau*, 1915, pp. 215-224 (see additional remarks by H. H. Schaeder in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, xv, 1935, p. 570, and E. Benveniste, *Jour. As.*, juillet 1938, pp. 458-462); nothing definite is known about the age of this short document showing traces of antiquity (nom. abstr. in *-išn*, preposition *p(a)* > Modern Persian *ba-*, some hesitancy about the *idāfat*, etc.); or (β) the much later interpolations arranged in irregular quatrains, which are found in a Nestorian MS., said to belong to the thirteenth century, see Margoliouth, *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 765-770.

(c) In Manichæan script, see F. W. K. Müller, "Handschriften-Reste, II," in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss.*, 1904, p. 95 and p. 106, of which the first (M 150) gives only a few names of the Zodiacs, etc., whereas the second (M 106) consisting of "two small folios in 4°" contains a number of Arabic words.

(d) In Arabic script: I have quoted a number of the oldest Persian texts (c. A.D. 957-994) in the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, p. xii. As regards the ancient copies of the existent works, the *Pharmacopeia* of Muwaffaq al-dīn ibn ‘Alī Haravī, transcribed by Asadī in 447/1055 still has claims to be the earliest existing MS. of a Persian book, and its importance is increased by its orthographic and phonetic features (ē, ō, ف, etc.) on which see Seligmann's preface (1853),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Ettinghausen, "Dated faience," in *Survey of Persian Art*, ii, 1667-1696.



xxvi-xxviii, and P. Horn's remarks in A. Achundow's translation (1893), 149-158.

C. Any personal documents incorporated in such historical works as *Tārīkh-i Bayhaqī*, ed. Morley, 1862, pp. 94, 97, 137, 180, 249, 251, 255, 324, 370, 374, 384, or in such special collections of state papers as the correspondence collected by Muntajab al-dīn Badī', secretary to Sultan Sanjar (511-552/1118-1157), see Baron V. Rosen, *Collections scientifiques*, iii, St. Petersburg, 1886, pp. 146-159, and Bahā al-dīn al-Baghdādī's *Tawassul ilā al-tarassul*, ed. Tehran, 1315/1936 (documents from the chancery of the Khwārazm-shāh, chiefly of the years 578-9/1182-4).

If we exclude the three above-mentioned classes of early texts, the repertory of personal and original documents will be reduced to the following items:—

1. A private letter written by a Jewish merchant (in Hebrew characters) and found at Dandan-Uyliq near Khotan. It was published by Professor Margoliouth, *JRAS.*, 1903, 747-760, and drastically revised by Salemann, *Zapiski V.O.*, xvi, 1904, pp. 046-057. The letter is supposed to be of the eighth century A.D. (?).<sup>1</sup>

2. The signatures of Jewish witnesses on a Tamil grant referring to a church in Malabar of the early ninth century A.D., see Burnell, *Indian Antiquary*, iii, 1874, p. 314, West, *JRAS.*, iv, 1870, 390, and Salemann, "Judæo-Persica, I. Chudâidât," in *Mém. Acad. St. Petersburg*, xviii, No. 14, 1897, p. 11. The text consists only of the words *h. mgwn mn... p.dyš gwhwm* "similarly I (so-and-so) am witness thereto". Cf. also the new edition of the inscriptions in *Kerala Society Papers*, 6 (1930).

3. The Judæo-Persian Law Report of A.D. 1020 hailing from Hormshir (i.e. ancient Hormizd Ardashīr, now Ahwāz) in Khūzistān. It was published by Professor Margoliouth in the *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1897, pp. 671-5, but needs a revision in the light of the later achievements of Iranian philology.

4. A deed for the Sale of Land from the region of Khotan (?), dated 501/1107, edited by Professor Margoliouth, *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 761-770, and now revised by myself (see below).

5. Three entries on a guard-leaf of a Kufic Qor'ān which belonged to the Russian Consul F. A. Bakulin, see V. Zhukovsky, *Zap. V.O.*,

<sup>1</sup> The earliest of the Chinese documents found at Dandan-Uyliq is of A.D. 758, see Sir A. Stein, *JRAS.*, 1903, p. 745.

xiv, 1917, pp. 36-8. They record the birth of three children of the former owner, born in 561/1165, 563/1167, and 567/1171.

(a) مولود فرزند خواجه محمد الحسی سالوک سف [\*شف]  
ادینه دوازدهم مای محرم سنه احدی وستین (?) و خمسائة . بادشاه سلطان  
ارسلان رعناک [\*واتابک ?] .

“Birth of Sālūk, child of Khwāja Muḥabbat (?) (Mujīb ?) al-Ḥusayni, in the night of Friday, 12 of the month Muḥarram, year 561” (18th November, 1165), the sultan (being) Arslan and the \*atābag ?”

(b) شف دوشنبه دانکی از شف [مولود خاتون در (?) تاریخ  
چهارم شهر رجب شده رجب المبارک سنه ثلاث وستین و خمسائة .

(c) . . در شف ادینه یکیمه از شف . ربیع الآخر سنه سبع  
[وستین] و خمسائة .

6. Six documents from Bāmiyān of which one bears the date of 607/1211. I am giving a description and a partial decipherment of them (see below).

7. Two mutilated quatrains in Persian accompanied by an explanation in Chinese written in Ch'üan-chou (Muslim *Zaytūn*) in 1217 and stating that the text is in the script of “Southern Barbarians”, see Pelliot, “Les plus anciens documents de l'écriture arabe en Chine, *Jour. As.*, juillet 1913, pp. 171-191.

#### (b) A DEED FROM KHOTAN (501/1107)

In the *JRAS.*, 1903, pp. 761-5, the late Professor D. S. Margoliouth commented on a Persian deed for the sale of land, of which it is only known that it was procured from Khotan.<sup>1</sup> The forty years which have elapsed since the publication of this article would justify a new attempt to revise the readings and to solve some of the remaining difficulties of this early document.

I regret that war conditions prevent me from having another look at the original, but, apart from the reduced photographs accompanying the articles of Hoernle and Margoliouth, I have had at my disposal a full-size photostat of the document which Dr. L. D. Barnett very kindly sent me in 1935.

<sup>1</sup> See Hoernle, “A report on the British collection of Antiquities from Central Asia,” *J.A.S. Bengal*, lxx, part i, extra No. 1, pp. 26-8 (1898) with a good photograph.

The document is in a bad state of preservation. Its right edge is worn out and, what is worse, its left side is entirely gone, probably to the extent of a whole half page. Line 7 which should have contained the description of the third boundary of the land and the beginning of the fourth indicates how much of the text is missing. There are four holes within the text, the script is partly indistinct or smudged and the paper is stained with damp. This document together with another, which proved entirely illegible even with the aid of the quartz lamp of the British Museum, "formed crumbled up lumps of waste paper and required very careful unfolding and smoothing out" (Hoernle).

I give my own decipherment of the Persian text and my translation of it which differs considerably from the interpretation of Professor Margoliouth. [See the text on p. 189.]

(1) "In the name of God [Clement and Merciful].

(2) "This is the document that was written (and) became a deed (*sanad-i mīlk* ?) as between the followers [of Islam ?]. . . .

(3) " . . . Ḥusayn b. L. ngūkūhī. Now that I a plot of land for which there is documentary evidence and which is situated along (?) the canal of K(alā-Asiyā). . . .<sup>1</sup>

(4) " . . . on the boundary of the district of D.r.nkū. A plot [on which] five kharvārs of seed [can be sown] to Yaḥyā. . . .<sup>2</sup>

(5) "to (?) Yaḥyā b. Ayyūb I sold and received the full price. The land to . . .

(6) "And my hand has been withdrawn from this land and [it has gone] out of my property. [Its first boundary is]

(7) "the land of the seller; the second boundary is the canal of Kalā-Asbbā (\*Āsiyā); the third [boundary . . . the fourth boundary . . .]

(8) "[the land] of Maḥmūd and Aḥmad. (On) all these four boundaries the Islamic sale is in due form and has become lawful (*ravā*)

(9) " . . . I excluded. It has become part of the rights (*amr-u farmān*) of property of Yaḥyā. Henceforth my children . . .

(10) " . . . should make opposition, it will all be lie and falsehood and will be null and . . .

(11) "has gone out and from the property of my relatives is

<sup>1</sup> Margoliouth: "Husain, son of Liko-Kongo, my maternal uncle, in the year 40 (of his age)."

<sup>2</sup> Margoliouth: "Almayah (?), a village in Nikatanj (?), part of the boundary of the land of. . . ."

gone out and from every point of view (literally 'from every door') . . .

(12) "should form a legal document. Dated the year 501 from the Flight of the Prophet, on whom be [peace].

(13) "Witness to it: Zakariyyā b. L.ngūkūhī (a double cross).  
Witness to it: Ḥusayn b. L.ngūqūhī.

(14) "Witness to it: Ya'qūb b. S.rkwā Subāshī (a cross).  
Witness to it 'Omar b. Qutlugh Subāshī.

(15) "Witness to it: Maḥmud b. Qutlugh Subāshī (a cross).  
Witness to it: Abū Bakr (?) b. Qutlugh Sub[āshī].

(16) "Witness to it: Yūnis (?) b. K.rā (a double square)."

The document is so mutilated that the complete text cannot be restored. The seller's name is apparently Ḥusayn b. Lingūkūhī and that of the buyer Yaḥyā b. Ya'qūb. The seller has received the full price for the land sold and, on behalf of his relatives, guarantees to the buyer unopposed possession of it. This may account for the fact that the two first signatures apparently belong to the brothers of the seller, namely Zakariyyā and Ḥasan, sons of L.ngūkūhī. The remaining signatures of three sons of Qutlugh, a son of S.rkwā and a son of K.rā (?) may represent the other interests involved. Maḥmūd b. Qutlugh is probably the neighbour mentioned in line 8.

The text describes the four boundaries of the land which on one side was adjacent to the vendor's remaining estate. The land lay in the rūstā of D.r.nkū (?) on the canal of Kalā-*\*Āsiyā*. The extent of the area is expressed in the amount of grain which could be sown on it. Five *kharvārs* are equal to 3,350 lb., or 1½ tons approximately.

The main result of the new reading is that the document is one hundred years younger than was first supposed. The words which Professor Margoliouth took for *ba-tārīkh-i sāl-i chahārṣad-u-yak* must be read *ba-tārīkh-i sāl bar pānṣad-u-yak*. A comparison with line 8 shows that in line 12 it is impossible to read *chahār*. On the contrary the preposition *bar* is quite clear in the original and its use in such cases is well attested in older texts.

Nizāmī, *Iskandar-nāma*, Rieu, Catalogue, ii, 571 :

حہان بر دم روز بود از ایار نود در گذشته ز پانصد شمار

Nizāmī, *Haft Paykar*, ed. Rypka, 302, dates his poem 14 Ramaḍan 593/31 July, 1197 :—

از پس پانصد و نود سه قران گفتہ این نامہ را چون ناموران  
روز بر چہارده ز ماہ صیام چار ساعت ز روز رفتہ تمام  
the day of the month in both cases being preceded by *bar*.

In the chronogram on the death of Hulāgū Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī says:—

سال بر ششصد و سہ شد یکشنبہ  
شب نوزدهم بود و ربیع الآخر

see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Quatremère, 416, where this very accurate editor committed a mistake by suggesting the unnecessary correction *bud* (*bud*) for *br* (*bar*) [although the metre is disturbed !]

The History of Sīstān (compiled *circa* 445/1053, continued down to 725/1324), ed. Bahār, Tehran 1314/1935, p. 375:—

وروز آذر سال بر چہارصد و بیست و چہار از یزدجرد

This *bar*, in combination with the year expressed in the Yazdijird era, has an archaic character.

In our document there is no mention of the ruling prince or of a religious authority. The year 501/1107–8 falls within the reign of the Qara-khanid ruler of the Kāshghar branch Nūr al-daula Aḥmad b. Ḥasan b. Sulaymān Arslan-khan who in 522 defeated the Qara-Khitay invaders.<sup>1</sup>

The great simplicity of our document points to its provincial and even barbaric origin. Its Islamic elements (*basmala*, *bay'-'i musalmānān*, *shahīda bi-dhālīka*, etc.) are sparse. The seller speaks in the first person and the only formality to support his cession of rights is the signatures of the witnesses, although possibly the original document had some official endorsement on the left margin or on the back.

The names quoted in the deed are very interesting. As pointed out by Dr. Hoernle, at least some of the bearers of them may have been Muslims only in the first generation. L. ngūkūhī, father of Ḥusayn, Ḥasan, and Zakariyyā was possibly of Chinese origin.<sup>2</sup> Three other persons ('Omar, Maḥmūd, and Abū Bakr) were sons of Qutluḡ sü-bashī, whose name and title are typically Turkish.

*Su-bashī*, or better *sü-bashī*, means "leader of an army". It is a common title which occurs in nearly all the ancient documents

<sup>1</sup> Ibn al-Athīr, xi, 55, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 322.

<sup>2</sup> We can imagine some name like \**Lin-kuo-k'wei* 林國魁. The Chinese scholars whom I have consulted admitted that the name sounds Chinese but abstained from making any definite suggestions.

from Yārkand. The real equivalent of the title would probably be "captain". Judging by the same title *sü-bashi*, S.rkwā, father of Ya'qūb was also a Turk and so was probably K.rā (?), father of Yūnis. I cannot explain the first name. The second is possibly *Girā(y)* "thin, lank".

The abundance of biblical names such as Zakariyyā, Ya'qūb, Yūnis is also typical for the community recently converted to Islam.<sup>1</sup>

For the provenance of our document we have to depend on the indication of the dealer. If in fact it was found near Khotan, the canton *D.r.ngū* and the canal *Kalā-Āsiyā* should be sought in that direction. I failed to find them on Sir A. Stein's maps. Nothing can be said of the linguistic origin of *D.r.ngū*. *Kalā-Āsiyā* is definitely an Iranian (Persian) name. *Kalāt*, *kalā*, *kilā*, etc., are found in many places of the Iranian world and even on its periphery. The word may be the original of the Arabic *qal'a*.<sup>2</sup> *Kalā-Āsiyā* would mean "the fortified mill" or "the mill attached to a fort"—which is a suitable name for a place situated on a canal.

The spellings of the document are archaic. Such are both ك and نشته of the first line. The joint spelling of the kind of كزمين for كزمين is well attested in the *Hudūd al-ālam*, f. 29, *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 32<sub>21</sub>, etc. In this case the *kāf* joined to the following word has a top hook instead of the usual stroke. *D* in the ligature *dr* (line 8) has no such hook. Of *alifs* joined leftwards some have similar top hooks (*az*, line 6; *-ast*, line 10), and some not (*in*, line 6). It is difficult to place the script of the deed in any definite category of writing but probably *thulth* would be the nearest approach to characterize the highly cursive and professional hand of the scribe.

The method of expressing the *idāfat* is not quite clear. In *dast-i man* (line 6) the *idāfat* has no special sign, but it is possible that in line 2 it is spelt out with a *y*: *ba-sanady milky mardumāny [Islām]*.

Here are the explanations of the single points of my reading.

Line 2. The second half of the line is doubtful. Of the sixth word one can clearly distinguish the final *-dy* with one markaz before it.

<sup>1</sup> We can hardly suspect in them any trace of Christian (Nestorian) influence. No importance either can be attached to the crosses used by the illiterate witnesses instead of signatures.

<sup>2</sup> With a parasitic 'ayn, cf. *la'l* for *lāl*, *ka'k* for *kāk*. C. F. Andreas explained the Arabic name of Erzerum *Qālyqalā* as a compound of the Armenian name of this place *Karīn* (*Karnoy*, *Karnay*) + *kalā*, see M. Hartmann, *Bohtān*, 1897, p. 145.

I take the smudge for the trace of a dot below the line and restore the whole as *ba-sanady*. The following word must be *milky* (rather than *māliky*). After *mardumāny* one should imagine some such word as *Islām* or *sharī'at*. The verb written above the line (under *basmala*) is apparently *gardād* or *gardad* (*g-* being clear).

بسم الله [الرحمان الرحيم]  
 این خطست کی نبشته آمد بسندی (؟) ملکی (؟) مردمانی... کردید (؟)  
 حسین بن لنگوکوهی حال من کریمین غطی تالی جوی ک...  
 از (؟) پایۀ روستای در نگو پنج خروار تخم زمین به یحیی (ع)....  
 5. یحیی بن ایوب را فروختم برهای تمام یافتم زمین به و...  
 و دست من از این زمین کوتاه شد از ملک من بیرون آمد [حدّ اولش]...  
 زمین فروشنده حد دوم جوی کلا اسبیا (؟ آسیا) حد سیوتم... حد چهارم [؟]  
 محمود و احمد همه (؟) این چهار حد صبیح مسلمانان به درستی ست روا (؟) شد...  
 بیرون کردم از امر فرمان ملک یحیی کردید پس از این فرزندان من (؟)....  
 10. خصومت کنند آن همه زور است و بهتانست و باطلست و...  
 بیرون آمد و از ملک خویشاوندان من بیرون آمد و از همه در...  
 حجت باشد تاریخ سال بر پانصد و یک از هجرة النبى علیه [السلام]  
 شهید بذلک زکریا بن لنگوکوهی ++ شهید بذلک حسن بن لنگوکوهی  
 شهید بذلک یعقوب بن سرکواسباشی + شهید بذلک عمر بن قتلغ سبایشی  
 15. شهید بذلک محمود بن قتلغ سبایشی + شهید بذلک ابوبکر (؟) بن قتلغ [سبایشی]  
 شهید بذلک یونس بن کرا

FIG. 1.

Line 3. *Khattī* apparently means "based on a document", such as the present *khatt*. The reading *jūy* can be compared with line 7, the stroke between *w* and *y* being probably a smudge. If *jūy* is right, very probably it referred to the same canal of *Kalā-Asiyā* as below. I am not quite happy about the word *tālī* which means "the one following after, subsequent" whereas in this passage we have to take it in the meaning of "adjacent to, running along". However, the general meaning of the passage is clear. As a parallel

to our *tālī* the Arabic document published by Barthold uses the term *lazīq*: "the fourth boundary . . . is adjacent ('stuck') to a canal (*lazīq nahr*)."

*L.nkūkūhī*<sup>1</sup> is absolutely clear and the second *k* is supported by the alternate spelling *q* in line 13.

Line 4. I clearly distinguish *kharvār* which gives an excellent reading. *Bh-* (i.e. *ba-*) resembling a *tashdīd*, i.e. with *h* turned up from below, is paralleled in lines 5 and 8. For *Yahyā*, cf. lines 5 and 9.

Line 5. It looks almost certain that *Yahyā b. Ayyūb rā furūkhtam* means "I sold to Y. b. A.", but this use of *-rā*, if not irregular, is not quite expected in this sentence.

Line 6. In the first *az* the alif joined with *z* has a top hook, but this is not the case in *īn* and the second *az*. After *man* one should read *bīrūn* which must have been written as in lines 9, 11 (twice). One can distinguish of it only the stroke of *n* without its final flourish. *Āmad* at the end of the line is still visible.

Line 7. The spelling is *asbbā*, but one *markaz* is superfluous as the meaning is most certainly *āsiyā* "the mill".

Line 8. After *Aḥmad* there is a smudge: which I take for *hama*, as spelt in line 11. For the *tashdīd*-like *bh* this line is crucial. *Ravā* is suitable for the meaning although I cannot account for the second tail of *w*.

Line 9. To read *amr-u-farmān* we have to imagine a *ḍamma* over the *r* of *amr*, as a substitute for *wa*. The final *-yd* of *gardīd* is clear.

Line 10. *-ast* (after a consonant) is spelt with an *alif* represented by a top-hook, contrary to line 8 where (after a vowel) it is spelt *-st*. *Zūr* meaning "deceit" (rather than *zōr* "violence") is apparently treated as an Arabic term, see the document published by Barthold.

Line 11. The *alif superscriptum* is repeated twice above the ligature. In *hama* the final *h* is joined upwards and not downwards as in line 10.

Line 12. Of *hijra -jr-* is clear.

Lines 13-16. In all the witnesses' names *bn* is spelt as a simple, or double, flourish after the first name.

Line 15. The only sure element in the obliterated name of Qutluḡ's second son is the top-stroke of a *k* in the middle of the name looking like *Bakr*. If so, the preceding group must be *Abū*, of which the *b* is joined with the final *k* of *dhalika*, and the *alif*

<sup>1</sup> Or *L.ngūkūhī* in accordance with Persian phonetics.



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم		
بو اول خط تو دور کم بلیک تنوق لاری نی خط آخرید یاد لیلیدی <small>ای ان خط است کما فی کتابنا کواش را در اصل مار کرده شد</small>		
مین حسن خجاشی <sup>نیک</sup> او علی محمد حاجب اقرار قیلد وک (سلو باسم قی <small>سن محمد حاجب ولد حسن خجاش اقرار کردیم</small>		
بیو کسایت ایلکی (لوک) او بی بی سائیم تورت حدی بیو مینک بیواق تا <small>معدار یک طعه دور از زمین در ختم احضار شد بنزار برماق</small>		
بو بیو نینک اول حدی بق اریق <sup>ایلیخ</sup> حدی مسعود طغرل سوباشی <small>حداد این زمین بنی اریق حدوش زمین مسعود طغرل میراب</small>		
بیو او چو بیج حدی چمکات قاشی تور بیج حدی خجاشی حاجب بیو اوژ <small>حدوش کنی رحمات حد حصارش زمین خجاشی حاجب تورت زار</small>		
مالیک تنوق بو تورت ایچندکی بیو سائیم بهاسی نکال بولدوم بیو <small>تنوق دین حصار حد زمین را فرو ختم من شکا بیاق شرم من را</small>		
اسرافیل حاوی سوباشی غا و پسا دلاویم بو بیو بیر لاکم گا او ساووی <small>باسرافیل حاوی تسلیم نمودم باین زمین کسی دعوی</small>		
دستان لوق کم دعوی قلسا دعوی مسی <sup>ل</sup> تو دور رتیب درست لوق <small>داستان نیست هر دعوی کند دعوائش باطل است گفته از جهت درستی</small>		
اچون بیل بیش یوز اون بیش (تا) اورب غاماک بیل ریح الذا آیندا بو <small>در سنه نالصد پانزده ( ) سال در ماه ریح اله ان</small>		
<div> <div>خط حجت بر دیم</div> <div>دستخط محمد حاجب</div> </div>		
مین عثمان <small>امین امصوب</small>	مین فو بانشی <small>بر سر این بیج کوا هم</small>	بو بیج او ذا تنوق مین سن <small>سن</small>
عا در داسه د <small>نام پدر</small>	او علی تنوق مین <small>نام</small>	احمد داسه د تنوق مین <small>نام لقب او کوا هم</small>

FIG. 2.

is written above the ligature as in *farzandān* (line 9). But the ligature is not quite clear!

Close parallels to our Persian deed from Khotan (?) are to be found in a lot of fifteen legal papers which were discovered in Yārkand in 1911 and are now in the keeping of the Director-General of Archæology in India. The dates of the documents go from A.H. 474 (494 ?) to A.H. 529. Seven of the documents are in Arabic, five in Turkish written in Arabic script, and three in Turkish written in Uyghur character.<sup>1</sup> Barthold very successfully explained the implications of the important Arabic document dated 1 Dhul-Hijja 474 (or 494 ?)/2nd May, 1082 (or 27th September, 1101), which he published in Sir D. Ross's transcript and translation. The document records the name of the Qara-khanid ruler of Kāshghar Ḥasan Tafghāch khān, under whose son our Persian MS. from Khotan was drawn up. In spite of the difference of language and of the much more elaborate character of the Arabic document,<sup>2</sup> the latter gives some useful illustrations to our text. It uses the term *rustāq* for a subdivision of the *kūra* of Yārkanda (*sic*). One of the witnesses is 'Abd al-Jalil Chaghri *sū-bāshī*. To our expression *dast kūtāh kardam* corresponds *qaṣru yadihi* in Arabic. Our *pañj kharvār tukhm zamān* has a parallel in *ard farīda . . . wa-hya mabd'hara thalathīn wiqr hīnta* "a plot of land . . . which represents a sowing area for 30 ass-loads of wheat".<sup>3</sup>

Still closer to our text is a much shorter and simpler land deed from the same collection, of which our late Director most kindly gave me a transcript.<sup>4</sup> This document, written in Arabic script and dated Rabī' ii 515/June, 1121, is in that Eastern Turkish which is loosely called "Uyghur". The edition of the text must be reserved till the time when the original, or a photograph of it is available. For the moment I give only the translation so far as it can be worked from the transcript (see Plate on p. 191).

<sup>1</sup> These details are borrowed from Sir D. Ross's postscript to Barthold's article "The Bughra khan mentioned in Qudatqu (read: Qutadghu) bilik", *BSOS.*, iii/1, 1923, pp. 151-8.

<sup>2</sup> Prepared under the auspices of the learned qādī of Yārkand, native of the great Islamic centre of Bukhara.

<sup>3</sup> Sir D. Ross read *mubaddhira* and translated "producing 30 ass-loads of wheat", but this is contrary to the parallel texts in Turkish and to the estimation of land according to the amount of seed still practised in Central Asia.

<sup>4</sup> The copy is in a good Muslim hand but the copyist apparently did not understand Turkish. Under the text there is a Persian translation by Sir D. Ross's munshi who knew Eastern Turkish but did not know the meaning of older terms. I have also the original decipherment by Sir D. Ross, but it only partly covers the text.

"In the name of God, Clement, and Merciful.

"This is the (*ol*) document (*khatt*) at the end of which are mentioned the experts and witnesses (*bilik tanuq*). I, the son of Hasan Kh. jāch(i) Muḥammad Ḥājib have (*qilduk*, plural) declared to the *\*sü-bashī*:

"I have sold a plot of land (*kisāk* 'a cut') the area of which is two (ass)-loads (*yük*), within its four boundaries, for 1,000 *yarmaqs*.

"The first boundary of this land is Bataq-ariq ('Marshy canal'); the second, the land of Mas'ūd Tughril *sü-bashī*, the third, the hill (*qash* 'brow'?) of Chinkāt, the fourth, the land of Kh. jāchi Ḥājib (called) Üzhmälik-bataq ('Mulberry grove marsh'). I have sold the land within these four boundaries and received its price in full (*tükäl*). I have delivered it (*usparladim*) to Isrāfil Chauli *sü-bashī*. With this land, to whomever it should belong, there is no litigation or deceit (*dastān*). Whoever should start a litigation, 'his litigation is null' (it will be) said for the sake of truthfulness.

"In the year 515, which in Turkish (?) is the year of Nāk ('Dragon'),<sup>1</sup> in the month of Rabī' ii I have given this document in writing as a legal document (*hujjat*)."

(signature of): Muḥammad Ḥājib

I (*min*), 'Omar

I, 'Othmān

I, Nübāshī (*\*sü-bashī*) am witness to this sale

I (*man*), Ghādīr (for Qadir?), son of Dāshmand, am witness

I, Aḥmad Dāshmand, am witness.

This text supports our readings of the Khotan document and indicates the sense of its missing parts.

The word *yarmaq* means "money, coins". Maḥmūd Kāshghari, iii, 32, explains it as "a (silver) dirham". The old term *sü-bashī* was misunderstood by the Persian translator who took it for *su-bashī*, which he explained as *mūr-āb* "irrigation agent". The verb *ūspār-la-dī* is undoubtedly connected with the Persian word *sipār-* "to entrust". In the Turkish dialect of the curious community of Abdāl which lives scattered in Chinese Turkestan there are many verbs derived from Persian: *khur-la* "to eat"; *bāchā-la-* "to be born"; *khap-la-* "to sleep", see Pelliot, *Jour. As.*, Jan.,

<sup>1</sup> The word بورتغا *bwrtgha* (?) standing before *nāk* cannot be right. I am inclined to read تورکجا *türk-jā* "in Turkish", in view of the word *bil-turkiyya* which introduces the Turkish *yond-yili* in an Arabic document of the same collection.

1907, pp. 115–139. The interesting feature of our *ūspār-la-* is that it is derived from an archaic form \**uspār-* (Middle Persian *avīspār* > *ōspār*). The verb *ūspār-la-* suggests an explanation for the common “Ottoman” Turkish *īsmar-la-* “to entrust”, which, as it now appears, is also derived from Persian *sipār/ispār* with a Turkish (?) alteration of *p* (*b*) into *m*. The term *dāshmand* in the witnesses’ signatures must be derived from Persian *dānishmand* which in Mongolian took a still shorter form of *dashman*, see Vladimirtsov, *Zap. Koll. Vos.*, i, 1925, p. 333.

#### NOTE

I owe to Dr. W. Henning a further confirmation of my reading on p. 193, note 1. A Turkish inscription in Chwolson, *Syrischnestor. Grabinschriften* has: *Aleksandros qan sayış 1648 ārdi türkčā yıl ud* (i.e. A.D. 1337).

---

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Some Early Documents in Persian (II)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, No. 1 (Apr., 1943), pp. 86-99

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25221892>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:36

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## Some Early Documents in Persian (II)

By V. MINORSKY

(PLATE I)

(c) PERSIAN DOCUMENTS FROM BĀMIYĀN

IN 1932 my friend Professor P. Pelliot handed to me eleven photographs of the Persian documents discovered at Bāmiyān. The originals must have been brought to Paris by the French Archæological Mission to Afghanistan, but I understood that they were to be returned to Kabul.

Judging by the names mentioned in the text, and by the writing and the general appearance of the documents, they all belong to the same archives, or at least to the same find, and must be dated *circa* 607/1211 (document E), i.e. some ten years before the Mongol invasion. Their origin from Bāmiyān is indirectly confirmed by the mention of this famous valley in letter (A).

In view of the scarcity of early documents in Persian all the letters of the collection merit our attention, but letter (A) is the central piece to which the remaining documents form a background. It is complete, better preserved, and has a definite claim to historical importance. We shall begin with a short description of the collection, so far as the difficult cursive script and the casual contents of the correspondence admit of interpretation. Then we shall give a full translation of letter (A) and check it in the light of the other documents.

*Document A*, recto and verso, 43 × 10 cm., on four plates. It is addressed to a dignitary called Shujā' al-dīn by his brother staying at the court of Bāmiyān. Translation and commentary are given below. On Plate I, the French photographs have been arranged in two columns representing recto and verso of the original. The beginning and the end of the document have suffered from damp.

*Document B*, recto, 28 × 11 cm., one plate, is a piece of extremely poor penmanship. The Sipahsālār-i ajall-i muḥtaram (?) -i mumakkan Shujā' al-dīn, son (?) of Muhrdār (?) Muḥammad Amīrūya appeals to the notables of Dasht-i Zīnvārī in the following matter: infidels killed Khwāja Ḥusayn (?) Gh.zhdī (عزیدی) and his clothes (*jāma*), etc., were taken away. His heirs (فرته *sic*) were left destitute (*bar*

*rāh mānda*). After having taken an oath and signed a document they are to receive 16 *kharvārs* of barley. The text ends with Qor'ān, xii, 81, and is signed by three witnesses: 'Ali b. 'Alq (?), Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad 'Omar and 'Ali b. Khwājagī.

*Document C*, recto and verso, 20 × 10 cm., two plates: a letter addressed by some agent or business man to the Khudāvand-i Šadr-i ajall-i mumakkan-i fāḍil-i mun'im-i muḥsin-i muḍḍil Zayn (?) al-dīn [Abū Bakr ? see *verso*] Malik al-tujjār. The writer wants to receive (or has sent) certain amounts of metal and coins, namely pure gold (*zar'in* < *zar-i 'ayn*)—2½ dinars; silver—73 dirhams; بری or برن (?)—100 (?) maunds; *jītal*—106 (?)<sup>1</sup> pieces. The writer reports to his Lord (*makhdūm-i jahānīyān*) that he feels lonely (*tanhāsār*), and has no one to look after him (*gham-khwār*). He would like to secure a special delegate (*muḥaṣṣil* or *muvakkil*); if not, he wishes that instructions be given to Nā'ib [Sarhang] Rashīd al-dīn to take care of him. The writer has spent 20,000 dirhams to buy silver and clipped coins (?).<sup>2</sup> Let the Sarhang [Rashīd al-dīn ?] take delivery of it as otherwise he is negligent. The letter ends in Arabic واتمت في اوان معاملات (?) امين واتم. The address is inscribed on the verso, the other way round.

The document possibly refers to some operations in view of procuring necessary cash. We should also remember that east of Bāmiyān lay the famous silver mines of Ghorband and Panjshir (Panjshir). The transaction with silver may have had some reference to the mines. The mention of Indian coins *jītal* suggests an area on, or off, the high-road to India (Bāmiyān—Chārikār—Kābul).

*Documents D and E*, both 14 × 8.5 cm., belong together, the former being only the top of the covering letter to the receipt (E). Its sender Abī Bakr b. Yūnis b. 'Abduh must be the manager of the addressee Khudāvand-i adīb ḥājib-i ajall-i muḥtaram(?)-i mukarram-i mu'addil Amīn al-daula wal-dīn (in E: Amīn al-dīn

<sup>1</sup> *Jūtal* (*jaytal* ?) was a copper coin usually taken for one-sixty-fourth of a silver *tanga*. It is mentioned in the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, 603. For the beginning of the fifteenth century see *Masālik al-abṣār*, tr. Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, p. 212, and M. Husain, *The Rise and Fall of Muhammad b. Tughluq*, 1938, p. 237; cf. *Maṭla' al-sa'dayn*, tr. Quatremère, *Not. et Ext.*, xiv, 363, 449, and 508.

<sup>2</sup> The natural interpretation of غله (elsewhere قلہ) would be \**ghalla* "corn", but in this context I prefer the less common meaning "pieces of money rejected by the State but taken by merchants", Lane, p. 2278.

Mihtar Muḥammad). The receipt runs: "I, D.lūb (Dulūf?), [servant of] Maulā Ṣalāḥ al-dīn have issued (this) receipt to certify that by way of revenue (*ḥavāla*) from the treasury-land (*zamīn-i yad-i ? māl al-bayt*), I have received from the hands of Amīn al-dīn Mihtar Muḥammad the grain of the land, in conformity with the Sharī'at. I have returned the container (*khum*) of the grain. The wheat was 90 minus 1 maunds [i.e. 89]. I have received it and have issued the receipt with the witness of the men who entered their names on the present. Dated 1 Shavvāl 607 [18th March, 1211]." The signatures of the witnesses are: D.m.l-shāh b. سکی and Muḥammad, known (*yu'raf?*) as "Blood-letter" (*fāṣṣād?*), by proxy (*bi-amri-hi*).

*Document F*, recto, 34 × 10 cm., two plates, incomplete at beginning and end. The letter is a report of a servant of some standing to a Master (*khudāvand*). The writer explains the difficulties he has had in keeping the camel-transport (*'akkāma?*)<sup>1</sup> in a flourishing state (*ābādān*). Someone took (from his charge) 400 pairs of camels (?) which it was impossible to fatten (*ābādān*) at the time, but now fodder (*navāla*) has been prepared. Some enemy suggests that the writer should have written to "the divan of the Lord (*makhdūr*), let his victory be exalted"<sup>2</sup> [to save the writer from reproaches for the lean camels?]. No one looks after the writer's affairs (*gham namākhurad*) and he is in great straits (*'azīm tang*). He has had 4,700 silver dinars in cash. From the time when the Master (*khudāvand*) fixed the *tāy* (or *tilla?*)<sup>3</sup> at six نكحوی the writer delivered to the divan of the Lord 800 نكحوی at this rate. The writer was told that "the Lord, let his victory be exalted" ordered all the cash to be sent to him. This much (800 نكحوی) was collected. In the presence of all the amīrs and khwājas of the vilayat of Chahrikār (?), M.k.r and S.farghū,<sup>4</sup> according to the instructions, a receipt (was issued?). . . . The writer is in embarrassment even

<sup>1</sup> The term is unusual in Persian. See Lane, 2122: '*akkām* "one who binds the burden upon the camels . . . one who has the charge of the baggage and tents".'

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the sovereign king.

<sup>3</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 92, note 1. *Y.kjūy*, *b.kjūy*, *n.kjūy?* must be a coin or a measure. Perhaps *\*yak-javī* "weighing one grain", though this would be too light for a coin.

<sup>4</sup> Chahrikār is evidently Chārikār, the well-known town to the south-west of the junction of the Ghorband and Panjshir Rivers. The other two names must be looked for in the same neighbourhood.



with regard to the food (*nān*) of his wife and children. He has no means but to obey the Master, although the latter gives no orders in regard to him. . . . Shujā' al-dīn Abī-Bakr says: "I am a witness." . . .

The palæographic feature of document (A) is that letters *d*, *r*, and *šād* are written with a dot underneath.<sup>1</sup> A similar system is attested in Ibn Muvaffaq's Pharmacopeia transcribed by Asadi in 447/1055, see our first instalment, p. 182. Phonetically curious is the fact that in intervocalic position and at the end of syllables *d* appears instead of the older *δ*, the only exception being the word *khuδ*. As very often, *γ* is confused with *q*: *qāyat* for *\*γāyat*, *muqram* for *\*muyram*. The use of *mī-* before the subjunctive is archaic: *tā* . . . *mī-furūshad* "that he should go on selling". Another peculiarity is the forms *āmadan* (l. 22), *kardan* (l. 24), instead of *āmadand* and *kardand*. The leaving out of the final *d* (after *n*) may be a colloquial habit well known in Eastern Persian (as well as in some western dialects). We need not imagine with Teufel the syntactic use of an Infinitivus historicus in Persian, see *ZDMG.*, 38, p. 248. As expected, document (A) uses زفان نبشتم and کی. Document (B) is remarkable for its bad hand and hopeless spellings: بردانند for برده‌اند\*, باز دانند for باز داده‌اند\*, سول for کافر\* کافر, شهید\* for شهید, سوال\* for سوال. The latter form shows that the common pronunciation *kāfār* (attested in rimes, already in *Hāfiz*<sup>2</sup>) was unknown in the East. The style of (C) is poor but not devoid of pretension. (D) and (E) are written by expert scribes.

We shall now give the text and a full translation of the more important document (A).

والحمد لله رب العالمين  
 نعمت برادر شجاع الدنيا والدين صارم الاسلام والمسلمين عزيز الملوك  
 والاسلاطين شرف الكفاة زين الرجال كريم حبان باد و آفريدكار تبارك  
 وتعالى ناصر وحافظ ومعين صد هزاران خدمت عبوديت عرضه مى دارم

<sup>1</sup> As usual *s* appears with three dots under it. [The same practice with regard to *d*, *r*, *s*, and *š* is found in a Tatar will of A.D. 1639, see Veliaminov-Zernov, *The Kings of Kasimov* (in Russian), iii, 241.]

<sup>2</sup> *Dīnawarī* (d. A.D. 895), p. 360, calls the maces of Abū Muslim's henchmen *kāfar-kūb*.

و اشتیاق بجهال مبارک خداوندی بقایتی (کذا) رسیده است که امکان قلم از شرح دادن عاجز است و اگر صفت [10] کنم خون از سر قلم به چکد و از هزار یکی گفته نیاید و خواندن ملالت افزاید در جمله شب و روز از حضرت باری تعالی با دلی بریان و چشم پر آب یافت خدمت سعادت خداوندی [می] می خواهم باجابت مقرون باد دیگر معلوم فرماید درین وقت رسولی آمد از جانب بای ازان سلطان جلال الدین علی که بامن بسازید و مرا بگذارید تا بشهر آیم در کوشک برادر بنشینم مخدوم عزّ نصره رسول را باز گردانید اما معلوم نیست تا هیچ حرکت خواهد کرد یا نه [20] و خبرهای خداوند عالم سلطان اسلام متواتر می آید دیگر معلوم فرماید که درین وقت رشید الدین مختار و خواجه اختیار الدین آمدن (کذا) و پیش مخدوم عرضه داشت که مهتر زاده و ابو بکر سرخ قمار کردن (کذا) مهتر زاده از وی ده دینار برد و کریمت و هر چند رعیت می رود نمک نمی دهد و آنچه می دهد از ده طهر پنج از رعیت باز می گیرد و رعیت را بقایه (کذا) حواله می کند و در امبار نمک بست هیچ کس را نمی دهد و اختیار پیش جمله خواجگان چنین گفت که اگر صد بار مخدوم [30] چیزی نویسد ابو بکر سرخ بامیان نیاید و تمامت آن خداوند را یاقی (کذا) ساخته اند هر کس پیش مخدوم چیزی دیگر می گوید اگر بنده اینجا نبودی مخدوم عزّ نصره باور می کردی که یاقی شده است آخر ای سجان الله العظیم صد کرّت نبشتم که چنان سازد که این هر دو عوان آنجا آمده اند چنان سازد که خشنود باشند صد هزار دشمن حاصل کرده است و مخدوم را هیچ خدمتی نکند که خشنود باشد بیرون از خداوند صد هزار کس را مخدوم بولایتها [40] فرستاده است و عملها فرموده هر هفت آنجا می باشند آن خداوند چون نمک آبه می رسد جمله جهان فراموش می کند و نام یاقی بر خود می نهد عاقبت اب روی ما در سر نمک آبه خواهد شد ناگاه کافر یا مسلمان آنجا زبر قلعه آید و آنجا نتواند آمد خود را در بلا اندازد باید که کسی را نسب (کذا) کند تا نمک می فروشد و خود

[illegible]

۱۰  
 ۱۱  
 ۱۲  
 ۱۳  
 ۱۴  
 ۱۵  
 ۱۶  
 ۱۷  
 ۱۸  
 ۱۹  
 ۲۰  
 ۲۱  
 ۲۲  
 ۲۳  
 ۲۴  
 ۲۵  
 ۲۶  
 ۲۷  
 ۲۸  
 ۲۹  
 ۳۰

باید مخدوم را بپند صد هزار کس در عالم بیش است هیچ کس نمک  
 ابه ندارد جمله را خدای روزی می دهد [50] دایم که آن برادر را  
 هم بدهد هر چند بنده مخدوم را خدمت بیش می کند و او را خوش  
 دل می گرداند دشمنی از نمک ابه سخنی می گوید جمله باطل می  
 شود و آن خداوند بنمک آبه وزن نمک ابی [چنان] چنان مقرر  
 (کذا) شده است که از دشمن و مخدوم فراموش کرده است اگر چه  
 هرگز مباد می دایم که ناکه این بنده را یا آن خداوند را واقعه خواهد  
 بود که يك دیگر را نتوانیم دید اما جهد می کنم مگر خدای این  
 روزی نکند بنده جهد می کرد . . . . از راه دور . . . . اما چون  
 خدای چنین می خوا [60] هد تا يك دیگر را فراغ (کذا) نمایم  
 چنان کرد زهار تا بنوشته با احتیاط باشد از جانب من و از دیگر  
 قبوض رشید الدین مخدوم در ملفه کاغذ است که برای خدمت  
 گزار دام (کذا) بفرستد که طلب می دارند  
 [در حاشیه] زینهار که زندنجی قبا من این که خانه بود بفرستد کلاه  
 بفرستد که برهنه شده ام

[Line 1]. "Praise to Whom it belongs!

"Let every happiness which Heaven has in store be bestowed on the Master (*khudāvand*) and Benefactor (*valī-ni'mat?*), (my?) brother Shujā' al-dunyā wal-dīn Ṣārim al-Islām wal-Muslimīn, the intimate of Kings and Sultans, the Honoured one among the competent, the Adornment of men, the Beloved (*karīm*) of the whole World. And let the Creator—may He be blessed and exalted—be his helper, guardian, and assistant. I submit to him hundreds of thousands of obedient services. The longing for the sight of the blessed beauty of My Master has reached such a stage (*qāyatī* < *\*ghāyatī*) that the possibilities of the pen to express it are inadequate. If I try to describe it, [l. 10] blood will drip from the pen, and yet one-thousandth part of it will not be said and the reading of it will only cause annoyance. Daily and nightly, with heart roasted <sup>1</sup> and with eyes full of tears I pray to the Almighty to (let me) reach (*yāft*) the service of happiness with My Master. Let (my prayer) receive its fulfilment.

"And also (*dāgar*) let him be informed that recently an envoy

<sup>1</sup> *scil.* "on the fire of separation".

has arrived from Bāy Uzān (of ?) Sultān [*Jalāl al-dīn*—cancelled] ‘Alī (?) saying: ‘Come to an agreement with me and let me come to the town and abide in the castle of the brother.’ [Our] Lord (*makhdūm*), may God exalt his victory, sent the envoy back and it is not known whether (the Sultān ?) will take any steps or not. [1. 20] Reports of the Master of the World the Sultān of Islām arrive incessantly.

“And also let him be informed that recently Rashīd al-dīn Mukhtār and Khwāja Ikhtiyār al-dīn came (*āmadan* [*sic*]) and submitted to the Lord that Mihtar-zāde and Abū-Bakr Surkh gambled (*qumār kardan* [*sic*]) and Mihtar-zāda won from him 10 dinars and (he) ran away, and although the peasants (*ra‘iyat*) go (to him) he does not give salt (to them), and what he gives he takes back from the *ra‘iyat* five out of each ten *tāy* (*tilla* ?).<sup>1</sup> He taxes (*havāla*) the peasants excessively. He has closed the doors of the store (*anbār*) of salt and does not admit anyone. Ikhtiyār (al-dīn) spoke before all the khwājas that should (our) Lord write one hundred times [1. 30] Abū-Bakr Surkh will not come to Bāmiyān.

“And they all represent the Master (*ān khodāvand*) as a rebel (*yāqī* < *\*yāghī*) and every one says something different to the Lord. Were I not here, [our] Lord, may his victory be exalted, would believe that (my Master) has become a rebel. Finally, glory to God the Exalted, I have written one hundred times that both of these oppressors (*ivān*) have arrived at that (this ?) place, (so) let (the Master) arrange that he (they ?) be contented. He has created 100,000 enemies and does not render any services to [our] Lord to content him. Besides my Master, (our) Lord has sent 100,000 men to the provinces and [1. 40] has made appointments (*‘amal-hā farmūda*). There they are in all readiness (*har haft mī-bāshand*).<sup>2</sup> When my Master reaches the saline (*namak-āba*)<sup>3</sup> he forgets the whole world and thus gets the name of rebel attached to himself. In the end our honour (*ābrūy*)<sup>3</sup> will be gone, over (that) saline (*namak-āba*). Suddenly Unbelievers (*kāfir*) or Muslims (?) may set upon the fortress and (he) will not be able to come there (here ?) and (he) will fall prey to calamities. He should

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the word is uncertain. Possibly it is *tāy* which is found in document F, lines 11, 12, and 13, with the meaning of some kind of coin or measure. It is curious that in document (A) three dots appear under the final stroke. One might read *tās* “a basin” (taken as a measure) or *tilla* “a gold coin” (worth 14.35 roubles in 1832, see Khanikov, *Opis. Bukhar. khanstva*, p. 114), but these two readings are not quite satisfactory from the palaeographic point of view.

<sup>2</sup> The writer accuses Shujā‘ al-dīn of unreadiness and compares him with his colleagues. *Har haft* means “all the seven adornments of the bride” (before the wedding).

<sup>3</sup> With a possible pun on *āb*.

appoint (*naṣb* < \**naṣb*) someone to sell salt (*tā* . . . *mīfurūshad*) and himself come to see (our) Lord. There are more than 100,000 men in the world who have no salines, and God gives them subsistence (*rūzī*). [l. 50] (So far) I understand (*dānam*), He will not refuse it to my (*ān*) brother either. How ever much I serve (our) Lord and (try to) make him of good heart, the enemy says hard things about the saline and everything is undone. (Meanwhile) my Master has become so besotted with the saline and the salt-water woman (*zan-i namak-ābī*)<sup>1</sup> that he has forgotten all about the enemies and (our) Lord. Although—(may it never happen!)—I know that death may suddenly strike this slave or that Master, and we shall not see each other, yet I strongly hope (lit. ‘endeavour’) that perhaps God will not ordain so (*in rūzī* \**nakunad*). I was endeavouring that faults (?) should be removed from the path.<sup>2</sup> But if God wills [l. 60] that we part (*firaḡh* < \**firaq*) what can be done? Mind, be careful with writings, both on my behalf and on behalf of the others (?).

“The receipts of our Lord’s Rashīd al-dīn<sup>3</sup> are enclosed (*dar-multaḡḡa*?) in the letter, that is to say I have enclosed them to oblige. Let the Master send them to be presented for recovery.”

(In the margin): “Mind, send (me) my *zandaniji* qabā, the one (*in-ki*) was at home. Send (also) a hat for I have become stripped bare.”

The addressee of the letter bears the title of *Shujā’ al-dunyā wal-dīn* “Hero of the World and Faith”, which points to his military rank. His second title *Ṣārim al-Islām wal-muslimīn* “Sword of Islam and Muslims” suggests that his warlike activities were carried on for the glory of Islam, perhaps among some infidels.<sup>4</sup> The remaining honorifics indicate some such rank as *vazīr*, or administrator of finance (?). He was the owner or grantee of some

<sup>1</sup> Does the writer mean that the addressee has fallen in love with the saline “as if it were a woman”, or is it some additional hint at some love affair? *Namakī* (but not *namak-ābī*) is the usual Persian term for “coquettish”.

<sup>2</sup> *Banda jahd mī-kard? az rāh dūr?* The meaning is clear but two words are doubtful. Immediately after *kard* one might distinguish *yrq* (for *q*, cf. line 7). Vullers, ii, 1514, quotes Turkish *yaraq* “peccatum, crimen”, which perhaps should be restored \**yazuq*. The meaning suits our text and in the thirteenth century there were numerous Turks in the region of Hindukush, see Minorsky, “The Khalaj” in the *BSOS.*, x/2, 1940, p. 431, but as there are no other Turkish elements in our texts I hesitate to endorse the reading. A suitable verb would be *uftad* (perhaps *ūftad*), but the dots of *t* do not appear on the photograph; *āvarad* is unlikely.

<sup>3</sup> Or, perhaps, “Rashīd’s receipts to the Lord”? It is also possible that the receipts are sent “on behalf of myself and the others”.

<sup>4</sup> Some danger from *kāfirs* is referred to in line 44. Cf. also document B.

salt exploitation (*namak-āba*) which in the opinion of his correspondent was absorbing too much of his time and attention. The complaint against the behaviour of some subaltern agent who mismanaged the store of salt, etc., suggests that the production of salt was combined with a monopoly.

The correspondent calls Shujā' al-dunyā "brother" which we have to take literally for the postscript about a *qabā* left at home has a touch of personal intimacy. Nevertheless, the writer is a person of no great rank and is employed as an informer at the court of a Prince. His penmanship is not of high class, but he is shrewd and not lacking in humour. The stuff of his *qabā* does not convey an idea of great prosperity for *zandaniyī* fabricated at Zandana near Bukhara was a common material.<sup>1</sup> The hint at the "final separation" indicates perhaps that the correspondents were getting on in years.

The Prince at whose court the writer temporarily sojourned is called Lord (*makhdūm* "the one to be served") with addition of the formula 'azza *naṣruhu* pointing to his gallantry. He was a ruler in his right for he made appointments and sent forces to "provinces", although their number ("100,000") is a mere hyperbole which recurs in the letter at least four times ("100,000 services", "100,000 enemies", etc.). From what we hear about the Prince's alleged inability to summon some disobedient servant to *Bāmiyān* we have to infer that the Prince's residence was at that place.

The Prince had a brother who was negotiating for his admittance to the residence and whose attitude was apparently fraught with threat. The envoy who visited *Bāmiyān* seems to have been sent by a *Bāy Uzān* (?). The bearer of this Turkish name must have been an agent, or governor on behalf of the Prince's brother. As the text stands we have to read it with an *idāfat* "an envoy from *Bāy Uzān* (of) *Sultān 'Alī*".<sup>2</sup> One detail is noteworthy: the title "*Jalāl al-dīn*" inscribed between the words "*Sultān*" and "*'Alī*" has been cancelled in the text! How could a professional courtier have made a mistake in such an important detail? Should we suppose that the name of some other *Sultān Jalāl al-dīn* was on the tip of his tongue<sup>3</sup> or that, as an afterthought, he decided to

<sup>1</sup> See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also line 62: *Rashīd al-dīn-i Makhdūm*, this *idāfat* expressing the relation of a servant to a master, and not, as usual, of a son to a father.

<sup>3</sup> Such as *Sultān Jalāl al-dīn Mangburni* whom his father the *Khawārazmshāh Alā al-dīn* appointed governor of *Ghaznī* in 612/1215.

cut down some to the titulature of Sultān 'Alī ? The latter seems more probable, in view of what we shall proceed to explain.

From the fact that the brother of the writer's "Lord" bore the title "Sultān" we should infer that the "Lord" too was a Sultān, but, apart from these two princes, the letter clearly refers to a third paramount chief who is styled "Master of the World and Sultān of Islām" and who, at least at the time, was not in Bāmiyān.

The other *dramatis personæ* of the letter are Rashīd al-dīn Mukhtār and Khwāja Ikhtiyār al-dīn who further down are referred to disdainfully as '*ivān* "henchmen", or even "oppressors". One feels that there was no love lost between them and the addressee. The writer recommends Shujā' al-dīn to conciliate them and in the meantime encloses some receipts of Rashīd al-dīn quite clearly to be used as a means of pressure on him.

The remaining two names are those of subaltern agents Mihtar-zāda and Abū-Bakr Surkh. The latter was concerned with the salt-monopoly and must have stood in close relation to Shujā' al-dīn. We can guess that Abū-Bakr's misdemeanour was exploited in order to compromise Shujā' al-dīn and to accuse him of rebellion.

The other documents may be connected with the letter (A). It is quite possible that Sipahsālār-i ajall Shujā' al-dīn . . . son (?) of Muḥammad Amīrūya of document (B) is identical with the addressee of (A). In this second document Shujā' al-dīn appeals to witnesses on behalf of the heirs of a man killed by Infidels (*kāfir*). This intercession favours the idea that Shujā' al-dīn may have merited his second title of "Sword of Islam" by fighting such Infidels.

Document (C) is addressed to the exalted Ṣadr Zayn al-dīn Abū Bakr who is also called Malik al-tujjār. It does not look as if this Ṣadr were identical with Abū-Bakr Surkh who gambled away 10 dinārs to Mihtar-zāda, unless he was a kind of Dr. Jekyll. It is possible, however, that the writer of letter (C), belonging as he did to a much lower class, poured out on to the head of his addressee a spate of irresponsible honorifics. On the other hand, the writer of the intimate letter (A) may have intentionally slighted the "exalted Ṣadr" by calling him "the Red Abū Bakr". The latter must have been a man of a certain rank to challenge the Prince's orders. The writer of letter (C) twice and with some slight reproach refers to a Nā'ib Rashīd al-dīn Maḥmūd (*sic*), who may



have been one of the two "henchmen" who were intriguing in Bāmiyān against Shujā' al-dīn. In this case we should take Maḥmūd for his personal name, and in letter (A) read Rashīd al-dīn-i Mukhtār ("R., son of M.").

Documents (D) and (E) both refer to the same Ḥājib Amīn al-dīn Mihtar Muḥammad. The paper of both is of the same size and it is probable that (D) is only an endorsement on (E). The title "Mihtar" may point to a hereditary distinction and, if so, the Ḥājib could have been related to the Mihtar-zāda, the happy winner of 10 dinars (Document A).

As our documents seem to form one single lot the date of (E), namely 11th March, 1211, is of great importance for the final explanation of the historical background.

There remains no doubt that the letter (A) characterizes the situation at Bāmiyān under the local branch of the Shansabānī princes of Ghūr. Minhāj-i Sirāj, the author of the *Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣiri*, was the contemporary and a close witness of the events. In 591/1195 his father was appointed qādī of Bāmiyān and Minhāj spent all his youth in Bāmiyān, Firōz-kōh, and other places of Ghūr. His book is a mine of precious information on that region, but as he was writing in India towards A.D. 1259-1260 his chronology is not quite reliable.<sup>1</sup>

There were three branches of the Ghūr family, those of Firōz-kōh (*Ṭabaqāt*, section xvii), Bāmiyān (section xviii), and Ghaznī (section xix). The famous 'Ala al-dīn Jahān-sōz (d. 556/1161) conquered Bāmiyān and gave it to his elder brother Fakhr al-dīn Mas'ūd. The possessions of the Bāmiyān branch comprised a large tract including Tokharistān, Badakhshān, and even some territories to the north of the Oxus. After the death of Sultān Mu'izz al-dīn of Ghaznī (602/1206) his Ghōrī amīrs invited Sultān Bahā al-dīn of Bāmiyān to occupy their master's fief, but Bahā al-dīn died on his way to Ghaznī. He left two sons, the elder Sultān 'Alā al-dīn Muḥammad and the younger Sultān Jalāl al-dīn 'Alī. They both proceeded to Ghaznī: the treasury was divided up by the brothers, after which Muḥammad stayed in Ghaznī, and 'Alī returned to his paternal fief. Soon, however, the Turkish amir Tāj al-dīn Yalduz entered Ghaznī. Sultan 'Alī, who was a good warrior, came to his brother's rescue and re-established him on the throne. A second time Yalduz revolted and this time the two brothers fell into his

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Raverty, 257.

hands. Yalduz made a pact with them and allowed them to repair to Bāmiyān. Here the brothers quarrelled and Sultān Muḥammad went to Khwārazm to seek the help and protection of the Khwārazm-shāh 'Alā al-dīn, then at the zenith of his power. The Khwārazm-shāh marched suddenly into Bāmiyān and put an end to Sultān Ali's rule. Minhāj<sup>1</sup> first says that Sultān 'Alī was put to death and then that he died. It must be added that during the captivity of the two brothers at Ghaznī their uncle 'Alā al-dīn Mas'ūd seized Bāmiyān. On his return Sultān 'Alī did away with his uncle and had his vazir Ṣāhib flayed alive. Minhāj speaks with great praise of the "lion-hearted" Sultān 'Alī, but is significantly silent about the character of his brother.

The chronology of these events is still obscure. According to Minhāj, Sultān 'Alī's rule lasted seven years, and the numismatists, who apparently start from the death of Bahā al-dīn, fix it between 602/1206 and 609/1213.<sup>2</sup> However, Minhāj, pp. 266-7, definitely says that the raid on Bāmiyān happened after the Khwārazm-shāh's famous campaign in 'Irāq which took place only in 614/1217, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 470. In this case Sultān 'Alī must have reigned between  $\pm$  607/1210 and 614/1217.<sup>3</sup> These years may fit better into the frame of our documents.

The "Lord" of the writer must have been Sultān 'Alā al-dīn Muḥammad, and we have to understand that as the elder brother he was in the occupation of the Government "castle",<sup>4</sup> into which Sultān Jalāl al-dīn 'Alī was seeking admittance. One clearly feels that we are on the eve of a conflict and that Bāmiyān is expecting the further steps of the energetic Sultān 'Alī who is about to expel his co-regent and begin his independent rule. Some flaws in the administration and the symptoms of disobedience are the shadows cast before them by the coming events. This is the reason why the writer of the letter decided to cross out the title of the rival prince.

Then the "Sultān of Islām" from whom "reports arrive

<sup>1</sup> Calcutta, 1864, pp. 110, 131; Raverty's transl. 434, 496.

<sup>2</sup> Thus according to Lane-Poole. Zambaur gives A.H. 602-9.

<sup>3</sup> On the other hand Minhāj mentions the end of Sultān 'Alī before he speaks of the occupation of Ghaznī by the Khwārazm-shāh in 612/1215. Minhāj adds that as the Khwārazm-shāh was returning from 'Irāq he turned off to Bāmiyān from the River *J.zār* (or *J.vār*). This mutilated name may be identical with *J.zūrān* which Raverty, 258, quotes on the road from Balkh to Herat. The name should be possibly restored as \**Gurzivān* in *Gūzgān*, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, p. 335.

<sup>4</sup> *Kūshk* is the usual equivalent of Arabic *qaṣr*, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, p. 105.

incessantly" can be no other than the Khwārazm-shāh with whom the "Lord" is about to seek refuge.<sup>1</sup>

No direct historical evidence could be found relating to the addressee Shujā al-dunyā wal-dīn, but there are grounds for believing that he may be identical with the sipahsālār Shujā' al-dīn mentioned in document (B). The title sipahsālār was well known in Ghūr. The leaders of the Ghōrid amirs in Ghaznī who in A.D. 1206 were sponsoring the candidature of the two Bāmiyān brothers, were the sipahsālārs Sulaymān Shīth and \*Kharūshī<sup>2</sup> who at a later date seem to have been expelled by the Turks. Shujā' al-dīn may have been one of their colleagues. We have already mentioned his titles hinting at his activity against some infidels. There would be nothing astonishing if, even after A.D. 1206, there existed some pockets of heathendom in the remote corners of Ghūr, but it is more probable that the allusions contained in Shujā' al-dīn's honorifics and the direct reference to *kāfirs* in documents (A) and (B) have in view the Qarā-Khitāy. These remnants of the Liao rulers of China succeeded in founding a second kingdom at Balasaghun (near the Issiq-kul lake) and were victorious in their wars against the Muslim Qarā-khānids of Samarqand, the Seljuks of Khorasan, and the Khwārazm-shāhs.<sup>3</sup> Minhāj-i Sirāj, 329 (Raverty, 926), affirms that only the kings of Ghūr and Bāmiyān succeeded in retaining their independence: "once or twice the army of the kings of Ghūr, the champions of which were the sipahsālārs *Kh.r.j.m* (?) and Muḥammad *Kh.r.nk*, put to flight the army of Khitā and Sipahsālār *Kh.r.j.m* had attained martyrdom." Nevertheless Minhāj admits that the Qarā-Khitāy invaded Ghūr for, in his words, "the last time" they crossed the Oxus was when they were opposed by Mu'izz al-dīn Muḥammad of Ghaznī. The latter died A.D. 1206, and, following the sequence of the passages, the expedition of the two sipahsālārs took place at an earlier date.

<sup>1</sup> The king of Ghazna Shihāb al-dīn Ghōrī was also called *Sultān-i Islām*, see Barthold, op. cit., 351, but after his death (in A.D. 1206) no one of the family appears to have merited this appellation.

<sup>2</sup> The reading of the peculiar Ghōrī names is still obscure. Raverty, 433, reads the second name Kharoshti, but the text, 109, has a variant \**Kh.rūsh* which also appears in I. Athīr, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 345. The name may be derived from the principal residence of Ghūr which Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi, ed. Morley, 130, spells *J.rūs* (\**Kh.rūsh*?). But even this is uncertain for Minhāj, 33-4 (Raverty, 306, 308, 311) spells out the name of an ancient residence *Mandēsh* of which the other forms may be mere misspellings.

<sup>3</sup> See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 323 sqq.

We have no ground for identifying Shujā' al-dīn with any of the sipahsālārs mentioned, but the texts give a background to his honorifics. Khwāja Ḥusayn (?) Gh.zhdī (?), on behalf of whose heirs the document (B) was issued, may have been killed by the kāfirs while he was under the sipahsālār's command.

In spite of the inevitable obscurities, the importance of the documents from Bāmiyān is considerable. Taken together they give us a glimpse of everyday life in a Hindukush valley seven centuries ago. We feel the throb of an existence threatened by insecurity. The princes were quarrelsome, disunited, and ready to invoke help from without. Their amirs were intriguing and exploiting the opportunities of their charges; their servants were courting their masters' favours, gambling and oppressing the common folk. Trade fumbled among obscure deals and only land was harnessed fast to the yoke of ancient law. Meanwhile, in distant Mongolia a tidal wave was gathering momentum for the sweep which was to break through all the dykes, wash away all traces of medieval disunion, and replace them by the barbarous but inexorable *Pax Mongolica*.

I dedicate this article to Prof. Paul Pelliot as a token of friendship and admiration.

---

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

The Gūrān

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (1943), pp. 75-103

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609206>

Accessed: 22/03/2013 18:41

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## The Gūrān

By V. MINORSKY

THE vague and indiscriminate use of the term *Kurd* goes back to early times. According to Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (*circa* 350/961), ed. Berlin, 151, "The Persians used to call Daylamites 'the Kurds of Ṭabaristān', as they used to call Arabs 'the Kurds of Sūristān', i.e. of 'Irāq.'" Other Arab and Persian authors of the tenth century A.D. mean by Kurds any Iranian nomads of Western Persia, such as the tent-dwellers of Fārs.

The famous historian of the Kurdish nation Sharaf Khān states in his *Annals*, p. 13, that there are four divisions of Kurds: Kurmānj, Lur, Kalhur, and Gūrān. This enumeration gives a clear idea of the main groups of the Iranian mountaineers, but only the Kurmānj, and possibly the Kalhur,<sup>1</sup> come under the heading *Kurd*, whereas the Lur and the Gūrān stand apart, both for linguistic and ethnological reasons.<sup>2</sup>

Our knowledge of the anthropology of Persia is still inadequate, but what we know of the ancient history of the north-western, western, and south-western part of Persia suggests great differences in the ethnical background of single regions. Meanwhile, linguistically we know full well that the Lurish dialects, closely connected with those of Fars, are very distinct from the Kurdish group proper, including the Lākkī—Kurdish of the tribes interspersed among the population of Northern Luristan.

In the indiscriminate mass of "Kurds" we begin to distinguish further traces of populations which may have lived long under Kurdish leaders and in the closest contact with Kurds, but which belong to some other strata and waves of migration. The process of formation of the Kurdish tribes themselves is very intricate. Already Rich, speaking of Shahrazūr, distinguished between the warriors and the peasants whom he regarded as the race subjugated by the warriors (*vide infra*, p. 84). We know now that the leaders of the Kurdish tribes were of varied origin,<sup>3</sup> and it is quite possible that some subject populations have been Kurdicized at a comparatively recent date.

Outside the circle of a few professional scholars, it is still a very little known fact that on the south-eastern and southern edge of the Kurdish territory there exists a considerable area occupied by a people of a different origin and whose speech is Iranian but non-Kurdish. For simplicity's sake this population can be called *Gūrān*. Strictly speaking, this name belongs to the principal tribe which occupies the mountains north of the high road Baghdad-Kermanshah, nearly down to the River Sīrwān (Diyāla) in the north. North of the Sīrwān the non-Kurdish area is prolonged by the highlands of Awrāmān:

<sup>1</sup> Sharaf-khan apparently groups under *Kalhur* all the south-eastern Kurds of Kermanshah (and Senne?). We have, however, to mind the distinction between the tribes and their rulers

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, "Lur," in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> See Minorsky, "Kurds," in *EI*.

Awramān-i luhūn to the west of the lofty range, and Awramān-i takht to the east of it. Apart from these two main groups, Gurani is spoken in two isolated enclaves: that of Pāwa, in the valley of a small southern affluent of the Sīrwān, and that of Kandūla, at the sources of the Bāniyān river, which joins the Gāmāsiāb almost opposite the ruins of the ancient town of Dīnavar. A similar dialect is spoken by the Bājilān living immediately north of Mosol in the basin of the Khosar<sup>1</sup>; the same tribe is also found in Zohab and Northern Luristan. Still farther west, the so-called “Zāzā” (properly *Dimlī*) occupy a very extensive area stretching between the headwaters of the Tigris and the south-westerly bend of the Euphrates, as well as between Mush and Erzinjan, including the whole of Dersim.

This is the present distribution of the cognate populations<sup>2</sup>; but, no doubt, originally they covered a much larger territory. Their instinct, at least at present, is agricultural. In the gorges of Awramān (near Tawēle and Beyārē) one cannot help admiring the extraordinary skill with which the villagers build up and utilize small terraces of land for gardening and general crops. As a test of intelligence, I can quote the example of the katkhudā of Zarda, near Bābā Yādegār, who had never seen a map, yet no sooner was he shown the position of his village than he immediately discovered what the other points in the neighbourhood stood for. I hope to have proved in my previous writings on the Ahl-i Ḥaqq<sup>3</sup> that this religion in its final form was born in the Gūrān-Awramān area. No less remarkable are the achievements of the Gūrān in the field of literature, for they developed a *κωμῆ* which as a means of poetical expression was cultivated even by the neighbours of the Gūrāns: it flourished at the court of the Kurdish valis of Ardalān (Senne), and it has recently been used for Christian propaganda.

From the earliest days of my Oriental studies the Gūrānī dialect appealed to my imagination as a key to the mysteries of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion. For many years I entertained affectionate relations with the adepts, who bestowed on me much confidence and kindness. In 1914 I visited the heart of the beautiful Gūrān country, where the sanctuaries of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq lie hidden among wooded gorges and gay streams gushing from the flanks of the Central Zagros.

I read a preliminary paper on the Gūrān at the Centenary convention organized by the Société Asiatique in 1922. In 1927 I summed up my materials in a lengthy essay which has remained unpublished; for in the meantime Marquart treated some of the problems concerning the Zāzā, and Dr. Hadank edited in 1930 the Gūrānī texts collected by my late friend O. Mann, and added to them an Introduction in which he put together the facts culled from

<sup>1</sup> Locally known as Bājōrān. They are apparently Ahl-i Ḥaqq. Father Anastase, *al-Mashriq*, 1902, pp. 577–582, calls them “Allahi” and describes some of their customs. The valley of Khosar is a centre of heterodoxy: see Minorsky, “Shabak,” in *EI*.

<sup>2</sup> See now Mann-Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān*, 1930, pp. 17–43, and *Mundarten der Zāzā*, 1932, pp. 6–7, and the accompanying maps of Hadank.

<sup>3</sup> Summed up in the Supplement to *EI*.

a good many authors. Thereby my task is reduced and simplified, and in what follows I propose to examine only a limited number of fresh points:—

(1) The name of the Gūrān; (2) their origins; (3) the written literature in common Gūrānī, as distinct from the popular stories collected by M. A. Benedictsén and O. Mann; (4) as an Annex I give the text and translation of the Elegy of Aḥmad Khān Kōmāsī, which enjoys great popularity among the Gūrān and Kurds.

### 1. THE VARIOUS USES OF THE TERMS GŌRĀN/GŪRĀN

The Gūrān appear on the historical stage about 1,000 years ago, and the first traces of the name sounding \**Guran* may go back still another millennium. As is usual with such old ethnical names, we have to reckon with numerous complications, and it will be helpful to refer to them before we pass on to the historical survey of the sources.

(a) It is a matter of considerable importance to establish the present-day pronunciation: *Gōrān* or *Gūrān*? The tribesmen forming the federation of clans in the region Kerend-Zohāb call themselves Gūrān, but the disappearance of the earlier *ō* in Gūrān<sup>1</sup> can be a later phenomenon, as in Persian. Even in Kurdish, which is more conservative, one finds mostly the pronunciation *Gūrān*.<sup>2</sup> But the form *Gōrān* is also attested.<sup>3</sup> O. Mann quotes an interesting story of a peasants' riot in the region of Marga against two Kurdish chiefs who raped their women. The revolt was led by one Ḥaydar Gōrān. Mann's explanation that *Gōrān* in this case is only a family name (which in the Mukri country has the meaning of "highwayman") is insufficient.<sup>4</sup> The story definitely refers to a social conflict, and *gōrān* apparently means "a peasant, a man of non-tribal origin".<sup>5</sup> A text from Zakho published by Socin has:—

"I was not a Jew, nor a Muslim,  
Nor a Christian (*fallāḥ*), nor a Gōrān."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the texts dictated to me by the Sālār of the Guran I find *kū* < *kōh*; *rūz* < *rōz*; *dūsxāhī* < *dōst-xwāhī*. The diphthong *au* sounds *ou*, and the number of such cases is increased by the frequent spirantization of *b*: *soʊz* < *sabz*; *ayou* < *adab*, but this diphthong sounds differently from the long *ō*. On the other hand, in the elegy of Aḥmad Khan Kōmāsī, as dictated by Dr. Sa'īd Khan, the *majhūls* *ē* and *ō* are preserved.

<sup>2</sup> According to Jaba, *Récits kurdes*, 1860, p. 3, 100 families of "Guran" were living in Bayāzīd and its neighbourhood. See also the maps of Haussknecht: *Kala-i gūrān* in Awrāmān-i luhūn; *Gūrān-kala*, north of Jawānrūd. A *Gūrān-gā(h)* exists on the territory of the Mamash branch of Bilbās; a *Gūrān-āwā* in Brādōst, west of Urmiya. Chirikov, lxix, mentions a *Gūrān-dasht* in Bohtān.

<sup>3</sup> The typical Mukri Kurdish correspondence of *ō* is *ue*: *kōh* > *k'ūē*; *gōz* > *g'ūēz*.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, text, p. 253, translation, p. 396. In 1934 I met in Sulēmānī a teacher called "Gōrān". He was from the neighbouring district of Qaradagh and spoke the Mukri dialect of Kurdish. He said that some Gūrānī was spoken only near Alabche (in Shahrazūr, west of Awrāmān).

<sup>5</sup> However, in this sense, too, Rich, i, 152, as informed by a Kurd of Sulēmānī, gives *Gūrān*; cf. also Jaba-Justi, *Dict. kurde*, p. 368: *gūrān* "peuple à demeure fixe, les Kurdes agricoles".

<sup>6</sup> Socin, *Kurd. Sammlungen*, text, p. 174; transl., p. 197: the story of Jesus and a skull is of literary origin (Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār gave a version of it: see Zhukovsky, *Sumjuma-nāma*, in *Zap.*, vii, 1892, 63–72).



The latter term certainly refers to a fire-worshipper with a special derivation *gabrān* > *gōrān*. At another place (text, p. 265, transl. p. 265) the *Gōrān* are mentioned among the soldiers of a Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha of Baghdad operating in Sinjār, the reference to the Zohāb tribe being likely.<sup>1</sup> In these two cases we are in the presence of a confusion of meaning and etymology.

(b) It is very likely that this confusion of the forms in *ō* and *ū* is accounted for by the existence of two different but closely resembling words: *gabr-ān* "Zoroastrians, subjects" > *gaurān* > *gōrān*, and the tribal name \**Gāubārakān* > *Gāurakān* > \**Gōrakān* > *Gōrān* > *Gūrān*.—At some later stage of their development both words must have sounded *gōrān* (finally becoming, or tending to become *gūrān*). That the tribal name *Gūrān* must have passed through the stage *Gōrān* is proved by its pronunciation in Turkish *G'ōran*<sup>2</sup> (as applied to the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion professed by the *Gūrān*), for Turkish is very conservative in indicating the old *ō*.<sup>3</sup>

(c) Very definite is the extensive use of the term *Gūrān* to describe the social category of peasants. Already Cl. Rich wrote: "The Bulbassi (i.e. the Bilbās tribe) have among them a people of dependents or peasants who have no voice in their affairs and are considered as a very inferior caste. These people are found scattered all over Koordistan and are of no tribe or clan. The tribesmen call them *kelow-spee* or White Caps and also Gooran. The latter name, which is the proper denomination of the people of Sinna, is applied by the clansmen as a term of reproach, and especially to timorous people. May not these be the aboriginal inhabitants of these countries who had been conquered by the fierce tribes of the mountains? These are some wandering tribes under the government of Sinna, but all the settled population are Goorans."<sup>4</sup> In his 1844 memorandum Sir H. Rawlinson affirms that the Kalhur, having lost Darna and Dartang "assumed for themselves the peculiar designation of Gooran, which had been previously applied to the Kurdish peasantry, as distinguished from the clans". The use of an ethnical name to designate a social category and vice versa<sup>5</sup> is of course possible, but the *Gūrān* are mentioned as a warlike tribe already in the tenth century and it is very doubtful that all the peasant population in Kurdistan surnamed *Gōrān*/*Gūrān* has any direct relation to the *Gūrān* tribe. It is quite possible that this denomination (under the form *Gōrān*) dates from the time of Islamic conquest when the subject races were Zoroastrian *gabr-ān* > *gōrān*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, 1780, ii, 315, quotes among the tribes of Sinjar *al-Kābāriya*, strangely reminding one of the older form of the name *Gūrān* (< \**gābāra-kān*).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Quṭb-nāme*, v. 43: *Bābā Khoṣhīn fārsī dedi, Sultān Sohāk g'ōraninī*. A group of places near Ganja is called after the *G'ōran*. Cf. also the title of an article by H. Adjarian, "*Gyorans* (sic) and *Tumaris*": see *Rev. Hist. Rel.*, January, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> *Kōr* > mod. Pers. *kūr*, but in Turkish *kōr* "blind".

<sup>4</sup> *A residence in Koordistan*, i, 152, cf. i, 88-9.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. *Kurd* "a nomad", and in Georgian "a robber". Vice versa the Armenians are called in Kurdish *fele*, Jaba-Justi, 294 (< *fallāh*, Prym-Socin, p. 64).

<sup>6</sup> The etymology of *gabr* is still doubtful.

## 2. HISTORICAL REFERENCES TO THE GŪRĀN

We shall now analyse in chronological order the passages containing mentions of the Gūrān as a tribe, to be followed by conclusions based on these texts.

From classical antiquity we have a curious passage in Strabo. The author develops a theory on the origin of the Armenians and incidentally refers to certain Thracian Saraparæ, "that is, Decapitators," who "took up their abode beyond Armenia near the Guranii (Gouranii) and Medes".<sup>1</sup> As these head-hunters<sup>2</sup> could not have been a very important tribe, the Guranii and Medes lived apparently in close neighbourhood. Already K. Müller suggested an important emendation of *Θρακῶν* into *\*Σεράκων*.<sup>3</sup> This correction opens new horizons, for the Siraci (*\*Sirak*, *Shirak*) are a well-known Scythian people<sup>4</sup> whose original territory lay in the neighbourhood of the Mæotis. They are usually mentioned together with the Aorsi.<sup>5</sup> Colonies of *\*Shirak* are known in many places:—

(a) A territory *Σιρακηνή* lay in Hyrcania on the Ochus (Tejen); Kretschmer connects with it the name of the present day Sarakhs (?).

(b) Another *Σιρακηνή*, coupled with *Σακασηνή*, is said by Ptolemy, v, 12, 4, to extend along the Paryadres range [Pontic Alps?], between the Rivers Cyrus (Kur) and Araxes. The passage looks out of order. As Sakasēnē (Arm. and Arab. *Shakashēn*) lay in the region of the present-day Ganja,<sup>6</sup> Sirakēnē must be looked for in the same direction, and in fact even now the "Shirak steppe" is shown on Russian maps to the north of Ganja (east of Kakhetia and south of the Alazan).

(c) Another *\*Sirakēnē*, confused by Ptolemy with (b), corresponds to the Armenian district Shirak (Balādhuri, 193: *Tayr-Sirāj*) on the Akhurian (now Arpa-chay). The position of this important territory, which included the capital Ani, meets Ptolemy's reference to the Rivers Kur and Araxes.

(d) A southern march of the Armenian kingdom was called *Nor-Shirakan* ("New Shirakan"): Hübschmann, op. cit., 319. Some districts of the region of Arbela (Erbil) were under its ruler (*bdeašx*), and in his posthumous *Südar-menien*, 1930, p. \*59, Marquart resolutely identifies Nor-Shirakan with Adiabēnē, i.e. the plains of Assyria (Nineveh, Arbela). The name Nor-Shirakan is recorded in Armenian sources as early as the fourth century A.D., and the term "new" does not necessarily suggest that it had been in existence only for a short period.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> xi, 14, 14: *Φασι δὲ καὶ Θρακῶν τινὰς τοὺς προσαγορευομένους Σαραπάρας, οἷον κεφαλοτόμους, οἰκῆσαι ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀρμενίας πλησίον Γουρανίων καὶ Μήδων.*

<sup>2</sup> See on them a short notice by Weissbach in Pauli-Wissowa, vii, col. 1945.

<sup>3</sup> See Marquart, "Woher stammt der Name Kaukasus," in *Caucasica*, Fasc. i, 1 Theil, 1930, 62, quoting many passages: Diod., xx, 22, 4; Strabo, xi, 2, 1; 5, 4; 5, 7-8; 14, 14; Pliny, iv, 83, etc., in which the name *Seraci*, *Siraci* is attested, or should be restored. I failed to find the correction in Müller's edition, Marquart's quotation (p. 917a) being wrong.

<sup>4</sup> Müller's correction is the more convincing because Strabo describes the Saraparæ as *περικυθιστάς* "scalpers", and this was a Scythian custom.

<sup>5</sup> See Kretschmer in Pauli-Wissowa, ii, 5, 1927. The Siraci should be distinguished from the Silices (Sidices) connected with Sidakān (between Ushnū and Rawānduz): see Marquart, *Südar-menien*, Index.

<sup>6</sup> Hübschmann, *Die altarm. Ortsnamen*, p. 352.

<sup>7</sup> Rawlinson identified Ptolemy's *Σιραγανῶν κόμη* with Sīrgān, west of Ushnū, but this place, even if it owed its name to the *\*Shirak*, did not necessarily depend on Nor-Shirakan.

Of all these localities it would be most tempting to apply Strabo's restored passage concerning the \*Shirak living near the Guranii and Medes, to Nor-Shirakan, which lay in the direction of the present territory of the Gūrān.

Two further names seem to be connected with the ancient Guranii. One of the sons of Khusrau II, whom his brother Shērōē killed in A.D. 628, was called *Kūrān* (\**Gūrān*)-shāh.<sup>1</sup> The name is formed on the pattern of such territorial titles of governors, as Sakān-shāh (Bahrām iii and Hormizd iii), Kirmān-shāh (Bahrām iv), etc. The same ethnical element appears in the feminine name Guran-dukht (cf. Tūrān-dukht), which is attested only in Georgia (since the eighth century).<sup>2</sup> The first vowel both in *Γουράνιοι* and *Guran-dukht* is apparently *u*, although the Greek rendering of the Iranian *ō* and *ū* is not quite consistent.<sup>3</sup> [See Addition on p. 103.]

In spite of these new facts there is still some difficulty about the bridging of the ancient Guranii with the later Gūrān (< \**Gābāarakān*).

The position grows much clearer under the Muslims. The oldest Arab geographer (end of the ninth century), Ibn Khurdādhbih, 14, quotes a list of the districts of the Mesopotamian *Sawād*, which without any doubt goes back to Sasanian times. "The district (*kūra*), Ostān Shādh Fayrūz, which is Ḥulwān: the revenue of Ḥulwān together with the Jābār.qa and the Kurds is 4,800,000 dirhams." The ancient town of Ḥulwān lay near the present-day Sar-pol-e Zohāb. The river of Ḥulwān is the Alvand, which comes out from Dartang, drains the region of the Gūrāns and joins the Diyāla near Khāniqīn.<sup>4</sup> In another passage, p. 4, I. Khurdādhbih explains that the *kūra* in question consists of five subdivisions (*tassūj*): Fayrūz-Qobādh, al-Jabal, Tāmarrā, Irbil, and Khāniqīn. The latter is the well known place on the highway Baghdad-Kermanshah. *Irbil* is definitely a mistake, for the ancient Arbela lies too far from Ḥulwān and outside the *Sawād*.<sup>5</sup> In the parallel passage of Qudāma, 235, the name is spelt *ارتنگ* which I should restore as *درتنگ* Dartang, or perhaps \**Darnak*, to suit the present day Darna, which lies to the east of Dālahū and forms one of the basic parts of Zohāb. *Tāmarrā* is the older name of the Diyāla; the *tassūj* probably comprised only the eastern bank of the river, for "between the Tigris and the Tāmarrā" lay other ostāns. The third name is vocalized in the text *al-Jabal*, but a variant is dotless. I feel confident that one should read \**al-Jīl*, with reference to the district of *Gīlān*, in the valley of a left affluent of the Alvand.<sup>6</sup> Fayrūz-Qobādh is most probably the

<sup>1</sup> Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 121, after Ḥamza, 61 (Berlin ed., 42); repeated in *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, ed. Tehran, 1939, p. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Justi, op. cit., 121, arbitrarily explains it as *Bahrām-dukht*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ρωξάνη* < *Raoxšna* (Ctesias); *Περώζης* < *Pērōz*; *Γωσιθρης* < *Gaoiθra*. The Greeks rather abuse the timbre *o*: *Σαβώρ* < *Šāpuhr*, *Šāpūr*.

<sup>4</sup> There is no doubt that *Alvand* is but a Persian popular etymology of the ancient Ḥulwān. The Kurds call the river *Halawān*.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 41, even Shahrazūr is referred to separately from Ḥulwān; ibid., 94, al-Tīrhān and Daqūqā are under the dependencies of Mausil, which is described outside the *Sawād*.

<sup>6</sup> Also *vide infra* the quotation from the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*.

upper (eastern) part of Ḥulwān near Sarpol. Roughly speaking the ostān of Ḥulwān comprised the later area of Zohāb. Of the two special classes of local population, the Kurds and the Jābār.qa (var. Kābār.ka, \*Gābār.ka), I am strongly tempted to take the latter for the ancestors of the Gūrān.

The same name occurs also in I. Faqīh, 245, who, among the marvels of Hamadān, describes the salt lake (*mamliḥa*) of Farāhān (still existing to the north of Sulṭānābād), adding that "Kurds and \*Jābāraq export the salt to every destination in Media (*ilā jamī' buldān al-Jabal*)". This indication would suggest that there was a settlement of the same class in Central Persia, a considerable distance east of the region of Zagros.

De Goeje clearly saw that the term is connected with Persian کوباره > کاباره which he translated as "a herd", and freely interpreted as "herdsmen" ("pasteurs"), whereas the true translation of *gāubāra* should be "ox-rider, or bull-rider". Whether the term is to be explained literally or connected with a personal name, we shall see that its association with the southern shores of the Caspian is very probable.

The name also occurs in Mas'ūdī's catalogue of Kurdish tribes of Media (al-Jibāl), *Murūj*, iii, 253: "Shādanjān, Lazba (Lurī?), Madanjān, Mazdanakān, Bārisān, Khālī (\*Jalālī < Galālī), Jābār.qī, Jāwānī, Mastakān." This list is slightly completed in Mas'ūdī's *Tanbīh*, 88-91: "Bāz.njān, Shūhjan, Shād.njān, N.sāw.ra, Būdhikān (\*Barzikān?), Lurī, Jwr.qān, Jāwānī, Bārisī, Jalālī, Mashtakān, Jābār.qa, Jurūghān, Kikān, Mājurdān, Hadhbānī, etc." It is certain that the names *Jābār.qī* (list i) and *Jwrqān* (list ii), both followed by Jāwānī, refer to the same tribe. Jwrq-ān (\*Jawaraq-ān) differs only by the reduction of the lengths and the spirantization of the intervocalic *b*. Mastakān/Mashtakān closes the original list, and it is most likely that *Jābār.qa* of the *Tanbīh* is only an explanatory gloss incorporated in the new text. The same may be true of the additional *Jurūghān* (for \**Juraghān*, \**Jawaraghān*). It is noteworthy that the name interesting us is coupled with *Jāwānī*, which apparently refers to the Jāf, who even now live in the closest touch with the Gūrān. The earlier form of their name appears in that of one of their districts, *Jawān-rūd* (< *Jāwān-rūd*, influenced by the Persian word *javān* "young"). \*Jalālī also corresponds to the tribe Galālī still living in the same neighbourhood. Thus our original assumption concerning the older form of the name Gūrān gains weight in the light of Mas'ūdī's passage.

The middle of the tenth century is a period of Iranian Renaissance. Under the shadow of the Iranian (Daylamite) dynasty of Būyids small Iranian rulers appear in Āzarbayjān, Kurdistan, etc.

Towards 348/959 Ḥasanōya b. Ḥasan, chief of the Barzikān Kurds, founded an important principality in the region of Zagros. Still more remarkable was the long reign of his son and successor Badr (360-405/979-1014), who is very favourably judged by the historians<sup>1</sup>: he re-educated his tribe, protected the

<sup>1</sup> *Tajārib al-umam*: [Abū-Shuja'], 287-299, 327, [Ibn-Muḥassin], 429, 449-454, 'Utbi, ed. Lahore, 285 (Pers. trans., 384).

peasants, and equitably assessed the taxes. His possessions extended from Northern Luristan (Sābūr-khwāst) and even the approaches of Khūzistān, *IA.*, ix, 172, to Shahrazūr, *IA.*, ix, 173. Under Badr, the Jwraqān (\*Jauraqān) are often mentioned. In 405/1014 Badr marched against the Kurdish chief Ḥusayn b. Mas'ūd and laid siege to his castle کوسجد. The hardships of a winter campaign provoked discontent among his men, and he was killed by "one of their division called Jūraqān". Ḥusayn sent his body to be buried at Mashhad 'Alī (Kūfa), which would indicate some Shī'a leanings on the part of Badr. The Jūraqān fled to the Būyid Shams al-Daula, but possibly only the guilty part of the tribe is meant in this case. Under 417/1026 the Kākōyid 'Alā al-daula appointed a cousin of his over Sābūr-khwāst with the addition of the Jūraqān. More directly the latter were placed under a special chief Abul-Faraj Bābūnī, who was related to them. This led to further conflicts and struggles, *IA.*, ix, 247. Sābūr-khwāst (i.e. the present-day Khurram-ābād) lies so far from the Zagros range that we have to assume that Bābūnī's Jūraqān were established somewhere nearer to Luristan. In fact, under 418/1027 Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 251, hints at a collaboration between the Kākōyid 'Alā al-Daula and a part of Jūraqān in the battle fought near Nihavand, and, under 423/1032, *ibid.*, ix, 289, at the presence of Jūraqān near Sābūr-khwāst.

When in 437/1046 Ibrāhīm Yinnāl sent by Tughril took Hamadan, the master of this city, Karshāsf b. 'Alā al-Daula, fled to the Jūraqān. Yinnāl set out for al-Ṣaymara, lying in North-Western Luristan on the upper Karkha, and attacked "the Kurds established in the neighbourhood and belonging (*min*) to the Jūraqān". The latter with Karshāsf fled to the country of Shihāb al-Daula Abul-Fawāris Manṣūr b. Ḥusayn, who apparently was the ruler of \*Ḥuwayza (not *al-Jazīra*) in Khuzistan; cf. *IA.*, ix, 448. The flight must have been down the Karkha valley.

All these references show that in the first part of the eleventh century at least a part of the Jūraqān was occupying some territory on the northern approaches of Luristan. They may have been connected with the Jābāraq referred to by I. Faqīh (*vide supra*), or, possibly, with the part of the tribe guilty of the murder of Badr (*vide supra*).

The events recorded in I. Athīr are also described in the *Mujmal al-tavārīkh* (520/1126), whose anonymous author was a native of Asad-ābād (west of Hamadān) and was well acquainted with the area in question.<sup>1</sup> He uses the same source as Ibn al-Athīr,<sup>2</sup> but gives some interesting parallels. For I. Athīr's جورقان \*Jawraqān,<sup>3</sup> the author substitutes گورانان *Gūrānān* throughout, and thus confirms our original surmise. Secondly, the *Mujmal* preserves some details omitted in I. Athīr. It explains how in the course of his struggle with his son Hilāl (Hilāl) Badr fought against his own tribe the Barzikānān (Barzikān).

<sup>1</sup> The *Mujmal* has been carefully edited by Bahār, Tehran, 621/1939.

<sup>2</sup> *Kitāb-i Tājī* of Ṣābī.

<sup>3</sup> Plurals in *-akān* still prevail in Gūrānī dialects: Mann-Hadank, *Mundarten der Gūrān*, 105, 378.

Then he elevated (*bar kashīd*) the Gūrānān, so that nobody stood closer to Badr than they. Nevertheless they conspired and killed him in 405/1014 while he was besieging Khūshīn (*sic*) b. Mas'ūd in his fortress *کوش خد* on the banks of the Safīd-rūd. It looks improbable that Badr could have extended his operations to the basin of the Safīd-rūd flowing into the Caspian Sea, and I strongly suspect that this name stands in the *Mujmal* for *سیروان* (misread: *سیدرود*), i.e. the middle course of the Diyāla which separates Zohāb (in the south) from Awrāmān (in the north). *کوش خد* (I.A. *کوسجد*, *Sharafnāma* *کوسجد*) cannot be identified, but if Safīd-rūd = Sīrvān it is likely that the fortress in question was *کوسج* *Kūsaj* and stood near the present-day village Kūsaj-i Hajj in Awrāmān-i takht.<sup>1</sup> In this case the Gūrān who accompanied Badr were operating across the river in the immediate neighbourhood of their present territory.

One detail in the *Mujmal* merits our attention. The Gūrān are said to have killed Badr by throwing their javelins (*zūpīn*), this weapon being particularly connected with the Caspian provinces and the Daylamites.

In Yāqūt's geographical dictionary (623/1225) the Jawraqān (misspelt *Jūzaqān*, as often in Ibn al-Athīr) are definitely referred to Ḥulwān, ii, 151.

Ḥamdullāh Qazvīnī, *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (740/1340), p. 165, in describing the highway from Kermānshāh to Ḥulwān (via Kerend and the famous pass of Ṭāq-i gīrrā) adds: "but by Gil-u-Gilān the road, (although) 1 farsakh longer, is easier." In another passage, p. 220, the author explains that the River Nahravān, i.e. Diyāla, consists of two branches. One of them (i.e. Sīrvān or Diyāla proper) comes from "the side of Sīrvān", whereas the other (i.e. the Ḥulwān, Ḥalawān, Alvand) "rises from the region (*ḥudūd*) of Gil-u-Gilān and the pass of Ṭāq-i gīrrā; it rises from a great spring sufficient to turn some ten water-mills and passes Ḥulwān, Qasr-i Shīrīn, and Khāniqīn". There is no doubt that Qazvīnī has in view the river rising from the gorge above Rījāb (Dartang). In fact, along it passed the well-known variant of the main road.<sup>2</sup> Thus the characteristic name *\*Gil-u-Gilān* in Ḥamdullah's text refers to the heart of the Gūrān territory and not to the valley of Gilān joining the Alvand much lower down. With this reservation the term used by Qazvīnī is noteworthy.

Towards 744/1343 the Egyptian scholar Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Omari compiled a valuable table of Kurdish tribes according to the contemporary sources. He begins his description with the Gūrāns: "Dans les montagnes de Hamadan et de Schehrzur on trouve une nation de Curdes appelés Kouranis (*al-Kūrāniya*),

<sup>1</sup> There is a famous sanctuary in the village. In Awrāmān I was told that Kūsaj does not stand for Persian "beardless" (*kōsaj*, *kōsa*). I think the name is connected with the tribe Kōsa which was formerly in occupation of Shahrazūr. Its remnants live now among the Zāzā.

<sup>2</sup> Evliyā-chelebi, iv, 377; A. Pinçon in Sir D. Ross, *Sir Anthony Sherley*, p. 148; Sir H. Rawlinson, *JRGS.*, 1839, p. 33; Chirikov, *Putevoy zhurnal*, 1849-1852, St. Petersburg, 1875, 301-5: Kerend-Bīvanj-Rījāb; description of the source of the Alvand which lies in the Rījāb gorge but closely north of Ṭāq-i gīrrā (in its "region").

qui sont puissants, belliqueux et se composent de soldats et d'agriculteurs (*jund-wa-ra'īya*). Ils habitent un lieu appelé Raoust alemir Mohammad (*Rāwst al-amīr Muḥammad*) et un autre nommé Derteng (*Dartang*). Ils ont à leur tête l'émir Mohammad. Leur nombre s'élève à plus de 5,000 hommes et il ne règne entre eux aucune semence de division et de discorde." <sup>1</sup>

Dartang is the integral part of Zohab and as such is mentioned in the Turco-Persian treaty of 1639.<sup>2</sup> Thus for the middle of the fourteenth century we get a confirmation of the presence of the Gūrān in their present country; but they must have lived there for centuries before that date. The other centre of the Gūrān, usually coupled with Dartang, is Darna (*\*Darnak*)<sup>3</sup> which lies on the eastern side of Dālahū in the Zimkān valley.<sup>4</sup> This name cannot be detected in *Rāwst*. The latter remains a puzzle, but it is possible that it refers to the habitat of the more easterly branch of the Gūrān.<sup>5</sup>

According to Shihāb al-Dīn the Gūrān consisted of warriors and peasants. The usual reason for such division is the subjugation of one tribe by another, and, should this surmise be true, the Gūrān may have found on the spot some earlier population, although we can imagine other causes of the social stratification of the tribes.

Considerable changes took place in Kurdistan in the thirteenth century. The Mongol invaders were mercilessly exterminating the Iranian mountaineers. According to Shihāb al-Dīn, after the sack of Baghdad (A.D. 1258), the Kurds of Shahrazūr belonging to the tribes *الوسه* (*\*Kōsa*) and *الاسره* (?) emigrated to Syria and Egypt, and their place was taken "par une autre nation *حوسه* dont les membres ne sont point de véritables Kurdes". Quatremère restores this latter name as *حسنويه*, and in this case it would be tempting to connect it with the name of the Ḥasanōya dynasty. As the Gūrān were among the supporters of Badr, it is possible to imagine that they were designated after the founder of the dynasty.<sup>6</sup> At all events, the detail about the expansion of a non-Kurdish population is too precise to have been invented, and apart from the Gūrān group of tribes we cannot imagine any other substitute for the Kurds available on the spot.

In spite of the importance which Sharaf Khān attaches to the Gūrān in the Introduction to his *History of the Kurds* (1005/1596), in the text of his book he refers to them only occasionally and with some confusion. At his time the majority of the Gūrān lived under the leadership of the Kalhur and

<sup>1</sup> Translated by Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, 1838, xiii/1, pp. 506-7. Towards A.D. 1258 Dartang was ruled on behalf of the caliph by a Ḥisām al-Dīn 'Akka, to whom Hulagu restored Qal'a Mwḥ (?) and Rwdā (*\*Daudān*?). See Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> Its centre Rijāb > Rīzhāw is situated at the western end of the defile through which the Alvand debouches into the Zohab plain.

<sup>3</sup> See our interpretation of I. Khurdādhbih, 14, v.s. p. 80.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly *Ṣamghān* of Balādhurī.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps: *\*Daudān*, a village behind Dālahū.

<sup>6</sup> It is quite possible that Ḥasanōya's tribe Barzikān were of an origin similar to that of the Gūrān.

the Ardalān, and this led to the usual confusion of *dynasties* and *tribes*. Sharaf Khān's intention was apparently to group under *Kalhur*<sup>1</sup> all the southern (non-Kurmānj) Kurds of Kermanshah (and possibly Senne), but on p. 317 he states that "the 'ashīrat of the Kalhur is called Gūrān". He also admits, p. 83, that the ancestor of the Ardalān had long lived among the Gūrān, before, towards the end of the Chengizid rule in Persia, he became the lord of Shahrāzūr. On p. 296 Sharaf Khān admits that the rulers of the Brādōst were from the Gūrān tribe, or rather from the children of Hilāl b. Badr. Speaking of the "Persian" Kurds (Siyāh-Manšūr, Chiganī, and Zangana) Sharaf Khān lets them (or perhaps their chiefs?) come from Luristan, but adds that "there is a report that they were from Gūrān and Ardalān". An interesting detail may be noted in the fact that Shāh-verdī Khān, ruler of the Northern Luristan (d. 1006/1597), trying to recover Khurram-ābād, levied "a group of the Gūrān tribe", which suggests that, as in Badr b. Ḥasan's time, Gūrān were still found in Northern Luristan.<sup>2</sup>

According to Sir H. Rawlinson<sup>3</sup> the Kalhur were ousted from Zohāb by Sultan Murād IV, who gave their lands to the Bājilān whom he brought from Mosul.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to O. Mann, we know now that the Bājilān of Mosul speak a dialect closely akin to Gūrānī. The conqueror's scheme was to control the Gūrān through his own subjects, who originally must have been a colony of the same group of tribes. After this, according to Rawlinson, the Kalhur assumed the name of Gūrān, "which had been previously applied to the Kurdish peasantry", and split into three groups: Qal'a-Zanjir, Kerend, and Bevanij. This explanation naturally applies only to the Kalhur of Zohāb. The equation Gūrān = peasantry is not in keeping with Sharaf Khān's passage (p. 317) quoted above. All we can say about the changes after A.D. 1639 is this: the Kalhurs, deprived of their privileged position, became absorbed in the Gūrān mass, and the Bājilān took the leadership over the whole conglomeration of tribes. It is characteristic, however, that the Bājilān pashas built for themselves a new residence in the plain (the now ruined borough of Zohāb) and so remained on the outskirts of the Gūrān territory. It is possible that a part of the Jāf

<sup>1</sup> Nothing definite is known about the origin of the Kalhur and their name. Their chiefs wanted their genealogy to go back to the Arsacid satrap Gūdarz b. Giv, *Sharaf-nāma*, 317. I wonder whether Kalhur is not derived from \**kal-zwar* "buffalo-eaters". An important village *Kalxōrān* lies north of Ardabil: cf. *Silsilat al-nasab-i Šafawiya*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> It is astonishing how well the Ahl-i Haqq writings are acquainted with the geography of Northern Luristan; see my *Notes sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, pp. 22, 42. A number of fervent adherents of their religion are found in that region (especially the Dīlfān). It is quite possible that a number of originally "Guran" tribes have changed their speech to the local Luri dialect.

<sup>3</sup> Sir H. Rawlinson had exceptional opportunities for observing the Gūrān in 1836 when he was in command of a Gūrān regiment: see "Notes on a march from Zohāb", in *JRGS.*, 1839, ix, 26-116. I have also used an official memorandum of the same author on the Turco-Persian frontier (1844).

<sup>4</sup> Na'imā, i, 474, says that in A.D. 1630 the chief of the Bājilān arrived in Mosul with 40,000 Kurds to pay homage to Khusrev Pasha. The tribe lived in the desert in the direction of Baghdad and was a cross (*mutajānis*) between Kurds and Arabs (?).



whom the Persians called Jāf-i Murādi, i.e. those connected with Sultan Murād IV, was settled in Zohāb to support the Bājilān rulers.

When the Persians had the upper hand they tried to cripple the power of the Bājilān. Nādir Shah, who was opposed by Aḥmad Pasha Bājilān, deported a part of his tribe to the neighbourhood of Khurram-ābād.<sup>1</sup> The last pasha of Zohāb of the Bājilān family was removed by prince Muḥammad 'Alī Mīrzā (governor of Kermanshah from 25, viii, 1806–22, xi, 1821), who restored the leadership to the original Gūrān of Qal'a-Zanjīr, resident at Gahvāra.<sup>2</sup>

### 3. CONCLUSIONS

We come now to the conclusions resulting from the analysis of the sources :—

(1) The name of the tribe appears in early Islamic sources as *Jābāraq* > \**Jauraqān* > \**Gōrānān*. This development seems to exclude the etymology *gabrān* > *gōrān* and on the contrary to confirm de Goeje's explanation of the name as \**gā(v)bāra(k)*, "bull-riders." I now feel confident that the old residence of the Gūrān khans *Gahvāra* is nothing but a Persian popular etymology ("cradle") for the original \**Gāvāra*. The Gūrān themselves told me that the Persian transcription was inadequate, and in Chirikov, p. 302, I find the name transcribed in Russian Гаварек, i.e. presumably \**Gāvārak*.

(2) This original name is most likely to be connected with the Caspian provinces. The eponym founder of the dynasty under which Gilan became united with Western Tabaristan<sup>3</sup> was called Gil-Gāubāra. This name clearly follows the legendary tradition. If *Gīl* refers to the king's origin, *Gāubāra* apparently symbolizes his newly acquired territory connected with the memory of Faridūn. Ibn Isfandiār, 15, and Zahir al-Dīn, 13, call this hero *gāv-savār* "bull-rider", and so he is represented on Persian miniatures.<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* applies the term \*Gil-i Gilān to Dartang, which is the very heart of the Gūrān territory. Even now one of the left affluents of the Alvand is called Gilān.<sup>5</sup> These cannot be mere coincidences. In their

<sup>1</sup> See *Tārīkh-i Nādiri*, ed. 1286, H. Nādir by-passed Tāq-i girrā by a more southerly road of Gāv-ravān which Khurshid Efendi, Russ. transl., 135, identified with Qal'a-Shahin.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson's 1844 memorandum.

<sup>3</sup> This is said to have happened towards A.D. 645–660: see Zahir al-Dīn, ed. Dorn, pp. 39–40; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 117, 430, 433; Rabino, "Les dynasties du Māzandarān," in *J.As.*, juillet 1936, p. 438.

<sup>4</sup> This is a further evolution of the story, *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 41, according to which Faridūn was brought up on the milk of the cow Barmāya. In point of fact, Firdausi gives a twist to the original version, in which Barmāyōn is a male animal under whose feet Aši-vanuhi seeks refuge, Avesta, *Yast* 17, 15, and Faridūn (Frētōn) collects dust to smite his enemies, *Dēnkart*, 814, 10–17 (I owe the two references to H. W. Bailey).

<sup>5</sup> Also see below point (5) on the geographical proximity of some places connected with \*Gāubāra to those called after Gilān. For the location of the Gāubāra near the Caspian one might quote another passage from the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*: "Maḥmūd-ābād (built by Ghāzān-khan south of the Kur estuary) lies in the plain Gāvbārī on the coast of the Caspian sea." Still more interesting is the mention of a Kūrān (\*Gūrān)-dasht in the report of Uljāyту's campaign against Gilan (in the spring of 707/1308): the Ilkhan marching from Sultaniya reached Loushān (on the Shāh-rūd) via Kūrān-dasht. Loushān is a well-known crossing of the Shāh-rūd above Manjil, and Kūrān-dasht must have lain west or south-west of it. Cf. *Tārīkh-i Uljāyту*, Bib. Nat., Supp. pers. 1419, fol. 42.

light a legend picked up by Soane from Aurāmīs acquires some practical interest. According to it, "Darius the Mede expelled the original Aorām from his native place near Demavand . . . and he fled with his brother Kandul, the supposed eponym of Kandula, to Media."<sup>1</sup>

(3) From ancient times the Caspian provinces had been a reservoir of human energy overflowing and spreading westwards. The *Bundahishn*, xxxi, 38, describes the wooded highlands of the south-western Tabaristan (*Padhishkhwārgar*) as a country whose inhabitants go on foot, are shepherds, are prolific (*huzahishnīh*), and are victorious over their enemies. The role of the region is similar to that of Scandinavia in the Viking Age. Many place names along the western border of Iran bear witness to such infiltrations; a place called *Daylamistān* existed in Shahrazūr, Yāqūt, ii, 711; *Dīlmān* (older *Dīlmaqān*) is still the chief place of Salmas; a sizeable district to the south-west of Lake Urmia is called Lāhijān (as the town in Gilan).<sup>2</sup> *Gāubāra* (often joined with *Gēl*) would be a similar trace of migrations in the more southern area of Zagros.

(4) In the neighbourhood of the chief Zagros pass the Gūrān (\**Gāvbāarak*) are mentioned already by I. Khurdādhbih (end of the ninth century); but, as we have said, his list of *ostāns* is undoubtedly of Sasanian origin. As the *ostān* of Ḥulwān was named after Pērōz (A.D. 459–484), it looks probable that this king might have been responsible for the settlement of the whole area. His son Kāvāt ("Fayrūz Qubādh"?) may have specially developed one of the cantons of this *ostān*. It is obvious that the Sasanian kings devoted much attention to the security of the principal pass connecting their Mesopotamian capital Ctesiphon with the Iranian homeland. The original non-Iranian tribes of Zagros<sup>3</sup> could have easily survived down to Parthian and Sasanian times, and their displacement and iranization must have been a part of the Sasanian policy. It will be helpful to remember Marquart's conclusion, *Ērānšahr*, 126, according to which Daylam and Padhishkhwārgar were brought into a closer contact with the rest of the Empire only under Kāvāt I (485–531), or even Khusrau I (531–579). Concurrently, the excess of population might have been diverted towards the Zagros.

(5) As regards the other colonies of Gūrān,<sup>4</sup> the report of Ibn al-Faqīh on the presence of some Jābāraq near Farāhān may be substantiated by the name of the village Gevare (Gavāra) which Chirikov, 180, places at 5 farsakhs to the south-east of Sulṭānābād. Chirikov's index (p. 685) suggests even that the considerable River Gāverū (a left affluent of the Sīrvān) should be explained as \**Gavāra-rūd* or \**Gāvāra-rūd*. Such haplogy is quite likely, especially if, remembering our hypothesis on the connection of the Gūrān with the Caspian, we add that a small tributary of the Gāverū is called Kānī-Gilān. Only twenty

<sup>1</sup> *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise*, p. 377.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 420, I offered a hypothesis on the origin of the Iranian inhabitants of Shīrvān and Daghestān from the Caspian provinces. I am also tempted to attribute some Caspian origins to the name of the Kūh-Gilū district of Fars (\**Gēlōya*, *Gēl* + *ōya*).

<sup>3</sup> See Hüsing, *Der Zagros und seine Völker*, 1908.

<sup>4</sup> On p. 77, note 2, we have quoted some isolated place-names which may prove to be connected with the further western expansion of the Gūrān.

miles to the south of the Gāverū on a headwater of the River Bāniyān, there still exists a Gūrāni speaking colony of Kandūla, and twelve miles downstream from the latter lies a village Gilāna.

We have seen that several sources point to the presence of some Gūrān in the direction of Northern Luristan and the basin of the Kerkha (Saymara).<sup>1</sup>

A village Gahwareh, lying some five miles to the south of Bīsūtūn, may be a colony of the well-known Gahwareh (\*Gāvāra) on the Zimkān (*vide supra*). More curious is the name of the pass<sup>2</sup> leading from the Saymara valley to the district of Harāsām, over the mountain Wardalān: *Milleh Gahwareh* (*mīl*, *mēl* in Kurdish “neck, pass”). The region is very little known and thus we are still reduced to mere guesses as to who are the present-day representatives of the local Jauraqān = Gūrān. Remembering the disposition of the Gūrān towards esoteric doctrines,<sup>3</sup> we should attach some significance to the fact that one of the most important centres of the sect, the residence of the descendants of Khan Ātash, is in Garabān, some five miles downstream from the confluence of the Rivers Gāmāsīāb and Qara-su, on the threshold of Luristan. Khan Ātash is said to have risen from the tribe of the Dīlfān. The latter are the most important Ahl-i Ḥaqq tribe of the Northern Luristan.<sup>4</sup> The Dīlfān are said to speak the Southern Kurdish dialect Lākkī,<sup>5</sup> but their group of clans may have absorbed some of the Gūrāni-speaking population. A detail may indicate a connection of the Dīlfān with the Caspian provinces: in 1891 my late friend Āghā Sām, himself of Dīlfān origin, led a religious revolt in Kalār-dasht, on the eastern frontier of the ancient Daylam.<sup>6</sup>

(6) The last stage of our argument ought to be a comparison between the dialects of the Gūrāni group (Gūrāni proper, Awrāmī, Bājilānī, Zāzā) and some definite group of dialects of the Central plateau. In 1906 O. Mann was ready to see in Gūrāni dialects “descendants of the old Median language” (“Abkömmlinge der alten medischen Sprache”),<sup>7</sup> but three years later he less ambitiously defined Gūrāni and Zāzā as “central dialects”.<sup>8</sup> That Gūrāni

<sup>1</sup> I wonder whether the River Gūāūr flowing into the Saymara is of the same origin. Chirikov, 278–280, transcribes this name Gavara (?).

<sup>2</sup> Names of passes are an important feature of toponymy.

<sup>3</sup> Before the complicated doctrine of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq was definitely fixed there must have existed a suitable background for its development, going back into the remote past.

<sup>4</sup> Their homes are in the plain of Khāve, lying west of Alishtar. Their clans are Kakavand, Itivand, Mūmivand, etc.

<sup>5</sup> O. Mann, *Die Mundarten der Lur-Stämme*, p. xxiii, but without any illustrative texts.

<sup>6</sup> The rather unusual name *Dīlfān* might be connected with that of the most conspicuous peak of Gilan, *Dulfak* (*Dalfak*, *Durfak*). As pointed out by Tomaschek, the latter may reflect the name of the Δρῖβυκες, who, according to Ptol., vi, 25, lived in the neighbourhood of the Kadusioi and Gelai, apparently to the east of the estuary of the Amardos = Sefid-rud. On the other hand, the principal tribe of Kalār-dasht is Khojāvand, a clan of the Kurds of Garrūs transplanted to Gilan by Āghā Muḥammad Shah. There is a suspicion that the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion is spread among the Garrūsī, and Āghā Sām may have availed himself of this circumstance.

<sup>7</sup> Mann, *Mundarten d. Gūrān*, 52, *Mundarten der Zāzā*, 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Tājik-Mundarten der Provinz Fārs*, 1909, p. xxiii: “Diese beiden, fälschlich für Kurdisch gehaltene Dialekte gehören durchaus zu denjenigen Mundarten, die Geiger als ‘zentrale’ bezeichnete.”

is very distinct from Kurdish there cannot be any doubt, but the "central" dialects of Persia<sup>1</sup> present such extraordinary combinations of lexical and grammatical elements that a comparison with any one of them would result in a certain number of similitudes and a great number of differences.

As a special group, the "Caspian dialects" have been insufficiently explored, and we have yet to reckon with some surprises in the out-of-the-way valleys. As suggested above, Caspian provinces had been the principal reserve from which colonists had poured forth, and it is possible that whole tribes quitted their homes to be occupied by other groups. We know practically nothing<sup>2</sup> of the dialect which was spoken in the original homes of the Daylamites who in the tenth century lorded it over Persia and Mesopotamia. The divergencies of the existing dialects may have developed during their long separation. In such conditions we should prefer to leave historical suggestions to the future explorers of dialects rather than make any hasty identifications on our own behalf.

#### 4. WRITTEN LITERATURE IN GŪRĀNĪ

For the moment one can only draw up an approximate inventory of the Gūrānī literature. Even when the names of the authors are known, the details of the latter's biographies comprising the dates are still lacking. A distinction between the dialects is equally impossible, for the written Gūrānī is a literary *κοινή* and in the eyes of the local population the Gūrānī literature appears as one indiscriminate group of compositions. In the dialect of Awrāmān "to sing" is *gūrānī çarrin*.<sup>3</sup>

In prose we know only the religious tracts of the Ahl-i Haqq. The copy of their religious book *Saranjām*, of which in 1911 I published a Russian translation, is in Persian, but apart from the intercalated verses in Gūrānī it has preserved traces of Gūrānī phrases in prose.<sup>4</sup> Ḥājji Ni'mat-allāh, author of the *Fiṣṣān al-akhbār*,<sup>5</sup> says that he wrote in "Kurdish" a *Risāla-yi taḥqīq*, and by "Kurdish" he most probably means Gūrānī, for elsewhere (p. 3) he writes that "Kurdish" was the language (*zabān-i zāhirī*) of Sultan Sohāk, whom we know to have spoken Gūrānī. The "Kurdish" quotations in the *Fiṣṣān* prove also to be in Gūrānī.<sup>6</sup>

The poetic literature in Gūrānī is of three classes: epic, lyric, and religious.

In what follows I often refer to the three MSS. originally acquired by Cl. Rich and R. Taylor, and now belonging to the British Museum. With no

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the latest survey by H. W. Bailey in *E.I.*, under "Persia".

<sup>2</sup> Only a number of typical personal names and a couple of words: *lauk* "good", *ushtulum* "a war cry". See Minorsky, *La domination des Daylamites*, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Benedictsen-Christensen, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> Minorsky, *Matériaux*, 12, 51. Only later I went through the Gūrānī verses with a Gūrān.

<sup>5</sup> P. 23. On this MS. in my possession see Minorsky, "Toumari," in *Rev. de l'Histoire des Religions*, January, 1928, pp. 90-105.

<sup>6</sup> During my visit to Sulēmānī in 1934 I received as a gift a Persian MS. containing the genealogies of the Shaykhs of Barzenje, who are connected with Sultan Sohāk. I was told that a Kurdish (*sic*) translation had been made of the MS.

outside assistance Rieu succeeded in deciphering the meaning of the text and in preparing a clear resumé of the Gūrānī grammar, *Cat. Pers. MSS.*, ii, 728–734. He also came to the conclusion that “although spoken in Kurdistan, the dialect is essentially Persian”. For lyrics I quote the B.M. Or. 6444 (fol. 8–54), from which excerpts were published by the late E. B. Soane, *JRAS.*, January, 1921, 57–81. A list of its contents was compiled for me by Mr. S. Topalian in 1927. Very instructive were some items on Kurdish poets which Dr. Sa‘īd khan Kordestani communicated to me in Tehran, on 5th July, 1917. In May, 1914, in Zohab, and in 1918, in Senna, I acquired a number of Gūrānī MSS., but most of the MSS. were stolen after I left Persia in 1919. Fortunately I have kept the passages which I had taken down under the dictation of my friend the Sālār of the Gūrān, who, as a refugee, spent some time in Tehran in 1917.

#### A. Epics

(1) *Kitāb-i Xuršīd-i Xāvar*, on the love of Khuršīd, prince of the country of Khavar, for Kharāmān, daughter of the Emperor of China, by an unknown author (early nineteenth century, Add. 7829, 68 ff. 15 lines to page), from which Rieu quotes seven verses, beginning *damāy ḥamd-i dāt || jahān āfarīn*. Here is the beginning of the letter of Khuršīd to Kharāmān, as dictated in 1917 from my own copy now lost:—

*Qalām girt wā dās Behrūz-e sārwar*  
*Nuvisā juwāw nāzdār-e kešwar*  
*Sar nāmā wā āw tālā enšā kīrd*  
*Āwāl esme zāt muškul-gušā kīrd*

(2) *Leylī-vā-Majnūn*, Add. 7829, ff. 68–134 (15 lines to page). Beginning: *Vāhid-i bē čun || ḥayy-i bē-hamtā*. A MS. of mine contains a fragment of this poem: “Leylī goes to see Majnūn at the mountain of Najd” (186 verses). I was told that the author is Malā Wālow (\**hālow* “eagle” or *walow* “child”, arab. *walad*), a Gūrān of Gahvāra who was still alive towards 1875–1885. Here is the beginning of this popular episode:—

*Kūče šow meyl kārđ yāk šow Āmīr-šāh*  
*Meyle Leylī dāšt dūszāhī leyl kārđ*  
*Šow kūč-e sāṛāy dāšt-e Duḡeyl kārđ*  
*Jārčiyān jār dān wā hokm-e šāwā*  
*Bow ēta aḥšām Bānī-Šīpāwā*<sup>1</sup>

(3) *Khusrau-u-Shīrīn*, Add. 7826, dated 1231/1816, 151 ff. (circa 1,812 lines), acephalous, beginning *gašt ba-pašēw-ḥāl || ba-dīl-girānī*. A complete copy of the poem belongs to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Pertsch, p. 963, No. 995, 142 ff., copied in 1241/1825, bought by Hörnle in Tabriz in 1837. A third copy was formerly in my possession. I have now only the beginning of the passage on the birth of Khusrau-i Parvīz.

<sup>1</sup> Banū Shaybān.

*Mawlūd(e) mawjūd bā-kām-o-wāyā*  
*Seperdāš wā-dās dāyān-u-tāyā*  
*Pēčānāš wā-bārg wātāy bū-amār*<sup>1</sup>  
*Pārwārešeš dān be-šāhd-u-šākār*

(4) *Farhād-u-Shīrīn*, MS. Hörnle, cf. Pertsch, p. 963, No. 994, fol. 70b-93, beginning:—

*bā pardā-yi ghayb || bē ‘ayb pārvārdā*  
*ki ruxāt šifāt || tamām nākārdā*

My copy of the poem is incomplete, 54 ff., circa 1,680 verses, end of the nineteenth century. Beginning: *ki dinyāš wā-kām || tā bā-sar bardām*. Fol. 30v.: “Shirin goes to Bisūtūn.”

*Bešnow jā Šīrīn dehdār-e dīrīn*  
*Hāwāy Fārhād kīrd nā Qāsr-e Šīrīn*  
*Jāfākīšā wēš āwārdīš wā-yād*  
*Bānā kīrd bāyū bāwīnū Fārhād*

(5) *Bahrām-wa-Gulandām*: the love adventures of Bahrām, son of the king of Kishvar, and Gulandām, princess of China. Br. Mus., Add. 23554, 53 ff., 12 lines to a page, early nineteenth century. Beginning:—

*jā ‘ešq-i yāwār || mājūša čūn bārq*  
*jā dīl mākīšā || na‘rāy wēnā bārq*

(6) *Haft xwān-i Rustam*, MS. Hörnle, Pertsch, p. 963, No. 994, ff. 1-26b (Kurd. MSO Peterm., ii, No. 14). The poet sings Rustam’s exploits in Māzandarān, see *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Vullers, i, 335-357. Beginnings: *Be-nām-i bē čun || bannāy behtārīn Pādešāy bē bāk || jehān āfārīn*.

I heard mentioned a poem *Rustam-u-dīw-i sefid* (Vullers, i, 351), which must be an episode from the *Haft-xwān*.

(7) *Sohrāb-u-Rustam*, occupies ff. 26a-55a of the same MS. Hörnle.

(8) *Jahāngīr-u-Rustam*. Jahāngīr is a son of Rustam, and his adventures are reminiscent of those of his brother Sohrāb: cf. Ethé in *Grund. der Iran. Phil.*, ii, 234. A MS. formerly in my possession (bought in Zohāb) begins:—

*Ebtedāy āwāt be-nām-e yāzdān*  
*Āfārīnāndā ens-u-jīnn-u jān*  
*Ar bešey tawfīq hayyā lā-yānām*  
*Šāmāy buwāčīm za dāstān-e Sām*  
*Žā ba‘da Sohrāb šahīd-e xānjār*  
*Rostām za hejran wēš kārd dār-be-dār*

(9) *Kitāb-i Xāwarān*, fabulous adventures of ‘Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib. Formerly in my possession. The episode on the killing of the Giant Šalsāl by ‘Alī begins:

*Šāy mardān jā xāw kārdāšān bēdār*  
*Hālāt-e Šālsāt pēš kārdān ezhār*  
*Nā kārd mādārā āmīr-e gozīn*  
*Šī nā pēy Šālsāt mal‘ūn-e bē-dīn*

<sup>1</sup> *wālā*, “stuff”; *bū-amar*, “amber scented.”

(10) *Kitāb-i Muḥammad-i Ḥanīfa*, the story of Muḥammad son of ‘Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib and his wife Khaula al-Ḥanafīyya.<sup>1</sup> The MS., Paris, Bib. Nat., supp. persan No. 777, has 35 ff. Colophon: “ended the book of Muḥammad Ḥanīfa (*sic*) in the Gūrānī language, containing a praise of the imām (*sic*) ‘Alī Murtaḍā, of his face (*rūy*) and of his son M. Ḥanīfa and concerning their wars and struggles, in Sha‘bān of the year 1228 from the flight of the Prophet, peace be upon him” (August, 1813). Beginning after *basmala*:—

*Yā xodāy raḥmān || yā xodāy ghafūr*  
*Yā xodāy sirr-pūsh || sāttār-u-ṣābūr*

(11) *Nādīr-u-Topāl*. I only heard mentioned this poem which undoubtedly refers to the war of Nādīr Shāh with the gallant Topal-‘Osmān Pāshā, A.D. 1733, in the immediate neighbourhood of Zohāb: see L. Lockhart, *Nadīr-shah*, 1938, p. 68.

(12) *Jang-nāma-yi shāhzāda Muhammad* \**‘Alī-mīrzā bā Kahyā-pāshā*. The poem occupies fol. 55–70 of MS. Hörnle, cf. Pertsch, No. 994. The author, Mīrzā Kerendī, glorifies the victory of Prince ‘Alī Mīrzā, governor of Kerman-shah, over the K’ahyā ‘of Dāvūd Pāshā of Baghdad in June, 1821: see Rich, *Narrative*, ii, 184. This event also took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Zohāb.

(13) *Jang-i malax bā ātash-malūč*, a heroicomic poem<sup>2</sup> on the war of locusts with the birds *āyna-mal* (in Persian *ātaš-malūč*, in Kurdish *āhīr-malūč*, in Arabic *samarmar*, in Latin *Pastor roseus*).<sup>3</sup> The author is unknown. As the date of invasion of locusts quoted in the text is 1300/1882, the poem was written after this date. The MS. in my possession contains 7 ff., 15 lines to page.<sup>4</sup>

Beginning:—

*Āvāt ebtedā be-nām-e kārīm*  
*Fāzlā besmellā raḥmān-or-rāhīm*  
*Jāng-e āynā-māl čānī šāy jārād*  
*Buwāčūn yārān xām beḍeyn wā-bād*  
*Žā sānāy hezār sesūd yā kāmtār*  
*Peyā bī mālāx gurūy bād-nāzār*  
*Molkā garmāsīr tā šahr-e Bāghdād*  
*Wā sowzī xoryā gārdāš dān wa-bād*

### B. Lyrics

The best guide available to Gūrān lyrics is the anthology of Br. Mus. Or. 6444, which contains poems of twenty-seven authors, who all lived before A.D. 1788, which is the date of the MS.

<sup>1</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> To the same class belongs the fable of the wolf and the fox, taken down by Benedictsen in Pāwa.

<sup>3</sup> See J. Deny, “La légende de l’eau des sauterelles,” in *J.A.*, April, 1933, 323–340.

<sup>4</sup> The same MS. contains a “Kurdish” (i.e. Gūrānī) alphabet in 20 verses.

1. MAḤZŪNĪ, ff. 10, 32, 33, said to have been scribe at the court of the vali of Ardalān Khusrau Khān I, who ruled 1168-1204/1754-1789 (Soane : 2 poems).

2. SHAYKH AḤMAD TAKHTĪ, f. 11, native of Awrāmān-i takht, lived towards A.D. 1640 (Soane : 2 poems).

3. MUḤAMMAD QULI SULAYMĀN, ff. 12, 13 (Soane : 1 poem).

4. MĪRZĀ IBRĀHĪM, f. 26.

5. MAULĀNĀ QĀSIM, f. 28.

6. YŪSUF YĀSKA, f. 32. According to Dr. Sa'īd-khān he was a servant of Khan Aḥmad Khān Ardalān.<sup>1</sup> His master suspected him of dallying with his wife Kolāh-zar Khānum, daughter of Shah 'Abbās,<sup>2</sup> and had him immured alive.

7. SHAYKH LUṬFULLĀH, f. 32.

8. MOLLĀ ṬĀHIR AWRĀMĀNĪ, ff. 32, 38 (Soane : 1 poem).

9. ILYĀS BEG, f. 33.

10. MOLLĀ FAḌLULLĀH, f. 33.

11. ḤĀJJĪ 'ALĪ MUḤAMMAD BEG TĪLAKŪ, f. 34. Tilakū is one of the eastern districts of Ardalān : see "Senna" in *EI*.

12. MAULĀNĀ FARRUKH PALANGĀNĪ, f. 34 (Soane : 1 poem).

13. MOLLĀ ḤĀFIZ FARHĀD, f. 34.

14. RİDĀ BEG, f. 39.

15. MUḤAMMAD AMĪN BEG AWRĀMĪ, f. 39.

16. SHAYKH YA'QŪB KHĀN, f. 40.

17. UWAYS BEG, f. 40.

18. MAULĀNĀ YŪSUF, brother of Mollā Ḥabīb Kalān, f. 41.

19. SHAYKH ḤASAN DARRA-HARDĪ, f. 45.

20. 'ABD, f. 46.

21. 'OMAR NAZZĀRĪ, f. 46.

22. SHAYKH MUṢṬAFĀ TAKHTĪ (i.e. of Awrāmān-i takht), f. 48.

23. ŞŪFĪ 'ALĪ KĒVĀNĪ (?), f. 49.

24. SHAYKH AḤMAD MŌ'Ī (?), f. 49.

25. LĀLŪ KHUSRAU, f. 50.

26. SHAYKH SHAMS AL-DĪN DARRA-HARDĪ, f. 51.

27. USTĀD MIKĀ'ĪL, f. 51.

28. KHĀNAY QUBĀDĪ, f. 51, of the Jāf tribe, which (now ?) speaks Kurdish. Should his poems prove to be in Gūrānī this would suggest the popularity of the dialect for literary purposes, or that the Jāf have changed their speech.

In addition to these names found in the Anthology the following names were dictated to me by Dr. Sa'īd-khān :—

29. MOLLĀ MUṢṬAFĀ BĒSĀRĀNĪ, from the village Bēsārān, in the canton Zhāwarūd, who died *circa* A.D. 1760 and lies buried in Du-rū in Awrāmān-i takht. It is possible that he is identical with No. 22. Bēsārānī has left a *dīvān* (*kulliyāt*).

30. ŞAYDĪ flourished towards A.D. 1520 (?) and wrote in a particular dialect, now extinct. The specimens which Dr. Sa'īd-khān communicated to me confirm its Gūrānī type, but it uses *xwēm* for the Gūrānī *wēm*. A *dīvān* (*kulliyāt*) of

This celebrated vali of Ardalān is often mentioned at the time of Shah 'Abbās and Shah Şāfi : see 'Ālam-ārā, 762, *Dhayl-i 'Ālam-ārā*, Tehran, 1317, pp. 195, 288. He took an active part in the operations in Mesopotamia, but finally went over to the Ottomans and died in Mosul in 1046/1636. The Ibrāhīmī branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq consider him as one of their incarnations.

<sup>2</sup> The historian of the vālis of Ardalān calls her Zarrīn-kolāh, sister of Shah 'Abbās ; my MS., p. 111.



Şaydī existed in Razāw (Awramān-i takht), but the owner refused to let a copy of it be made.

31. MOLLĀ RAḤĪM TAYJOWZĪ of Javān-rūd (the latter name is apparently connected with the Jāf tribe). He has a *kulliyāt* and an *‘Aqida-nāma*. His language is mixed.

32. AḤMAD BEG KŌMĀSĪ is celebrated for his elegy, of which we speak below in detail. Dr. Sa‘īd-khān in his reprint of it quotes another short poem of his: *qalbām wā zuzāl*.

### C. Religious Poetry

The *Şalawāt-nāma* of Khānay Qubādī (*vide supra*, lyrics No. 28) is a specimen of an orthodox Shī‘a poem in honour of Muḥammad and ‘Alī. The MS. in my possession (dated 1310/1892) contains forty-nine verses full of conventional terms and very scantily seasoned with dialectal elements.

Beginning:—

*Yā rabb bē-hājāt zāt-e bē-eybāt*  
*Be-serr-e tāqdīr zā elm-e gheybāt*  
*Ānān-fa-ānān sā‘ūt-be-sā‘ūt*  
*Hey zā rūy āzāl tā rūy qiyāmāt*  
*Hār lāhzā hār dām hār rū ziyādtār*  
*Sālāwāt bube nūr pāk peyghāmbār*

To the same category must belong the *‘Aqida-nāma* of Mollā Raḥīm Tāyjawzī (*vide supra*, lyrics No. 31). Nor does the *Kitāb-i khāwarān* (*vide supra*, epics No. 9) go beyond the usual type of Shī‘a apocrypha.

More curious are the motives for the composition of a dithyramb in honour of Muḥammad, son of the Ḥanafite (*vide supra*, epics No. 10), in view of the fact that the extremist sect Kaysāniya recognized him as imām and some of its adherents were expecting Muḥammad’s return.<sup>1</sup> In 65–7/685–7 the famous Mukhtār raised the banner of rebellion to support the claims of Muḥammad b. Ḥanafīya.<sup>2</sup> In 66/685 he appointed a governor to Ḥulwān in order to fight the Kurds (see *IA.*, iv, 187), i.e. probably the Sunni Kurds. On the contrary, for the Ahl-i Ḥaqq Gūrāns these events may symbolize the spread of the Shī‘a extremism in Zagros and even the championship for the rights of the oppressed classes (*mawālī*).

However, speaking of the religious literature in Gūrānī we have in view above all the writings of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq. We have mentioned that the founder of the sect, Sultān Sohāk, born at Barzenje, sixteen miles east of Sulēmānī, was most closely associated with the Gūrān. One of the hymns definitely insists upon S. Sohāk’s having spoken Gūrānī. Even at a later period when the religion became “Turkicized” in Azarbayjan, one of the “angels”, Khān Almās, composed hymns both in Turkish and Gūrānī (e.g. the popular *chār gūshā māt-ān*). A number of verses in a kind of archaic Gūrānī are found in the text of my copy of *Saranjām* (copied in 1259/1843). Possibly in the

<sup>1</sup> Friedländer, “The heterodoxies of the Shī‘ites,” in *JAOS.*, 1909, vol. 29, pp. 133–8.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *Die . . . Oppositionsparteien im alten Islam*, 1901, pp. 74–87.

beginning of the nineteenth century lived Shaykh Amīr (referred to by Gobineau), of whose poems I possess *Haftād-u du kalīma*.

A great number of *kalām* is due to the Khāmūshī sayyids whose headquarters are at Tū-shāmī, near Gahwāra. Sayyid Rustam, son of Sayyid Ayāz, son of the famous Sayyid Brāka, was still alive in 1920. The poet attached to this family was Darvīsh Naurūz, who often called himself "the least dog of the house of Khāmūsh". He was alive towards 1875.<sup>1</sup>

A very notorious poet was Taymūr-qulī b. Ridā-'Alī, a Gūrān youth of Bān-Yārān (near Bābā-Yādegār). His career began under the auspices of Sayyid Brāka, but he soon claimed to be an incarnation of divinity. His activity provoked great troubles in the province of Kermanshah and the governor-general had him executed in 1268/1822.<sup>2</sup> This dreamer is credited with a complete *divān*.<sup>3</sup> Soon after Taymūr's death another youth, Ṣayfūr (or Fattāḥ), claimed to be his incarnation, and this Taymūr II is also said to have composed a *divān*.<sup>4</sup>

The structure of the religious *kalāms* does not differ from that of the epic and lyric poetry.<sup>5</sup> The attempts to imitate the *ghazal* with its rhyme running through the whole poem usually end in a fiasco, but very often the *kalāms* are arranged in strophes with a burden repeated after each. The *kalāms* are meant to be sung with the accompaniment of a *sāz* or a *tār* (*tamīra*): see *Notes*, 113-14.

It should be mentioned that the Ahl-i Ḥaqq consider as their saint the well-known dialectal poet Bābā Ṭāhir.<sup>6</sup> Thirteen quatrains belonging, or ascribed, to him are found inserted in the text of my MS. of *Saranjām*,<sup>7</sup> and thirty-one quatrains figure at the head of a collection of *kalāms* which was sent to me by my Ahl-i Ḥaqq friends. There is no doubt, however, that the conventional language of B. Ṭāhir presents no characteristics of the true Gūrānī, and that his metre (*hazaj*) is in the tradition of Persian (but not Gūrānī) popular poetry.

As an interesting novelty one should record the exploit of Dr. Sa'īd-khān, who published a sizeable book in which, in Gūrānī verse, he expounds the Christian doctrine.<sup>8</sup> It is most curious that Gūrānī has been chosen as a surest approach to the hearts of the author's countrymen, the Kurds. Dr. Sa'īd-khān writes: "I have endeavoured, in the language of Sulṭān and Pīr and the style of the later *daftars*, or rolls, to give them the message" (*sic*).<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I possess his *kalāms* beginning as follows: (1) *yārān kī vānān*, (2) *yārān čān čānān*, (3) *gird* (?) *gawiz-nān*, (4) *yārān čīs bi-ān*, (5) *yārān yādgār*, (6) *yārān āsmān*, (7) *yārān čē kārān*, (8) *yārān bārr-ām dī*.

<sup>2</sup> Minorsky, *Notes*, p. 155. Also *Firgān*, ii, 157.

<sup>3</sup> A letter of Sayyid Nūrullāh to Dr. Sa'īd-khān, 6 Dhul-qa'da 1342. One of his poems is found in the O. Mann MS. which I analysed in my *Notes*, 171-3.

<sup>4</sup> The *Kalām* in my *Saranjam* beginning *Taymūr-dhāt hastam*, "I possess the person of Taymūr," is apparently by Ṣayfūr. See my *Notes*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 96 below.

<sup>6</sup> See Minorsky, "B. Ṭāhir," in *EI*.

<sup>7</sup> Minorsky, *Matériaux*, pp. 99-103.

<sup>8</sup> *Kitāb-i nizānī* (*mizgānī*) "Book of good tidings", 515 pages, mostly 15 lines to page, copied in 1342/1924, introduction dated Murdād 1309/1930, with a preface by S. H. Taqizadeh.

<sup>9</sup> *The Moslem World*, January, 1927, p. 40.

## 5. THE ELEGY OF AḤMAD KHĀN KŌMĀSĪ

In 1917 my friend Dr. Sa'īd-khān Kordestānī communicated to me the text of an elegy written by Aḥmad Khān Kōmāsī on the death of his wife. The original was in Arabic script, but Dr. Sa'īd-khān dictated it to me and explained the difficult passages. Dr. Sa'īd-khān was born in a Kurdish family of Muslim divines. At an early age he embraced the Christian religion and through many vicissitudes of fortune stood firmly by his convictions. Ever faithfully attached to his people, he is deeply versed in Kurdish life, language, and traditions. To his enlightened interest we owe the salvage of the famous Greek parchments which he brought back from Awrāmān.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sa'īd-khān's native language is the Kurdish of Senne (Ardalan),<sup>2</sup> but he is so well acquainted with the Gūrānī *کۆڤڠ*, which as a literary language flourished at the court of the hereditary valis of Ardalān, that he composed in it the already mentioned treatise in verse. We have to assume that Aḥmad Khān Kōmāsī himself meant his poem to be read in *کۆڤڠ*. Therefore Dr. Sa'īd-khān's reading and interpretation could hardly be improved upon, so far as our purpose goes. Some day a phonetic transcription will be taken on the spot, if possible among the Kōmāsī. Here we are interested in the elegy as a literary achievement, and for this purpose the subtleties of individual pronunciation recede to the second plane.

There is no definite information on the author of the elegy except that he belonged to the Kōmāsī tribe. The district of Kurrāvāz where the Kōmāsī are established consists of twenty villages with some 2,500 inhabitants.<sup>3</sup> It lies in the province of Senne (the "Kurdistan proper" of the official terminology) on the road connecting this town with Mariwān, and on a left affluent of the river of Awrāmān-i takht. The district is a *terra incognita*,<sup>4</sup> and we cannot assume that a "Gūrānī" dialect is spoken in it at present.<sup>5</sup> It is more probable that to give expression to his sorrow Aḥmad Khān chose the usual vehicle of the poets of Ardalān.

With all its freshness and lack of convention the elegy reflects some definite poetical canon. Its outward form conforms to Gūrānī use. Each verse consists of two rhyming hemistiches, each of ten syllables divided by the cæsura into two groups of five syllables. The verse is clearly syllabic without any consideration of length.<sup>6</sup> The first hemistich of the poem is incomplete: it contains

<sup>1</sup> See E. H. Minns, "Parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan," in *JHS.*, vol. xxxv, 1915, pp. 22-65.

<sup>2</sup> See my articles "Senne" and "Sisar" in *EI*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alī Akbar Viqāyī-nigār, *Ḥadiqa-yi Nāṣiri*—a history of Ardalān in my possession.

<sup>4</sup> It was only accidentally traversed by Lycklama a Nijeholt who praises its wooded landscape, *Voyage en Russie, etc.*, 1875, iv, 60.

<sup>5</sup> In spite of its lying so near to Awrāmān! The language of Mariwān which is situated immediately north of Avroman is Kurmānji.

<sup>6</sup> Apart from the Avestan and Middle Persian verses built on the syllabic pattern, we have now examples of the Tājik poetry with verses of ten syllables, but based on a tonic pattern: see A. N. Boldirev, in *Trudi Tajik. bazi*, iii, 1936, 59-73. [I understand that Dr. Henning has now come to the conclusion that older Iranian poetry is tonic and not merely syllabic. After all, I should also admit that in Gūrānī poetry tonic stress appears as important as the number of syllables.]

only the second half of the hemistich, as if to announce the rhyme and subject. This practice is common in all the Gūrānī poems, lyric, epic, or religious.

The plan of the poem is very clear: Aḥmad-khan repairs to the tomb of his wife (verses 1-3), and over it gives vent to his sorrow (v. 4-19). He is full of anxiety for his beloved lying in darkness and cold (v. 20-4). He remembers her hair, her gazelle eyes. Why did she abandon him? (v. 25-32). Silence. Why does she not respond? Perhaps her love has ceased? (v. 33-9). Then a voice is heard: the tomb prevents its captive from replying; the lover's lament is of no avail against destiny (v. 40-9). There is no escape from it; the lover will take his place by the beloved (v. 50-2). Maybe! but Aḥmad till his dying hour will go on mourning his beauty (v. 53).

Several images of the elegy belong to current Islamic stock. The name of the departed wife, Leyla, suggests to the bereaved poet the attitude of Majnūn; he burns on the fire of separation as a Phoenix (*gaqnas*, \**gaqnus*)<sup>1</sup>; he calls his beloved "a walking cypress", etc.<sup>2</sup> But apart from these external embellishments he moves freely in the liberal frame of Gūrānī poetry.

The spectacle of death loosens the fetters of tradition even of the classical Persian poets. The subject is worth a special investigation, but it will be enough to remember some better known examples to set off the originality of the modest poet of Kōmāsī.

In the strophes dedicated to the memory of his son the slightly rationalizing Firdausī imagines him as having reached Light, there to prepare a place for the father. With his epic serenity Firdausī prays God to forgive the sins of the youth and to clothe him with the cuirass of Reason.

Khāqānī, son of a Christian mother, dedicated three poems to his departed wife. One of them is long and cold, but the remaining two are simple and affectionate. To prolong the days of his dying wife, he says: "Should my days be burdened with solicitude for thee, let me not consider solicitude for thee heavy." In the other poem he mourns his "faithful companion (*vafā-parvard yār*)", the trusted keeper of his secret thoughts. The poet's biographer rightly says: "la douleur lui fait oublier son érudition."<sup>3</sup> This could not be said of another long poem on the death of Khāqānī's child. Nothing is more pathetic than the contrast between genuine despair which pervades it and the crust of pedantic learning through which it filters.<sup>4</sup>

The lament of Amīr Khusrau Dihlavī for his mother is moderated by the

<sup>1</sup> I wonder whether the mysterious فتنس is not a mere misspelling of فتنس \**finiqs*? Thus the name of Alexander's father in Arabic is *Faylaqūs* for \**Filifūs*, Philippos.

<sup>2</sup> Khurshid-efendi, Russ. transl. p. 148, writes in his chapter on Zohab: "Among the desert Arabs very few can read, whereas among the Kurds many are acquainted with letters and know the stories of Farhād and Shīrīn, Rustam and Bahrām Gūr." On Leyla and Majnūn, see above, epics No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> N. Khanikof, "Mémoire sur Khācānī," in *Jour. As.*, August, 1864, pp. 185-190; cf. Khāqānī, *Kulliyāt*, ed. Tehran, 1316/1937, pp. 808 and 311-12. Cf. also Salemann, *Chetvero-stishiya Khāqānī*, 1875, pp. 18-19.

<sup>4</sup> Khāqānī, *Kulliyāt*, ed. Tehran, 1316/1937, p. 163.

nature of the subject. The sorrow is tempered by resignation, and the reproaches of fate are familiar and rhetorical.<sup>1</sup>

A quatrain of Ḥāfiẓ,<sup>2</sup> which is both a "spring-poem" (*bahārīya*) and an elegy (*marthīya*), is unique in its harmony of deep feeling and mature art. Quite naturally my old teacher, F. E. Korsh (1843–1915), tried to render it in Greek verse:—

"Ἐστῆκεν μὲν ἔαρ· Θάλλει δ' ἴα καὶ νάρκισσος  
'Ἡδὲ ῥόδον· σὺ δέ μοι τίπτε μένεις ὑπὸ γῆς ;  
Ἐλαρινῶ ὡς ὄμβρῳ ἰὼν τεόν, ὦ φίλε, τύμβον  
"Ἀρσω δακρυχέων ὄφρ' ἂν ὑπεκπροφανέης.

After these examples it will be easier to value the artless dirge from Zagros. The poet's feelings are simple but strong. No artifice of mysticism or theology obscures them. Like a pagan living in direct communion with nature Aḥmad Khān feels the cold of Leyla's "narrow dwelling". It is vain to force the gate of the Inevitable, but the sorrow of the loss burns like a wound of which the poet speaks with the realism of a warrior. And the poem ends on the cry of no submission, no resignation!

The poem is very popular throughout Kurdistan. Benedictsens<sup>3</sup> took down the three opening verses in Avrāmān. A truncated version of the poem was reproduced in a Kurdish anthology printed in Stambul.<sup>4</sup> The complete text was lithographed in Tehran by Dr. Sa'īd-khān, who added special signs for the special retroflex *l* (*lām* with a hook) and the strong *r* (*r* with a tashdid). The specimen annexed has been photographed from his hand-written copy.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. . . . . <i>Gîlkoy tazeŷ Leyl</i><br><i>Nā pāyey mazar o" Leyle pîr meyl</i><br><i>Şim wā sārīnāš wā dātāy<sup>5</sup> pîr jo"š</i><br><i>Wātîm : āy dîşōz, Qāyşe loŋg-wā-</i><br><i>kōt</i>                     | <i>Arū šim wā sār gîlkoy tazeŷ Leyl</i><br><i>Jā dīdām wārān āsrīnān cūn seyl</i><br><i>Sānge mazarāš girtîm wā bāwîş</i><br><i>Mobārākîţ bō yāney bīdî cōt !</i>   |
| 5. <i>Sār hōr-dār nā xāk, sōle xārāmān</i><br><i>Kōçe bē-wādāt kārī p"ēm kārdān</i><br><i>Gîrrāy nāre 'eşq dūrī bātāy to</i><br><i>Waxtān cūn Qāqnās bābūn wā zoxal</i><br><i>Yā hō bā-wēney Qāyşe loŋg-wā-kōt</i> | <i>Mîñ Mājnūne to-m, wāy-tōr p"ēm āmān</i><br><i>Bē-zārîm jâ gyān rāzîm bā-mārdān</i><br><i>Kārī p"ēm kārdān, no" nāmāme no"</i><br><i>Şād bō bā-gārdîm zalān yā şamāl</i><br><i>Tān bō wā-xorāk wāşîyāne cōt</i> |
| 10. <i>So"ğānd bo" xātān fîrūzey xoşrāŋg</i><br><i>Jo" sāvā gārdāş çārxe pîr setām</i><br><i>To bārdān wā-xāk siyāy tāŋge tār</i>  | <i>Bo" dāstey zîlfān pāşewyāy pāy sāŋg</i><br><i>Mîñ-o-to wā jo"r jiyā kārd jâ hām</i><br><i>Mîñ mām p"ēy āzār jāfāy rōzegār</i>  |

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Browne, *LHP.*, iii, 109.

<sup>2</sup> Its genuineness is still suspect.

<sup>3</sup> Published by A. Christensen, *Les dialectes d'Awromān et de Pāwā*, Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-filol. Medd., vi/2, 1921, p. 112.

<sup>4</sup> *Anjuman-i adabiyāt-i kurd*, edited by Colonel Amīn-Faydī of Sulēmāni, Stambul, 1339/1920, pp. 105–9: twenty-six verses of the elegy. The editor explains that the language is "the Kurdish of Iran. The reading is difficult (*nākhwandvār*), but the author had much power in representing life".

<sup>5</sup> But see verses 16, 36, 43.

لحم بیک کوماسی در رثیه کوچ خود گفته است

۱. کلکوتر ناز لیل      آرد شیم و سیر کلکوتر ناز لیل
- نبایه فرار او لیل پر میل      چه دیدیم و ارا اسر نیان چون لیل
- نیم و سربش و دله پر جوش      سنگ فرارش گریتم و باوش
- و اتم اردل سوز قیس کو کند و کول      سابرکت بو یانه بیدی چول
5. سر هوردار سخاک سول خزان      من مجنون قوم دی طوریم آمان
- کوچ بیو ادت کاری هم کردن      بیزارم هگیان راضیم و مردن
- گرگزه ناز عشق و در بر با لار تو      کار پیچ کردن نو غلام نو
- دختر چون قفس بن در غال      شاد بو بگردم ز لان پشال
- یا هو بویه قیس کو کند و کول      تن بود خوراک و حشیا چول
10. سو کند بو خالان فیروزه خورنگ      بو رسته زلفان پشویا باورنگ
11. جو ساهه گردش جریخ پر ستم      من دو دو جور جیا کردیم
- تو بردن و خاک سیاهی تنگ تار      من نام بی آزار حقای روزگار
- هر رد چون مجنون خاطر هم کل      هر لیل لبیلن نه زده و چل
- خان پزاران رفیق رامن      چنینو حفا و جور دایم سود من
15. سیاهی ضم بی طور هجوم آوردن      قافله فام بتاراج بردن
- ز استان سخت ای دله پر اش      چون های باران گاز زو خا و لبش
- شوکیلن زو خا و دلای حمدا      کافر نر بربش میو پمیدا
- یائتم ویران در دم دیوان      چون آهوی تنیا سر لم شوپان
- شوان زاری شین بون زور دین      یکبار و سو به تنیای تو من
20. حال تو چشیش شای و فاداران      کین نامر ازت صبا دیوان
- نوسری تاریک پر خوف و خط      مدارت چنین لیل ناز پرور
- هچور مویاری چنین قرارت      کین مادر فقی لیل و مدارت<sup>1</sup>

- Hār rō cūn Mājnūn xātīr jā xām  
kāyl  
Xāmān pāžārān rafēge rā-mān*
15. *Sāpāy xām bāytōr hujūm āwārdān  
Zāmātāne sāxt āy dīlāy pīr ēš  
Šo<sup>u</sup> kāylān zuxā<sup>u</sup> wā lāy jēm<sup>u</sup>δā  
Yānām wērānān dārdīm d<sup>u</sup>ēwiyān  
Šāwān zārī-w-šin, rō<sup>u</sup> ān rōrō mān*
20. *“Hāte-to čēšān, šāy wāfādārān  
N<sup>o</sup> sārāy tārīk pīr xo<sup>u</sup>f-u xātār  
Četōr māwyārī cūn-ān qārārāt?  
Nā sārđī hāwāy sārde siyā-sāng  
Jā bātī bāhūy Qāyse xāmīnāt*
25. *Dāxām o<sup>u</sup> dāx-ān, Leyle xātīr-tāng,  
Wā čānge čil-čāng to tā-tā-t mākārd  
O<sup>u</sup> dīdāy māxmūr āhū-bēze to  
Īsā nā gārdeš čārxe nīlī-rāng  
Sā p<sup>u</sup>ēy čēš sōmāy dīdām tār nābō*
30. *To xārīke qābr siyāy sārđānī  
Mīn tānyā cūn Qāys lēwāy xām-  
xātāt  
Wāl-hāsīl hārčānd šīn-o-zārīm kārd  
Nā juwāw dā p<sup>u</sup>ēm, nā zārrāy dāng  
kārd  
Dāysān hām jā no<sup>u</sup> wātam: “Āy  
dīl-sōz*
35. *Yā p<sup>u</sup>ēy čēš meylām jā-lāt kām bī-ān  
Mīn wāy dīlāy xār bē-qārārāwā  
Hām nā sārīnāt zār-zār mānātū  
To hēč nīt wā qāyđ bē-qārārī mīn  
Nīmāđāy juwāw, nuxātāy xāt begārd*
40. *Đīm, sāđāye nārm jā tōy xākāwā  
Āmā wā gōšām cūn hārdā-jārān  
So<sup>u</sup>gānd bā wāhed farde bē-hāmtā  
Rāy juwāw nī-ān, dīl bē-qārārān  
Jā tā'sīre xāk hāwāy sārđ sāng*
45. *Xāne xāk bo<sup>u</sup>tōr māhbūsām kārdān  
Bālē, hār čānd šīn zārī mākārī  
Fā'idāš nī-ān sūd nāđārū p<sup>u</sup>ēt  
P<sup>u</sup>ēy čēš āy dīnyā xeylī bē-wāfān  
Kās jā qāyde dām mākraš nārāstān*
50. *Jā āwawūt dīnyā tā wā rōy māhšār  
Hār kās dīl šāđ bo wāy dīnyāy bē-pō  
Hār čānd pārēw mīn to āl-wāđātān  
Ahmāđ pārēw kōč šāy jāmin-jāmān*
- Hār: “Leyl, Leyle-mīn,” nā hārdāy  
Dujāyl  
Čānīw jāfā-w-jo<sup>u</sup>r dāyim so<sup>u</sup>đāmān  
Qāfeley fāmīm bā tārāj bārdān  
Čūn jāy mārān-gāz zuxā<sup>u</sup> māyū lēš  
Kāfir bāzā'īš māyo [sic] p<sup>u</sup>ēm<sup>u</sup>δā  
Čūn āhūy tānyā sār lēm šēwiyān  
Yāk jār wāsuwāsey tānyā'ī-to mān  
Kī-ān hāmrazāt sābā-w-ēwārān  
Māđārāt cūn-ān, Leyle nāz-pārwar  
Kī-ān hā<sup>u</sup>-rāfēq leyli-o-nāhārāt?  
Četōr-ān xālān fīrūzey-wāš rāng?  
Kām sānge siyā hān jā bātīnāt?  
O<sup>u</sup> dāssey zīlfān pāšēwyāy pāy sāng.  
Īsā pāšēwān cūn rāyhāne hārd  
O<sup>u</sup> Qāyse qātrān šārr-āngēze to  
Bē-ro<sup>u</sup>naq bī-ān cūn nāqš rūye sāng  
Zendāgī jā lām zār<sup>u</sup>mār nābō?  
Tāmām hāsrātān nā dīl bārdānī  
Zendā māgētōn nā rūy sār bisāt.”*
- Nā pāy qābre Leyl bē-qārārīm kārd  
Yāk jār bīlēsām nā gārdūn wiyārd*
- Hakīme dārmān dārde Mājnūn-dōz*
- Mār āhde wārīn jā yāđāt šī-ān?  
Wāy jāmay siyāy yāxā-pārāwā  
Xāki yānāy no<sup>u</sup>t wā čām māmātū  
Jā āl-wāđāy sāxt šīn-o-zārī mīn  
Ma'lūmān jā lāt meylām bī-ān sārđ  
J<sup>o</sup> yānāy tāzāy hāsrātānākāwā  
Wātāš: “Hāy, Mājnūn, wēlē kōsārān  
Bē-wāđā kārdān mīn jā to jiyā  
Freyk sāng-u-xāk wā jāsām bārān  
Rāy juwāw nī-ān, čānīt kārū dāng  
Nāzārāne wēm jā yāđām bārdān  
Hār čānd sār wā sāng siyā māđārī  
Bīšō, zārī kār pārēw bāxte wēt  
Jā tānxwāy wāfāš dāyem hār jāfān  
Yāk-yāk wā zānjīr āyyārī bāstān  
Hēč kās jā dāmaš bār nā-šī-n wā bār  
Āxīr sārānjām rānjā-rō mābō  
Āxīr sārānjām āy jāgā jātān.”  
Restāxēz kārū tā māрге sāmān!*

Here is the translation intended to facilitate the understanding of each word of the original :—

1. . . . " The fresh mound of Leyla !  
 To-day I went near the fresh mound of Leyla.  
 At the foot of the tomb of the graceful Leyla,  
 Like a torrent, tears showered from my eyes.  
 I repaired to her bedside and with my heart surging  
 Seized with my hands her tumular stone.  
 I said : o thou who settest the heart on fire, lo, before you is the Qays <sup>1</sup>  
 clad-in-rags.  
 Blessed be thy house in the dreary waste !
5. Raise thy head from the earth, o stately cypress.  
 I am your Majnūn ; this is what has befallen me.  
 Your untimely departure has afflicted me so much  
 That I no more care for my soul, am ready to die.  
 The leaping fire of my love and the separation from your shapely form  
 Have affected me, o sweet basil just unfurled, so  
 That at times, like a Phoenix, I turn to glowing coal.  
 May the North wind and the West wind <sup>2</sup> play with my dust.  
 Or rather, like unto the Qays clad-in-rags,  
 May my body fall a prey to the wild beasts of the desert.
10. By those moles, like to turquoises of perfect colour !  
 By the crown of the tresses now lying dishevelled under the stone !  
 This is how the rotation of the crafty wheel of the heaven  
 Has violently separated us, me from thee.  
 It took you into the black earth, tight and sombre,  
 While I have remained exposed to the outrages of Destiny.  
 Every day, like Majnūn, overwhelmed by sorrow  
 In the stony waste of the Tigris, I repeat : o Leyla, o Leyla mine !  
 Sorrows and sufferings are my travelling companions.  
 Worries oppress me continuously.
15. Thus has the army of troubles assailed me  
 And has looted the caravan of my thoughts !  
 The heavy cares of my aching heart  
 Are like snake-bites suppurating.  
 At night my bedside is stained with gore ;  
 Even an infidel would pity me.  
 My house is deserted, my pain is next to folly ;  
 As of a stray gazelle my thoughts are confused.  
 At night—tears and mourning ; at day—my wailing.  
 And suddenly, anxiety seizes me for your solitude.
20. How art thou, o queen of the faithful ?  
 Who is thy confidant in the morn and evening ?  
 In that dark abode full of dismay and danger,  
 How dost thou feel, o graceful Leyla ?  
 How dost thou fare, art thou tranquil ?  
 Day and night, who is thy companion ?  
 In the cold of the black stone

<sup>1</sup> I.e. Majnūn. <sup>2</sup> *Zalān* (?).



- What has become of thy turquoise-like moles ?  
 Instead of the arms of thy disconsolate Qays  
 What black stone serves thee for pillow ?
25. My pain, o sorrowful Leyla, is (for)  
 That cluster of curls which lie scattered under the stone.  
 I used to comb them one by one with a forty-toothed comb,  
 And now they are dispersed like basils on the rock.  
 Your languid eye which made one forget the gazelles,<sup>1</sup>  
 That pitch-dark " Qays " of yours <sup>2</sup> sowing misfortune,  
 Now through the rotation of the azure wheel  
 Has lost its splendour, like a picture on water.  
 Why does not the sight of my eyes become obscured,  
 Why does not this life quit me to go to perdition.
30. Thou, imprisoned by the dark, black tomb,  
 Hast carried away thy heart's worries ;  
 But I, lonely like the mad Qays, clad-in-sorrow,<sup>3</sup>  
 I wander still alive on the face of the earth,  
 And at last, however much I have wailed,  
 I have fainted at the foot of Leyla's tomb.  
 She has not responded with a single word to me  
 (Although) my flame suddenly soared beyond the sky.  
 Again and again I said : ' o burner of hearts,  
 O physician with a remedy for Majnun's ailment !
35. Why have my desires weighed so little with you ?  
 Have the vows of yore gone from your memory ?  
 And again with this vile heart of mine,  
 Again in this black garment, I am fainting with torn collar.  
 Here at thy bedside I am weeping bitterly  
 Rubbing my eyes on the dust of thy new dwelling.  
 Thou heedest not my anxiety,  
 My painful farewell and laments.  
 Thou givest me no answer, o dot of a flawless mole !  
 It is clear, thou hast grown indifferent to my love.'
40. But lo, a sweet voice coming from the folds of the earth,  
 From the new abode full of woes !  
 It reached my ear, as it used to  
 Saying : ' o Majnūn, gone astray in the mountains,  
 I swear by the One, the Unique, the Peerless,  
 Prematurely has He separated me from thee.  
 The way of response is barred, and the heart is fainting.  
 Stones and earth weigh heavily on my body.  
 It is this earth and the cold underneath the stone  
 That have barred the way of answer, for me to call you.
45. The house of earth has so enthralled me  
 That it has taken from memory my own dear ones.  
 No, however much thou criest and lamentest,  
 In striking thy head on the black stone,

<sup>1</sup> *Āhū-bēz* from *bēxtan* " debilem facere ".

<sup>2</sup> Here the symbol of Majnūn stand for " darkness ".

<sup>3</sup> *Xalāt* stands for *zal'at*.

- It is no use and has no profit for you.  
 Go, weep over your ill-luck.  
 Why is this world so inconstant ?  
 Instead of faithfulness, it ever metes out injustice  
 No one has escaped from the snare of its wiles,  
 One by one, it fetters men with the chain of its craftiness.
50. From the beginning of the world till the Day of Resurrection,  
 No one has escaped from its snare.  
 Whoever rejoices at the weftless <sup>1</sup> (fabric of this) world  
 In the end has to suffer and to wail.  
 In vain you say farewell to me,  
 In the end, this place will be yours (as well).<sup>2</sup>
53. O Aḥmad, for the departure of the queen of (the beauties) whose forehead  
 shines like a mirror,  
 Thou shouldst agonize till thy mortal end."

## ADDITIONS

To p. 79, point (d). Dr. W. Henning has drawn my attention to Marquart, *A Catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, 1931, p. 31, where Nor-Shirakan is explained as a contraction of \*Not-Artashīrakān, with reference to Ṭabarī, i, 820 and Ibn Khurdādhbih, 17. This weakens my argument; but is not the Sasanian form only a kind of "popular etymology" of an *older* term?

To p. 80, l. 6. The title "Gūrān-shāh" occurs in the remarkable list of Kay-Khusrau's auxiliaries arrayed against Afrāsiyāb; see *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, iv, 16, ed. Tehran 1314/1935, v, 1279:

*v'az-ū dūrtar Ārash-i razm-zan,*  
*chu Gūrān-shāh ān gurd-i lashkar-shikan.*

To p. 81, l. 25. The true reading must be *Mastakān*. There is a village of this name in Brādōst (west of Urmia).

To p. 84. *Rāwst* should probably be restored as \**rūstā* "district".

<sup>1</sup> Meaning: frail.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (1944), pp. 243-265

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609312>

Accessed: 28/02/2013 15:13

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Roman and Byzantine Campaigns in Atropatene

By V. MINORSKY

- § 1. Byzantine campaign against Bahrām Chūbīn (A.D. 591)
- § 2. Heraclius's campaigns (A.D. 626 and 628)
- § 3. Road Dinavar-Marāgha
- § 4. The fire-temple of Shiz
- § 5. Antonius's campaign (36 B.C.): Phraata, Vera
- § 6. Lake Čēčast

ONE of the arduous problems of ancient geography is the location of the furthest points in Atropatene (Azarbayjān) which were reached by Antonius in 36 B.C., by the Byzantine allies of Khusrau II in A.D. 591 and by the Emperor Heraclius in A.D. 624-7.

Major H. C. (later Sir Henry) Rawlinson studied this question in his well-known "Memoir on the Site of the Atropatenian Ecbatana", *JRGS*, 1840, x, pp. 65-158. At the time of its composition the author was only thirty years old and was leading the strenuous life of a soldier, yet his performance is remarkable not only for his mature judgment and clear vision of local topography, but also for a truly amazing array of classical and oriental evidence. Rawlinson's main thesis of the existence of a second Ecbatana was soon challenged,<sup>1</sup> but for a long time his analysis of the campaigns and the importance he attaches to the site of Takht-i Sulaymān have been considered to be conclusive. It was only when ancient authors appeared in more reliable editions, and more Arabic and Persian texts were published, that doubts were expressed on single points of Rawlinson's demonstration,<sup>2</sup> though many eminent scholars dared not challenge Rawlinson's final identifications.<sup>3</sup>

No attempt has yet been made to revise the whole problem studied by Rawlinson, but the evidence which we now have at our disposal renders untenable his basic thesis (p. 113), namely "that the various names of Phraata, Praaspa, Vera, Gaza, and Gazaca . . . refer to one and the same city," which he further (p. 114) locates at Takht-i Sulaymān.

The sources on Gazaca, the fire-temple, etc., have been systematically

<sup>1</sup> Quatremère, *Mémoire sur la ville d'Ecbatane*, in *Mem. de l'Ac. des Inscr.*, 1851, xix/1, pp. 419-456.

<sup>2</sup> Kiepert, *Atlas Antiquus*: Ganzak at Leylān. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, 1879, p. 100: "Ueberhaupt enthält diese Abhandlung Rawlinsons bei aller Verdienstlichkeit sehr viel verfehltes." Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, II/2, 1930, p. 72, places the temple at 6 fars. from Maragha "in Richtung Zinjān" [?]. Marquart, *A Catalogue of the provincial capitals*, 1931, 109 (Ganzak = Laylān).

<sup>3</sup> G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus d. syrischen Akten*, 1880, p. 252; Fabricius, *Theophanes von Mytilene*, Strassburg, 1898, p. 228 (the author winds up by surrendering his lucid arguments to the authority of the "Orientalists"); Marquart, *Ērānsāhr*, p. 108 (but see corrections in his later *A Catalogue*, p. 109); A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, Florence, 1905, p. 125, still found "le ragioni del Rawlinson convincentissime"; P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, viii, 1932, pp. 1099, 1454; Sir A. Stein, *Old routes in Western Iran*, 1940, p. 341 (with some hesitation).

surveyed several times,<sup>1</sup> and this enables us to concentrate on the more important issues while trying “to raise fresh crops by turning over old soil”.

As Byzantine records are by far the most abundant and explicit, it will be a considerable advantage to deal first with them, and only afterwards with Antonius' campaign.

### § 1. *Byzantine Expedition Against Bahrām Chūbīn*

The detailed western source on this expedition is Theophylactus Simocatta, ed. Bonn, pp. 204–238, who lived under the Emperor Heraclius (610–40) and recorded the events of the reign of Mauricius (582–602). He must have followed the report of one of the participants of the campaign who was outspoken about certain Persian blunders and not satisfied with the way in which Khusrau II treated his auxiliaries.

In the seventh year of the reign of Mauricius (A.D. 589), Khusrau II, threatened by the revolt of Bahrām Chūbīn, sought refuge with the Byzantines. At his request the Emperor bade his general, Narses, accompany him with a Greek contingent of troops.<sup>2</sup> Simultaneously Khusrau's maternal uncle Bindōē was to invade Persia from the north-west with the help of John, the prefect of Armenia. The stages of Khusrau and Narses have been analysed by Rawlinson, pp. 71–8, and Hoffmann, p. 217. Coming from Mardīn and Dārā the allies crossed the Tigris at *Διαβαδών* (Rawlinson places it “near the ruins of Nimrod”) and then the Great Zab. On the fourth day the expedition reached Alexandria (R.: “Arbela”). One day more brought them to the region called *Κλίμα Χναιθάς* (Syr. *Ḥnāithā*). The name is mentioned in Heraclius's campaign as *Χαμανηθᾶ* (Theophanes, ed. de Boor, 317). It certainly began north of Arbil (possibly in the valley of Bastura), although the extent of the bishopric *Ḥnāithā* is still uncertain (Hoffmann, 216–222).<sup>3</sup>

As Bahrām had received the report that the commander of the right wing of John's force was trying to cross the (Greater) Zab, he captured the bridge lower down. Then Narses directed his colleague Rufinus to occupy the other passages (*διαβάσεις*). After this Narses unexpectedly invaded the country of Aniseni (*τὴν τῶν Ἀνισηνῶν χώραν*). As the allies were already on the eastern bank of the Zab the desire of Narses must have been to secure his rear, with the exception of the bridge already occupied by the enemy. As it appears, John did not succeed in his plan to break through along the course of the Zab (or alternately along the line Van-Mervanen-‘Amādiā?), and the junction took place only to the east of the Zagros.

The identity of Aniseni is still obscure, but Rawlinson's equation Aniseni

<sup>1</sup> See Rawlinson, *passim*; Hoffmann, *Index*; W. Fabricius, pp. 227–231; Weissbach, *Gazaca* in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Lexicon*; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, pp. 124–143; Mary Crane in *Bull. Amer. Inst. Iran. Art.*, December, 1937, pp. 84–9.

<sup>2</sup> According to Muralt, this happened in A.D. 591.

<sup>3</sup> I feel pretty certain that the Kurdish tribe called in Arabic *Ḥumaidi* is connected with *Ḥnāithā*, just as the Hadhbāni Kurds have been surnamed after Hedhayeb (Adiabene).

= Azoni merits some attention.<sup>1</sup> Pliny, vi, 118 (ed. Detlefsen, 1904, 154) has : Gurdiaëis [Corduene] vero iuncti Azoni, per quos Zerbis [Zab] fluvius in Tigrim cadit, Azonis Silices montani [cf. the village Sidakan, east of Revanduz] et Orontes [cf. Revānduz], quorum ad occidentem oppidum Gaugamela [Arbela ?], item Suae in rupibus. In any case, Aniseni should be looked for in the direction of Revānduz.

When the advance of the main force was reported to Bahrām, he sent his troops northwards and eastwards to check John's progress towards the main body of Narses. In the course of this manoeuvre he reached "a certain lake" (ἐἷς τινα παρακειμένην λίμνην), which could only be Lake Urmia. John must have been advancing then from the direction of Urmia, and his force was separated by this expanse of water (i.e. by its south-western tip) from Bahrām, who apparently was somewhere near Sulduz.

John continued his march southward (towards the valley of Gādir), whereas Narses and Khusrau, having pushed forward from the Anisenian country, reached a village locally known as Siraganon (καὶ γίνονται πλησίον κόμης τινὸς ἣν Σιραγανῶν οἱ ἐγγύριοι κατονομάζουσι). \*Rawlinson ingeniously identified this point with the present-day Qal'a Singān<sup>2</sup> lying in the valley, of Ushnū, to the east of the pass. Here the armies operated their junction and Bahrām, impressed by the array of his enemies, took the road of the highlands (ἐπ' ὄρους ἀνάβασιν ἀνετέτραπτο), i.e. probably of the hilly country south of Sauch-bulaq. Khusrau, on his own responsibility, pursued Bahrām, but was repelled by the latter. Nevertheless Bahrām was frightened by the Byzantines' ardour, and moved his camp aside (ἐκκλίνει) into a difficult area inaccessible to cavalry (Central Kurtak massif separating the Kialū from the Tatavū). The Byzantines passed into the near-by plain [*sic*] in which stood the (fortified) city Kanzakon. Bahrām also, from where he was, moved his forces in order to weary the Byzantines. The latter by forced marches followed and came close up to him. Then they advanced to the river Balarath (ποταμῷ τῷ Βαλαράθῳ, var. Βλαράθῳ) and in the morning went forth into an open field. Here the battle took place in which Bahrām was defeated. A special body of 10,000 Byzantines was detached to pursue him. For three days the Byzantines and Khusrau remained near the battlefield,<sup>3</sup> but on the fourth day were forced by the stench of the corpses to move near Kanzakon. Thence the Byzantine corps took leave of Khusrau.

The eastern counterpart to Theophylactus is in Ṭabarī and Firdausī. The

<sup>1</sup> Doubtful. Marquart, *Südarmerien*, 1930, p. 337, identifies Zerbis with Bohtān-su, and places the Azoni near Arzūn (in the neighbourhood of Se'ert). Instead of *Azoni*, one MS. has *Aloni*, which name may be represented by that of the district *Alān* (in the gorge of the Lesser Zab).

<sup>2</sup> More doubtful is his further identification of it with Σίνκαρ, which, following Ptolemy's co-ordinates, lay considerably further east (27.2 miles east of Δαριάυσα = Daryāz on the Sauch-bulaq river).

<sup>3</sup> "In the enemy's territory" ἀνὰ τὸν πολέμιον χώρον. The text suggests that the victors were collecting the booty. "The stench" also is a certain hint at the nearness of the battlefield.

evidence has been examined by Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Sasaniden*, 285, and Hoffmann, op. cit., 248. Ṭabari, I/2, 1000, names the place of the last battle دهب, apparently *D.n.g*, and Firdausi, ed. Mohl, vii, 140, 142, 150, describes the arrival of Khusrau as follows: "The Shāh put up his royal tent in the plain of Dūk, (his) army being so numerous and his way the true path."

Sarāparda zad shāh bar Dasht-i Dūk

Sipāhī chunān gashn-u rāhī sulūk

In a further passage, vii, 150, Firdausi also mentions a mountain of the same name كوه دولك ("spindle-mountain") from which Khusrau watched the battle. The Arabic word *sulūk* supports the rhyme *Dūk*, and in fact *Dnq* may have been misread from \**Dwk* of the Middle Persian original, the sign for *n* and *w* being identical. We should not easily surrender the reading *Dūk*; but in Arabic script *k* and *l* are very often confused, and the question arises whether by some accident *Dūk* (دولك) has not been mis-spelt in later writers as *Dül* (دول). In fact *Dül* is known in the toponymy of the south-eastern corner of Lake Urmia.

The *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 244, refers to a relay *Dül* situated at one (?) stage distance from Tabriz (*marḥala-yi Dül ba-yak manzili-yi Tabriz*), where the Seljuk Sultān Mas'ūd spent two months in the early summer of 544/1149. According to the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written in A.D. 1340), p. 87, one of the six districts of Marāgha is Gāvdül through which (p. 223 var. دره کاردوان) the River Murd (now Mürdichay) flows to the Jaghatū [*sic*]. The *Ālam-ārā*, pp. 573-5, has a long passage on the events at Diz-i Gāvdül-i Marāgha (or Qal'a-yi Gāvdül) whence Shāh 'Abbās marched to the meadow (*chaman, öläng*) of Qara-chibuq<sup>1</sup> to inspect the royal studs. The Qara-chabuq [*sic*] Turks are referred to in the *Sharaf-nāma*, p. 288, and even to-day some settlements bearing the name of this tribe appear on the maps between Bināb and Malik-kendi. The number of spellings with *l* is somewhat against the graphic confusion of *k* and *l*, but only a close inquiry on the spot into the remains of older toponymy can settle the question.

Whatever the name, the battlefield should be sought in the neighbourhood of Mürdi-chay. Contrary to Mustaufi, the latter is an independent river, but it flows north of, and parallel to, Leylān-chay, which joins the Jaghatū. As several reasons are in favour of the identification of Ganzak with Leylān, the plain between Leylān and Mürdi-chay suits the position of the battlefield as described by Theophylactus. The mountain *Dūk* (Firdausi) might be identified with Mandil-sar, through the gorge of which Mürdi-chay forces its way into the plain.

A third independent source is the Armenian historian Sebēos (a contemporary of Khusrau), who places the battlefield in the canton Vararat (tr. by Macler, p. 19).

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the Miyān-du-āb, the strip of territory between the rivers Jaghatu and Tatavu with its excellent grazing grounds. Even now it is occupied by the royal studs.

Neither Theophanes nor Sebēos contains any reference to the celebrated fire-temple of Shīz of which Arab authors give so many accounts.<sup>1</sup> The main feature of the campaign is the river  $\tau\omega$  *Bαλαράθω*, a name without any doubt identical with Armenian Vararat. In his account of the Mesopotamian campaign of Heraclius, Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 321, refers to the river *Βαρασρώθ*, corresponding to the present-day Beled-rūz. The old name is clearly Iranian \**Barāz-rōδ*, "Wild boar river." As Greek *-ρωθ* = *rōδ*, we should expect the same element in the name of the river *Bαλαραθ*; but both the Greek and the Armenian forms end in *-ραθ/-rāt*. It is not impossible that in foreign mouths some simplification ("haplology") has been applied to the original name, which may have been \**Vararān-rōdh* (Varahrān being the older form of Bahrām; cf. Byzantine *Ὀυαραπάνης*, Agathias (d. in A.D. 582), ii, 24).<sup>2</sup>

This hypothesis is corroborated by Mas'ūdī, who three times connects the names *الشيز والران*. He says (*Murūj*, ii, 131) that Afrāsiyāb was killed *بلاد الشيز والران* which Hoffmann successfully restored as \**الشيز والران*; that the Arshakids (ii, 235) were kings of *الشيز والران*; and that (iv, 74) in the same country (*بلاد الشيز والران*) stood a famous fire-temple; "in it were idols, but Anūshirvān removed them from it; it is also reported that Anūshirvān came upon that fire-temple in which there was a great fire, and he transferred it to the place known as *al-Birka* ('pond, tank')." Later generations naturally read *al-Shīz wa al-Rān*, and in fact Firdausī locates the refuge-place of Afrāsiyāb near Barda', in Transcaucasia (namely, in the province of Ar-rān, Armenian Alṽank<sup>h</sup>, Greek *Ἀλβανία*). But the fire-temple could not be simultaneously in two such entirely different places as Arrān and Shīz (in the south-eastern corner of Lake Urmia). Hoffmann quite rightly connected *الران* (\**Vālarān*) with Armenian *Vararat*, thus clearing the path to the solution of the vexed question which forms the subject of the present study.<sup>3</sup> The final *n* of \**Vālarān* supports our restoration of the name of the river (\**Vararān*).

There is another mutilated text which seems to settle the question. In the remarkable biography of the Nestorian patriarch Yabalāhā, edited by Bedjan and translated into French by Mgr. J. B. Chabot, it is reported (tr. p. 119) that in A.D. 1296-7 the patriarch travelled to Marāgha and thence proceeded to the Royal camp *via* Shāqātu (i.e. river Jaghatū) and Siyāh-kūh. In 1304-5 the patriarch joined the il-khan Öljeytū "on the bank of the river

<sup>1</sup> On Firdausī, *vide infra*, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> In this connection one might remember (1) that the River Sārūq, which is the south-eastern affluent of the Jaghatū, might have been taken for the chief head-water of the latter river, (2) that in the neighbourhood of the southern bank of the Sārūq are situated the famous caves of Kerefto bearing a Greek dedication to Heracles (see now Sir A. Stein, 324-346), and (3) that Heracles is the Greek equivalent of the Iranian Varətraghna > Varahrān > Varārān.

<sup>3</sup> To the six *nāḥiya* of Marāgha the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* adds two dependencies (*tavābī'*): *انكوران ولاوران*. The latter might correspond to *Vālarān*, but it has numerous variants *فول اوران* *مراول داوران* etc., which would suggest \**Qizil-uzan*.



called in Mongolian *Jaghatuy* and in Persian *Vakyarud* ". From Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Quatremère, 102-3, 411, 417, we know that the banks of the Jaghatū were favourite winter quarters (*qishlaq*) of the Mongols. According to Rashīd al-Dīn, the Persian name of the river was Zarīna-rūd, "Golden river", but the anonymous Christian writer seems to have preserved a more ancient geographical term. Vakyarūd (?) (𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭥) means nothing in Persian, and the mutilated name should probably read \*𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭥 *Vararōd*, or 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭥 *Varanrōd*, or even 𐭯𐭮𐭲𐭮𐭥𐭥 *Valarōd*. In my ignorance of Syriac I consulted on this matter the late Mgr. F. Nau, who (letter of 17th June, 1929) gave his blessing to my restoration. Should it prove acceptable, we shall have one firm point: Βαλαραθ = Vararān-rōd = والرآن = Jaghatū, and Kanzakon must be sought in its immediate neighbourhood, *vide infra*, p. 254.

## § 2. Campaigns of Heraclius

Both the chronology and the sequence of events in the course of the Emperor Heraclius's three campaigns in Persia (probably in A.D. 621-2, 624-6, and 627-8) present a number of difficult problems.<sup>1</sup> However, single episodes are known to us in considerable detail. For the earlier (A.D. 624-6) campaign in Southern Azarbāyjān we have no authentic report. The panegyrics on Heraclius composed by his contemporary Georgios Pisides contain only a few names submerged in the sea of Byzantine rhetoric. The best later account belongs to Theophanes the Confessor (who completed his work *circa* A.D. 810-15), ed. de Boor, 1885, pp. 309-310. For the final stages of the war (A.D. 627-8) we happily possess an exceptionally important document in Heraclius's own report dated Kanzakon, 15th March, 628. It is found incorporated in *Chronicon Paschale* (compiled *circa* A.D. 629).

The Persian tradition, as recorded in Ṭabarī, Firdausī, etc., overlooks the capture of Ganzak, and Sebēos (trans. Macler, p. 81) says only that Heraclius arrived *via* Karin (Erzerum), Dvin, and Nakhchavan, and "marching on the Gandzak [of Atrpatakan] he overthrew the altars of the Great Fire (*Hrat*) which was called Všnasp ". Theophanes does not explain the route which Heraclius followed before arriving at Ganzak, and moreover, the Greek text used by Rawlinson (ed. Bonn, i, 471) is definitely corrupt. It is only in the old Latin translation prepared by the Papal Librarian Anastasius, *circa* A.D. 874-5, that the passage is complete, but as it contains an unfamiliar name the importance of it was long overlooked. Instead of reproducing de Boor's retranslation of the omitted passage into Greek we shall leave the traditional text in Greek and the additional passage in Latin: καὶ καταλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Γαζακῶν πόλιν in suburbanis hujus reficiebat exercitum suum. Persae vero, qui confugerant ad eum, perhibebant, quod Chosrohes fugiens igne consumpserit omnia sata in locis illis et pervenerit ad civitatem Thebarman ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἐν ᾗ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ναὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα Κροίσου,

<sup>1</sup> E. Gerland, *Die pers. Feldzüge des Kaisers Heracleios*, in *Byz. Zeitschrift*, iii, 1894, pp. 330-373; A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio*, Florence, 1905 (compilative).

τῶν Λυδῶν βασιλέως, καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθρώκων· ταῦτα λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὸ Δασταγέρδ ἐχώρει· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπάρας ἀπὸ Γαζακῶν καταλαμβάνει τὴν Θεβαρμαῖς· καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐν ταύτῃ πυρὶ ἀνέλωσε τὸν τοῦ πυρὸς ναὸν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν πόλιν πυρὶ ἀναλώσας κατεδίωκεν ὀπίσω Χοσρόου ἐν τοῖς στενοῖς < τῆς > τῶν Μήδων χώρας, καὶ < ἐν > ταύταις ταῖς δυσχωρίαις τόπον ἐκ τόπου ὁ Χοσρόης ἤμειβεν· καὶ ὁ Ἡράκλειος τοῦτον διώκων πολλὰς πόλεις ἐπόρθησε καὶ χώρας κτλ.

This restored text gives quite a definite picture of the events. Heraclius, having heard that Khusrau was in \*Ganzak, marched on the town, took it, and in its suburbs gave a rest to his army. Meanwhile Khusrau moved to the town of Thebarmais, situated towards the east, scorching the land on his way. In Thebarmais [*sic*] was the fire-temple and the treasures of the Lydian king Cræsus<sup>1</sup> and the "charcoal trick". Having taken these (treasures and fire ?) he moved [south-westwards] towards Dastagerd (near Eski-Baghdad). Now Heraclius seized Thebarmais and burnt the temple and the town. He pursued Khusrau through the fastnesses of Media, but returned to take up his winter quarters in Transcaucasia.

Rawlinson (p. 78), misled by the incomplete text, thought that Heraclius burnt the temple of "Ganzak". Even such a thorough scholar as Hoffmann (p. 252), who felt that the text was not correct, could not make out why the burning of the temple was recorded not in the important Ganzak, but in the small town of Thebarmais.

The key to the whole problem is given in a report quoted by Mas'ūdī, iv, 74, according to which Anūshirvān transferred the fire from al-Shīz [wa] \*Vālarān to *al-Birka* ("the pond"), which Rawlinson, rather inconsequently but quite rightly, identified with Takht-i Sulaymān.<sup>2</sup> The Arabic and Persian sources refer to numerous cases when fires were transferred by the Iranian kings, and the striking characteristics of Takht-i Sulaymān gave a sufficient reason for such a move: a powerful ancient fort on an isolated hill, a deep lake on its summit fed by springs, the remarkable scenery of the valley and the situation on the road connecting Central Persian with Southern Azarbayjān, and further with Mesopotamia.

If this removal of the fire had taken place under Anūshirvān (531-579) it becomes clear (1) that neither on his first, nor on his second, visit to Ganzak does Heraclius refer to the presence of a fire-temple in it; (2) that the much less important centre Thebarmais, "lying towards the east," harboured a great temple.

References to *Θηβαρμαῖς* occur in several other sources, but the name has numerous variants. The earliest notice is contained in fragment 11 of Menander Protector, ed. Dindorf, 1871, p. 25, where the Byzantine ambassador, Peter

<sup>1</sup> This fantastic detail should be compared with Ṭabarī, I/2, 866, where it is reported that, after his victorious campaign against the Khāqān, Bahrām Gūr presented the jewels of his booty to the fire-temple of Shīz, as he also attached to it the Khāqān's wife as a maid-servant.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide infra*, p. 255. The editor of Mas'ūdī, Barbier de Meynard, brought in a new confusion by declaring that *al-Birka* (which he apparently mistook for *Forg*) was a town in Fars!

Patricius, is said to have visited the king of Persia ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ Βιθαρμαῖς. As this happened in A.D. 562 under Anūshirvān, Mas'ūdi's statement (see above) receives some indirect corroboration. Theophylactus, v, 14, tells the story how Khusrau II, while he was ἐν τῷ Βεραμαῖς, applied to the patriarch Sergius for prayers that Shīrīn should bear a child. Evagrius, *Hist. Ecclesiastica*, vi, 21 (ed. Bidez, 1898, p. 236) repeats this story, which again indicates that the said place served as residence to the king. Finally Georgius Pisides, ed. Bonn, 1837, p. 85, in his bombastic verse sings the arrival of Heraclius in τῇ Δαπαρτάσει, which town lay "to the north of Persia and to the south (πρὸς Νότον) of us (i.e. the Byzantine Empire)". There Khusrau kept "his Magians and his burning coals". The poet connects the name of the town with Artashīr, the conqueror of the Parthians, but it is obvious that the forms Βιθαρμαῖς Βεραμαῖς Θηβαρμαῖς Δαπαρτασις represent one single name which we cannot yet restore.

In the *Shāh-nāma*, Mohl, ii, 546-551 (Tehran, iii, 756-762), Kay Kā'ūs, wishing to test Kay Khusrau's valour, sent him against the castle Dizh-i Bahman. The road to it led past the gate of Ardabēl. The castle, which had high walls (*bar-shuda bāra*), was an Ahrimanic creation and was occupied by dīvs. By mentioning the name of God (Yazdān) Kay Khusrau captured Dizh-i Bahman, in which he had a dome built ten lasso-lengths (*kamand*) across, with high vaults. Outside it at half the distance which a horse runs (in a hippodrome ?) he placed (the fire) Ādhar-Gushāsp. It is probable that this legend (in its post-Anūshirvānian adaptation) refers to Takht-i Sulaymān, but the connection of the name Dizh-i Bahman with the above-mentioned Byzantine variants is not apparent. If a temple could be dedicated to an Amṛta-spenta, the variant \*Βιθ-Αρμαῖς would suggest Ārmaiti rather than Vohu-manō (> Bahman).

A second time Heraclius arrived in Ganzak on 11th March, 628, and left it on 8th April. His first communication on the events between 17th October, 627, and 15th March, 628 (including the accession of the new king Shērōē) has not come down to us; but the text of his second letter, which was sent from "the camp near Ganzak" on 8th April and read in the churches of Constantinople on 5th May, has survived in *Chronicon Paschale*, Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, xcii, pp. 1017-1022. Heraclius's campaign in Mesopotamia has been examined by Rawlinson, and we are concerned only with the last part of it, when, being threatened by the Persian army recalled from the West (see Pernice, 164), he boldly retreated into Azarbāyjān, behind the Zagros chain. The route followed by him is known in general lines chiefly from Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 325.

February, 628, was spent in devastating Shahrzūr (τὸν Σιάζουρον; Chr. Pasch. τοῦ Σιασοῦρων); and in March Heraclius came to "the place called Βάρζαν". Rawlinson identified the latter with Bāna, on the plea that the original Kurdish name of this place is Barōzha ("exposed to the sun, lying eastward"). Consequently in his opinion Heraclius crossed the Zagros (Chr. Pasch. τὸ ὄρος τοῦ Ζάπα) over the Bāna pass. But the name *Barōzha*





VIEW OF TAKHT-I SULAYMAN (p. 251).

Drawn by E. H. Minns from a photo of M. H. W. Schmidt Foundation.

is not known to the old geographers, and the Greeks would hardly have left out a long  $\bar{o}$  in the middle of the word. It is much more probable that *Βάρζαν* represents the important junction of roads which the old Arab geographers call Barza and which was one of the stages on the road Dīnavar-Marāgha, i.e. at a considerable distance to the east of the Zagros range (*vide infra*). It is quite likely that it should be identified with the present-day Saqqiz, in the upper part of the Jaghatū valley. This conclusion leaves us without a clue as to the pass which Heraclius used. It may have been one of the Bāna passes, but it may have been the pass of Naukhuvān used by the Jāf tribe in its yearly peregrinations from Shahrazūr to the sources of the Jaghatū. As Heraclius states that snow fell all the time from 24th February when he left Shahrazūr down to 30th March, and in the meantime, according to Theophanes, he spent seven days in Barzan, it is more probable that the Byzantine army hastened to reach a point in the warmer Jaghatū valley, instead of the more elevated Bāna separated from the Jaghatū by a pass.<sup>1</sup> From Barzan Heraclius reached Ganzak on 11th March. Thus his march from Shahrazūr lasted seventeen days, out of which a week was spent at Barzan. Ten days' march with an army might have brought Heraclius both to Takht-i Sulaymān and to the lower course of the Jaghatū; but, while the latter even in Mongol times was known as a warm *qishlaq*, the former course, on climatic grounds, is absolutely improbable.

Heraclius in his missive (*κέλευσις*) to Constantinople gives some very important details on Ganzak which were not duly appreciated by Rawlinson. The emperor praises the abundance of provisions for men and horses (*δαπάνας πολλὰς καὶ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἀλόγων*) found in the city, which had some three thousand houses, to say nothing of the surrounding country. The fortified camp (*τὸ φωσᾶτον ἡμῶν*) was situated in the neighbourhood of the town, but the animals were cared for in the houses "so as to secure a horse to each man in the camp". It is enough to have a look at the excellent new photographs of Takht-i Sulaymān<sup>2</sup> to recognize that there is no room at Takht-i Sulaymān for such a considerable town.<sup>3</sup> The hill rises sharply above the narrow valley surrounded by peaks. Its top, within the powerful walls, has the area of  $380 \times 320$  metres ( $1,250 \times 1,050$  ft.), out of which the lake occupies  $108 \times 68$  metres. The rude wintry conditions of the site are illustrated by the photograph taken by the late Professor A. V. W. Jackson, op. cit., 133, which shows Takht-i Sulaymān "buried in snow".

### § 3. Road Dīnavar-Marāgha

The analysis of the Byzantine expedition under Mauricius points to the situation of Ganzak in the neighbourhood of the Valarath (Jaghatū); the

<sup>1</sup> Kele-shīn—to be distinguished from the famous Kele-shin, lying much more north-west between Ushnū and Ravānduz (probably used by the Byzantine troops in A.D. 591).

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. of the American Inst. for Iranian Art*, December, 1937, pp. 71–105.

<sup>3</sup> A. F. Stahl, *Peterm. Mitt.*, 1905, p. 32: "Nichts deutet darauf hin dass hier einst eine grössere Stadt stand."

examination of Heraclius's campaigns confirms the existence of the considerable city of Ganzak, distinct from the Fire-temple of Thebarmais ; the Arab sources make quite certain the location of Ganzak.

Of great importance to us is the already quoted route Dīnavar-Marāgha described in three slightly different versions. Ibn Khurdādhbih, 121, and Qudāma, 213, give distances in farsakhs, while Muqaddasī, 383, expresses them in stages (*marḥala*).

	<i>I. Khurd.</i>	<i>Qudāma.</i>	<i>Muqaddasī.</i>
1. Dīnavar	7 fars.	9 fars.	1 marḥala
2. al-Jabārjān	6 „	6 „	1 „
3. Tell-Vān	7 „	7 „	1 „
4. Sīsar		<div style="display: flex; align-items: center; justify-content: center;"> <span style="margin-right: 5px;">{</span> <span style="margin-right: 5px;">winter</span> <span style="margin-right: 5px;">summer</span> <span style="margin-left: 5px;">}</span> </div>	⋮
	4	4	⋮
5. Andarāb	5	5 10	1 „
6. al-Baylaqān	6	6 8	1 „
7. BARZA	8	8	1 „
8. Sāburkhāst (?)	7	7	1 „
9. Marāgha			

The three authorities quoted describe also a road from Marāgha to Urmia, which first descended southwards to Barza (stages 9., 8b., 8a., and 7.) and thence turned away north-westwards (*vide infra*, p. 253). The first part of this itinerary contains some important details on the road Marāgha-Barza.

	<i>I. Khurd.</i>	<i>Qudāma.</i>	<i>Muqaddasī.</i>
9. Marāgha	6	6	1 marḥala
8b. Janza	5	5	1 „
8a. Mūsā-ābādh	4	4	1 „
7. BARZA	⋮	2	1 barid
10. T.flis	8	6	1 marḥala
11. Jābrvān	4	4	2 barids
12. Niriz	14	14	1 (?) marḥala
13. Urmia			

The actual distance between Dīnavar and Marāgha measured on the 1 : 1,000,000 map is *circa* 225 miles. As our detailed list of stages comprises only 50–55 farsakhs, we have to reckon a farsakh at  $4\frac{1}{11}$ – $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Before we deal with the lesser points, it will be useful to check the position of the two landmarks Barza and Sīsar, known also from other sources. The distance of 15 f. ( $61\frac{4}{11}$ – $67\frac{1}{2}$  m.) to the south of Marāgha would indicate the position of Barza in the region of Būkān-Sarā. As, however, we know that farsakhs were

of a "heavy" type in Azarbayjan,<sup>1</sup> we have reasons to move Barza further south to the important and ancient settlement Saqqiz (20 m. from Būkān, or 10 m. from Sarā). This identification can be controlled by measuring another similar distance (corresponding to 15 f.) south of Barza which would place Sīsar at Senne, as usually accepted (*vide infra*).

The southernmost sector Sīsar-Dīnavar, equal in a straight line to 67-74 miles, is rather too short for the distance of 20-22 f. indicated by I. Khurd and Qudāma. This suggests that on leaving Dīnavar the road followed some devious course, possibly to join the high-road from Kermanshāh to Senne. It is also probable that in the south farsakhs were shorter than in Azarbayjān.

After these preliminary remarks we come to a closer examination of the difficult itinerary, a part of which I covered in 1916, as I was travelling from Kermanshah to Semengān, Dīnavar, Sunghur, and Senne. Most of the names are either uncertain or do not correspond to the present-day toponymy.

1. The ruins of Dīnavar, reduced to shambles by the eagerness of local treasure-seekers, lies near the village Qal'a-jū, 17 miles north of Bīsūtūn.

2. The name الحارحان (Qudāma الجورحان: note the article) may be connected with the tribe \*Jabrakān, Gaurakān, Gauragān, later Gūrān.<sup>2</sup> Two villages called Jabar-abad (?) are shown on the map, one of them lying 18 miles to the west of Dīnavar (in Bilāvar), and the other north of Dīnavar, below the Mēlemās pass. Even if they are not identical with the original Jabārjān, they may have preserved a trace of its name.<sup>3</sup>

3. The situation of Tell-Vān<sup>4</sup> is entirely hypothetical. It may have lain at one of the passes leading from the Gāva-rud to the valley of the Senna river (Qishlaq), i.e. possibly near Dargāh, or, if the road swung much further east, at Kargābād.

4. There are good reasons for seeking Sīsar in the neighbourhood of Senne, although the latter capital of the valis of Ardalān seems to be a late foundation, and there are indications that the earlier centre<sup>5</sup> lay more to the north, nearer to the sources of the Qizil-uzan (Sefidrūd).

5. Judging by the name, Andarāb lay between two water-courses, possibly the Sefid-rūd and one of its tributaries.

6. Bailaqān (a name occurring elsewhere) should be looked for on the upper Khorkhora.

7. With Barza (Theophanes: Βάρζαυ) we come to firmer ground. Barza was an important point where the roads to Marāgha and Urmia forked. In the early ninth century A.D. it had a short-lived dynasty of its own, Balādhuri, 331. It is hardly thinkable that travellers from Marāgha had to come all this way southwards to turn off westwards. This procedure would, however, have been natural for a traveller from the south. It is probable that in the original

<sup>1</sup> Under Malik-shāh the length of a farsakh was ascertained to be: 6,000 paces in 'Irāq, Kurdistan, etc., but 10,000 paces in Azarbayjān and Armenia; see *Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, 164 (transl. 161).

<sup>2</sup> *BSOAS*, XI/1, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> I. Khurd., 121, mentions a stage *Shīz* (without article!) at 4 fars. from Dīnavar, on the road to Sīsar. *V. infra*, p. 264, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> The element *vān*, "a place" (Arm. *avan*), is frequent in North-Western Iran: *Jāb.r-vān*, *Bājer-vān*, etc., as probably also *Shīrvān*, *Gurzivān*, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps identical with the place called in Assyrian sources *Šiṣṣirtu*; see Minorsky, *Senna* and *Sīsar* in E.I.



itinerary the section Barza-Urmia continued the section Dīnavar-Barza, and only mechanically it was connected with the section Barza-Marāgha (in reversed order: Marāgha-Barza-Urmia).<sup>1</sup> There exists a direct road from Saqqiz to the north-west, and in 1911 I myself travelled straight from Sauch-Bulaq to Saqqiz.<sup>2</sup> Saqqiz is a very old settlement, as attested by its tall ancient mound.

After Barza the road had two variants. The name of stage 8. is mutilated, and no great credit can be given to the form *Sābur-khāst* ("Shapur has risen"). It must have lain between 8b. Janza and 8a. Mūsā-ābādh. Below we shall speak of this stage in more detail.

The most interesting name of the itinerary is certainly 8b. Janza. In his edition of Muqaddasī de Goeje, p. 382, adopted the reading *خره رود*, but the variant *حزه* undoubtedly indicates that the name should be restored as \**Janza*, as in I. Khurdadbeh and Qudāma.<sup>3</sup> The addition of the word *-rūd* is a proof of the place lying on a river. There is no shadow of doubt that this Janza is the ancient Ganzak. Six farsakhs from Marāgha indicate for it a position at Leylān, lying on a right affluent of the Jaghatū. Thus the Byzantine and Arabic sources are in agreement on the location of Ganzak where Colonel Monteith first placed it in 1832.<sup>4</sup> He was struck by "the extensive ruins of those solid mounds of earth which characterize all the ancient cities of Persia". In his measurement "the ruins are about 14 miles in circumference and their greatest extent is from east to west". He concludes: "the city of Tabriz appears to be considerably too far north to agree with the position of Ganzaca, which these ruins do; and is situated in the coldest and most barren part of Āzerbijān, consequently little calculated to answer the purpose of winter quarters for so large an army as that of Emperor Heraclius during his second expedition into Persia. They are also near the junction of the three roads leading from Ctesiphon to the capital of Persia, by Senna, Soudj-Bulak, and Burrandizi."

Rawlinson, pp. 39, 119, visited the great ruin, which he found to be "a quadrangular inclosure, about three-quarters of a mile in length, and half that distance in breadth, composed of a line of mounds, some 40 or 50 feet in height". He rejected Monteith's identification on the ground that "Gaza is mentioned as the summer residence of the Median kings, but Leilān, in the Miyāndāb plain, is positively one of the very hottest spots in all Āzerbijān". However, this objection is based on the mutilated passage of Strabo which must be checked in the light of the unequivocal statement in Theophylactus about Ganzak lying in the plain, *vide supra*, p. 245.

#### § 4. *The Fire-Temple of Shīz*

While Theophylactus makes no mention of the fire-temple in Ganzak, Theophanes definitely affirms that the temple was at Thebarmais. If the

<sup>1</sup> In fact Muqaddasī, 382, describes a direct road Marāgha-Shahrazūr making no detour via Barza (6 marḥalas plus 30 farsakhs).

<sup>2</sup> See also Sir A. Stein, *op. cit.*, 349-351.

<sup>3</sup> See also below, p. 265, Yāqūt's description of Kaznā and Jaznaq.

<sup>4</sup> *JRGS.*, 1832, pp. 5-6.

later compiler G. Cedrenus (end of the eleventh to beginning of the twelfth century A.D.), ed. Bonn, p. 121, places the temple in Ganzak (τῇν Γαζακὸν πόλιν), it only shows that the important passage, which has survived only in the early Latin translation of Theophanes,<sup>1</sup> was missing in his copy, as it was missing in the early European editions of Theophanes. According to Firdausī, before the battle with Bahrām, Khusrau Parvīz rode to the temple and there paid his devotions. The *Shāh-nāma* gives no clue to the position of the sanctuary. As Bahrām's final retreat was in the north-eastern direction (Marāgha-Miyāna ?), he had presumably evacuated the whole area to the south of the battlefield, and thus nothing stood in the way of Khusrau's paying a flying visit even to Takht-i Sulaymān.

The identity of Thebarmais with the present day site of Takht-i Sulaymān results from the evidence of Mis'ar b. Muhallil (first half of the tenth century),<sup>2</sup> who describes it under the name of *al-Shīz*, and from that of Ḥamdullāh Mustaufi, who refers to the same site under the Mongolian name *\*Soqurluq*. The importance of both texts has been convincingly demonstrated by Rawlinson, pp. 64 and 70. The Arab traveller has a very doubtful reputation for veracity as regards the lands of the Farther East (the Turks, India), but in Western Persia he must have actually visited several interesting places. Mis'ar gives numerous details on al-Shīz (various mines, unfathomable pond) and the fire-temple, saying that its fire had been burning for 700 years without leaving any ashes. This gives a clue to the mysterious reference of Georgius and Theophanes (cf. also Cedrenus) to the "charcoal trick". It is quite likely too that the presence of a deep lake by the temple was instrumental in the disappearance of the ashes without trace. Mustaufi, *Nuzhat*, 65, says nothing about the temple, but connects the site of Takht-i Sulaymān with the legend of Kay-Khusrau (and Afrāsīyāb), which in its turn is closely attached to the temple of Ādhar-Gushnāsp.

We shall now consider the references to al-Shīz throughout the ages.

The striking site of Takht-i Sulaymān must have ever excited popular imagination, even in Pre-Iranian and Median times. The American expedition found on the spot "a considerable number of fragments of prehistoric painted pottery", but the hill does not seem to have been permanently inhabited. The harsh climate alone fully guarantees this conclusion, and possibly the water of the lake, rich in mineral elements, would not have been to the liking of permanent residents.

<sup>1</sup> Cedrenus uses the same terms as Theophanes in describing the temple, the treasure of Croesus and "the charcoal trick", but he adds a detailed and interesting description of a statue of Chosroes (cf. Mas'ūdī, iv, 74). He may have found it in some other source. In any case his location of the temple in Ganzak has no decisive importance.

<sup>2</sup> Mis'ar has been known through the quotations found in Yāqūt's *Mu'jam al-buldān*, and in Zakariyā Qazvīnī. Marquart did not live to fulfil his promise (*Festschrift Sachau*, p. 292) to study the problem of the authenticity of what goes by the name of Mis'ar. Meanwhile two *risāla* of Mis'ar's travels have been found in the Mashhad MS. containing also a part of I. Faḡhī and an important copy of I. Faḡlān (incomplete).

Marquart explained *Shīz* through the hypothetical Middle-Persian *Šīč* (*Šīčikān*), which many times occurs in Zoroastrian books as the name of a treasure-house. There is still some uncertainty about the reading of the Middle Persian,<sup>1</sup> but Pliny in his geographical compilation mentions among the towns of Media *Phisganzaga* (var. *Fiscanzaga*),<sup>2</sup> which Marquart restores as \**jis* (for *Šīč*)-*canzaga*, corresponding to Middle Persian \**Ganj-i Šīčikān*. This restoration would take us up to the beginning of our era; but Marquart goes even further by admitting that *Šīč* may be a Mannæan name. Here, however, we enter the realm of pure speculation. Below, p. 264, we shall consider the possibility of a different derivation of *Shīz* from *Čēcast*. If in Roman times the place (oppidum) was called \**Šīč*, or *Shīz*, the Byzantine designations of it (*Βιθαρμαῖς*, *Θηβαρμαῖς*, etc.) are puzzling by their dissimilarity.<sup>3</sup>

As the American expedition of 1937 definitely established the Parthian origin of the walls and the earliest buildings of Takht-i Sulaymān, it is especially interesting to remember that Mas'ūdī in the *Murūj*, ii, 235, calls the Parthians "kings of al-Shīz (and) \**Vālarān*", and in the *Tanbīh*, 95, adds that the Arshakids spent the winter in 'Irāq and the summer in "al-Shīz belonging to Azarbayjān (*min bilād A.*)". The existence of the fort indicates the direction of some important road connecting the central Iranian plateau with the southern basin of Lake Urmia and further with Mesopotamia. In case of need the fort might protect the East against danger coming from the West, and vice versa, particularly in times of local risings. It is possible that the wild population of the Caspian provinces expanded westwards along the road Zanjān-Takht-i Sulaymān.

The indications that the fire-temple of Thebarmais-al-Shīz was founded by the Sasanian Ardashīr are very uncertain. The evidence of Georgius Pisides about the stronghold *Δαπρασις* founded by the Sasanian \*Ardashīr carries no weight, for possibly he wrote his panegyric in the moment of exultation after the arrival of the first reports of Heraclius's exploits,<sup>4</sup> when the exotic name of the fire-temple could not be properly ascertained. The name of the founder \**Απρασιρ* seems to be a secondary derivation from \**Δαρ-Απρασις*, for Georgius commits a gross error about the date of Ardashīr (*vide infra*). It is true that Mis'ar's chronology, according to which the fire had been in existence for 700 years, is a pointer to the early part of the third century A.D., i.e. to the time of Ardashīr, but his hint is too vague. He says nothing about the removal of the fire from Ganzak to Shīz. Nor is it clear what he means by

<sup>1</sup> All the quotations in Marquart, *Catalogue*, pp. 108-9; but H. W. Bailey, *Zoroastrian problems*, 230, suggests the reading \**Ganj-i šasapikān*.

<sup>2</sup> *Nat. hist.*, vi, 43. In another place he speaks, vi, 42, of the capital of Atropatene: "oppidum ejus Gazae (var. Gaze, Gazzea), ab Artaxatis CCCC passuum, totidem ab Ecbatanis Medorum, quorum pars sunt Atropateni," ed. Detlefsen, 1904, p. 136. This indication suits Leylān but not Takht-i Sulaymān.

<sup>3</sup> At the most one might recognize *Šīz* in the last element of *Dar-arta-sis*, but such a hypothesis does not solve the difficulty in the beginning of the name.

<sup>4</sup> As suggested by the editor Quercius, ed. Migne, p. 1329.

the "existence" of the fire during seven centuries. It would be unexpected if, in the fourth century of the Hijra when Mis'ar visited al-Shīz, the fire were still burning.

Both Mas'ūdī, iv, 74, and I. Faqīh, 246, have the important report on the removal of the fire Ādhar-Gushnāsp to a new place. Mas'ūdī's passage was quoted above, p. 249. I. Faqīh's version is as follows: " \*Ādhar-gushnāsp is the fire of Kay-Khusrau; it was in Ādharbayjān, but Anūshirvān transferred it to al-Shīz." The two reports are identical; but Mas'ūdī usually considers *al-Shīz* (*wa*) \**Vālarān* as a hendiadys covering one geographical region (*bilād*). He ought to have said that the fire was taken from \**Vālarān* to the pond of al-Shīz. The strange terminology of I. Faqīh is to be explained by the ambiguous position of Takht-i Sulaymān. Even in Mongol times Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 87, mentions Leylān (Ganzak) under the tuman of Marāgha (in Azarbayjān), whereas (p. 64) he describes the present day Takht-i Sulaymān under the tuman of \**Īja-rud* (*sic*—instead of the *Anjarūd* of the printed edition), in Persian 'Irāq.

The testimony of Mas'ūdī and I. Faqīh on the transfer of the fire by Anūshirvān (A.D. 531-579), based on some literary Zoroastrian tradition,<sup>1</sup> finds some indirect confirmation in Georgius Pisides. The latter's reference to Ardashīr as the founder of Darartasis is contradictory, but the date which he assigns to "Ardashīr" ("60 + 16 years ago") is very significant, for 626 — 76 = 550 corresponds to the reign of Anūshirvān. Unconsciously Georgius may have quoted the date of the transfer of the fire to Takht-i Sulaymān.

The name Shīz also occurs in I. Khurdādhbih, 119, where he speaks of it separately from "Janza, the city of (Khusrau) Aparvīz"; he places in it the temple \*Ādhar-gushnas to which the Zoroastrian kings after their accession walked on pilgrimage from al-Madā'in (Ctesiphon). Mas'ūdī, too, *Tanbīh*, 95, reproduces this latter detail, with some misunderstanding of the name of the fire *Adhar.khsh* for \**Ādhar-jushnas*.

Before the destruction of the temple by Heraclius, Khusrau removed from Shīz the treasures, and apparently the fire, but, when the period of troubles was over, the fire may have been reinstated in its old place. During the final disruption of the Sasanian kingdom the family of governors of Azarbayjān temporarily played a considerable rôle in the events; see *Ērānshahr*, 112-13. One of them was Bahman Jādōya, of whom a gloss in Ṭabarī, I/4, 2053c, remarks that he was "a king (*malik*) whom they made king (*mallakūhu*) in al-Shīr". This name, which undoubtedly must be read \**al-Shīz*, indicates the traditional importance of the place. For some time after the Arab conquest

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, 81, refers to the book "Tebektēgin" from which Mas'ūdī borrowed his information on Persian antiquities. In the printed edition of the *Murūj*, ii, 118, 120, the name is given as *al-S.kīsaran* (according to Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, 143: "the chiefs of the Saka"). In *Tanbīh*, 96, a different (?) book is quoted: *Baykār* (apparently identical with *Murūj*, ii, 44: *al-Bnks*). Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 166, restored it as \**Paykār*, "Book of wars." Unfortunately Mas'ūdī's quotations contain nothing on fire-temples.

the Zoroastrians of al-Shīz were left unmolested, for under 'Omar it was stipulated that "the people of al-Shīz should not be hindered in the special custom of dancing (*zafn*) on their festal days nor in observing their practices": Balādhuri, 326. We cannot say whether these customs were connected with the survival of the temple.

The memories of al-Shīz in Arab geographers (I. Khurdādhbih, Mas'ūdi, Mis'ar) have been quoted above. It is curious that the tenth century geographers of the "Balkhī tradition" (Iṣṭakhri, I. Ḥauqal) do not mention al-Shīz. Yāqūt is definitely puzzled by the whereabouts of the temple. In Mongol times a new name obliterates the memory of al-Shīz. Rawlinson's tentative reading of it was *Satūrīq*, but Le Strange's edition of the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 64, gives the variants سفوريق سقوريق ستروق. Still better is the reading preserved in Rashīd al-Dīn, ed. Jahn, 350: سقورلوق \*Soqurluq. He quotes it as the site of a royal Mongolian palace, in agreement with Mustaufi's statement that a palace was restored there by Abaqa. The traces of this building are still visible at Takht-i Sulaymān.<sup>1</sup> The 'Ālam-ārā, 106, still mentions a governor of "Sujās and S.yūrluq (\*Soqurluq)", under Shāh Tahmāsp, and it is likely that the present-day name of the River Sārūq, coming from Takht-i Sulaymān, is but a further simplification of the Turko-Mongolian name become unintelligible.<sup>2</sup>

The present-day "Takht-i Sulaymān" seems to be quite a modern (post-Safavid) product of popular imagination. Rawlinson's suggestion, p. 68, that it might be connected with the name of the Turcoman governor of Kurdistān Sulaymān-shāh \*Iva, is without foundation, for his governorship did not extend so far north: *Nuzhat*, 107.

### § 5. *Phraata-Vera*

Going now back to Antonius's expedition, we have to bear in mind the great changes which had taken place in Azarbayjān during the six or seven centuries separating the year 36 B.C. from the reigns of Anūshirvān and Khusrau Parvīz.

When Antonius led his troops against the Parthians, Atropatene was still under its hereditary ruler Artavazd, a vassal and ally of the great Parthian king Phraates IV. His genealogy seems to go up to Atropates (Strabo, xi, cap. xiii, 1), who proclaimed Atropatene independent in order not to become subject to Alexander. Later Artavazd joined the Romans, and his daughter Iotape was betrothed to Alexander, son of Antonius and Cleopatra. The last of the dynasty was Artavazd's great-grandson Gaius Julius Artavazd, who died in Rome.

This peculiar position of Atropatene may have dictated a special administrative arrangement, and it is not necessary that the capital of Atropatene should

<sup>1</sup> See D. N. Wilber in *Bull. Am. Inst. Pers. Art*, V/2, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Mong. *soqur* "blind, a blind man" + Turk. suffix *-luq*, perhaps meaning "a blind alley" (?).

have lain at the same point as the residence of a provincial governor within the limits of a great empire. At the time of the Arab conquest, the marzubān of Āzarbayjān resided in Ardabil, far from the basin of Lake Urmia. But we do not even know how far the king of Atropatene could control the nomadic people (Cadusii, Amardi, Tapyri, Cyrtii) who lived on the north-eastern edge of his dominions : Strabo, xi, ch. 13, 3.

The geographical background of Antonius's campaign is known only in very general outlines. The original historian of the expedition was Quintus Dellius, who, as a geographer, seems to have been far below the standards of Cnæus Pompeius Theophanes of Mytilene, to whom we owe so many valuable details on the countries conquered by Pompeius.<sup>1</sup>

Antonius, with his large army, 100,000 strong, had to travel through the dominions of his ally Artavazd of Armenia. According to Plutarch (d. *circa* A.D. 122), *Vita Antonii*, cap. xxxviii, Antonius left "Armenia" to the left. This indication apparently refers to the *capital* of Armenia Artaxata, which lay on the northern bank of the Araxes. It is not impossible that Antonius's further route is reflected in two passages of Strabo. In xi, ch. 14, 14, he speaks of the Armenian mountains "Ἀβος and Νίβαρος belonging to the Taurus", and of these Abos is near to the road that leads to Ecbatana past the temple of Baris (παρὰ τὸν τῆς Βάριδος νεών).<sup>2</sup> Although what Strabo means by Abos seems to be the southern spurs of Mt. Ararat, it is possible that the name is still reflected in that of the small district *Avajiq* through which pass the communications between Erzerum and Khoy. In another passage, xi, ch. 14, 2, Strabo explains that after Niphates<sup>3</sup> "comes Mt. Abos, whence flow both the Euphrates and the Araxes, the former towards the west, and the latter towards the east, and then Mt. Nibaros, which stretches as far as Media". In fact, in the neighbourhood of Avajiq lie the head-waters both of the Murad-su (eastern Euphrates) and of the Sari-su flowing to the Araxes. As, according to Strabo, xi, cap. xiii, 4, Niphates merges into the Zagros, it is likely that by Nibaros is meant the line of hills stretching south-eastwards along the road Avajiq-Khoy and then along the northern bank of Lake Urmia.

But all these hints are very vague, and Plutarch, without any preliminary explanation, passes on to the siege by Antonius of "the great city of Phraata,<sup>4</sup> in which were the children and wives of the king of Media". Dio Cassius

<sup>1</sup> In his thesis on Theophanes of Mytilene, Strassburg, 1888, W. Fabricius studies also the fragments of Dellius.

<sup>2</sup> I leave the problem of the temple of Baris over which so much ink has been spilled; see H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, Eng. ed., 1816-18, ii, cccxxii-v: L. C. Valckenauer, *Dissertatio de vocabulo Bapis*. See also Pauly-Wissowa *sub verbo*. J. Schrader's restoration \**Maos* (in Armenian: Ararat) for *Bapis* is still very tempting in view of the quotation from Nicolaus Damascenus in Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, i, iv, on the mountain Baris, situated towards Armenia, on which many people took shelter during the Flood.

<sup>3</sup> Now Ala-dagh, forming the north-eastern barrier of the Van basin.

<sup>4</sup> This form is repeated in the compilation called *Parthica* and falsely ascribed to Appian, ed. Schweighäuser (1785), p. 77. The other variants are *Φραάπρα*, *Φραόπρου*; see Plutarch, VII/1 (Teubner, 1915), p. 113.

(wrote after A.D. 229), ed. Boissevain, 1898, ii, 309, calls the capital Praaspa (τοῖς Πραάσποις τῷ βασιλείῳ αὐτῶν προσπεσών). This invasion must have taken place in the summer, or the early autumn, for, according to Plutarch (ch. 37–8), Antonius, eager to spend the winter with Cleopatra, disregarded the original plan to occupy Media “before the Parthians moved from their winter quarters in the early spring”. He retreated from Phraata some time after the autumnal equinox (23rd September) and before winter came on (ch. 40).

This detail is not without importance for the understanding of the description of Atropatian Media in Strabo, xi, cap. 13, who quotes directly from Dellius, “the friend of Antonius, who wrote an account of Antonius’s expedition against the Parthians on which he accompanied Antonius and was himself a commander”. Unfortunately the decisive passage is corrupt: “their summer capital lies in the plain at Gazaca < and their winter residence > in the strong fort Vera (Οὔερα), which was besieged by Antonius on his expedition against the Parthians.” The words in < > were added by the editor Groskurd, but this only increases the difficulty about the seasons. As we have shown, Ganzak must be looked for near Leylān; but this place, lying in the plain,<sup>1</sup> is one of the hottest spots in summer (Rawlinson). Heraclius was pleased with its winter conditions (February–March). From Plutarch we can infer that the king’s family was caught by the siege of Phraata a considerable time before the autumnal equinox, at a period which we may consider as the conclusion of the summer season. Consequently, one would expect to find in Strabo’s text the *summer* quarters at Phraata, and the *winter* quarters at Ganzak.

It has been also suggested<sup>2</sup> that the fort Vera might have been only the citadel of Gazaca, and already Rawlinson, p. 123, compared it with *Vara* of *Vararat* and with the name of the official *Βαρισμανᾶς* who fled from Ganzak at the approach of Heraclius. However, *Vararat* cannot be simply equated with \**Vara-rōt* (*vide supra*), and the interpretation of *Βαρισμανᾶς* is still doubtful. Iranian scholars have suggested to me such parallels as \**varsma-pāna*, “the one watching over defence,” or *varzana-pāna*, “town-warden”; and it is even possible that the Greek form is but a rendering of Persian *marz-pān* “lord of the marches”. In Procopius, *Bell. pers.*, i, 13–14, a *Βαρεσμανᾶς* is quoted side by side with a *πυρνώξης*, a dignitary of similar functions.

Neither Plutarch nor Dio Cassius mention Ganzak, but both name the capital *Phraata/Praaspa* as the place besieged by Antonius. This would suggest the following restoration of Strabo, xi, cap. xiii, 3: *Βασιλείον δ’ αὐτῶν θερινὸν μὲν < ἐν τοῖς Φραάτοις, χειμερινὸν δὲ > ἐν πεδίῳ ἰδρυμένον Γάζακα σὺν*<sup>3</sup> *φρουρίῳ ἐρυμνῷ Οὔερα ὅπερ Ἀντώνιος ἐπολιόρησε*. It was

<sup>1</sup> In which Strabo agrees with Theophylactus, *vide supra*, pp. 245, 254.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Fabricius, 227: Gazaca—“die Unterstadt”; Vera, “wie schon der Name andeutet (er soll von pers. *var*- saepes, arx kommen, Kramer) die Burg bezeichnete.”

<sup>3</sup> The emendation of *Γάζα καὶ ἐν τῷ Γάζακα σὺν* is due to Fabricius.

Marquart in *Ērānšahr* (1901), p. 108, who offered this emendation, only leaving blank the name of the summer residence which I take to be Phraata. The difficulty about this natural correction is that Vera besieged by Antonius is divorced from Plutarch's Phraata. Twenty-eight years later Marquart, *Catalogue*, 109, suggested a new reading: < χειμερινὸν > μὲν ἐν πεδίῳ ἰδρυμένον Γάζακα, θεριὼν < δὲ ἐν ὄρεινῇ κείμενον Φράασπα > σὺν φρουρίῳ ἐρυμνῷ Οὐέρα ὅπερ κτλ. This second restoration eliminates the connection of Vera with Gazaka, but it takes considerable liberties with the text.

On the situation of Phraata we are informed by Ptolemy, vi, 2 (Wilberg, p. 393), who quotes in one line:—

	Long.	Lat.
Γάζακα (*Gazaka) <sup>1</sup>	83° 40'	39° 30'
Φαράσπα . . .	85° 30'	40° 30'
Φανάσπα . . .	86° 30'	40°
Ἀγανζάνα . . .	89°	39° 30'

Ptolemy is not a very reliable source,<sup>2</sup> and we have to consider only his general indications without putting much trust in his co-ordinates, which are exaggerated. Expressed in miles they are: Gazaka-Pharaspa—117, 3; thence to Phanaspa—90, 7; thence to Aganzana—204, 4. There is no doubt that his Pharaspa, situated to the north-east of \*Gazaka, is identical with Phraata/Praaspa. The final point of the table, Aganzana, is presumably Zanjān (Andreas in Pauly-Wissowa). Phanaspa, not otherwise known, should be looked for at one-third of the distance from Pharaspa to Aganzana (*vide infra*, p. 262, n. 1).

The nearest great centre to the north-east of Leylān (Ganzak) is Marāgha; and despite a considerable discrepancy in the distances (6 farsakhs = *circa* 24 miles uphill, instead of Ptolemy's 117.3 miles!) I venture to suggest the identity of Phraata and Marāgha, especially in view of the old name of the latter preserved in Balādhurī, 330: وكانت المراغة تدعى افراهرد, i.e. apparently \**Afrāh-rōdh*<sup>3</sup> for which Yāqūt, iv, 476, gives افرزهرود. The name is definitely connected with the river (Šāfī, Sofi-chay) on which Marāgha is situated. The natural conditions of Marāgha, protected from the north by Sahand and abounding in water and vegetation, are excellent. So much so, that both the Arabs (seventh to ninth century), and the Mongols (thirteenth century) made it their initial residence. No systematic diggings have been carried out in Marāgha; but its site is of greatest antiquity,<sup>4</sup> and it would have been quite natural for the ancient Atropatids to have chosen Afrāh-rōdh for their summer

<sup>1</sup> Rawlinson, 120, wrongly compares *Gazaca* not with *Zazaca*, but with *Azaga*, which must have lain in the region of Mākū.

<sup>2</sup> Rawlinson, op. cit., 121: "from some cause . . . there is a greater tendency to exaggeration in Ptolemy's latitudinal measurements of Western Persia than in those of any of the contiguous countries."

<sup>3</sup> Wrongly dotted by the editor *Agrāh-rūdh*. See Minorsky, *Marāgha in E.I.*, in which the suggestion of Phraata = Marāgha was first made. On a similar name of a Sistan river: Avestan *Fradaθā*, now Farah-rūd, see Marquart, *Wehrot*, 1938, p. 22. Marquart disregards the form Phraata and explains Phraaspa as \**frādah-aspa* "fostering horses", *Ērānšahr*, 108; *Catalogue*, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mecquenem in *Annales de Géographie*, 1908, 128–144.



residence. Like them, the earlier il-khans resided in Marāgha, and in winter descended to the plains of Jaghatū, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Ganzak.

Closely connected with Marāgha was the famous fort Rūyīn-diz, which lay at a distance of 3 farsakhs and, in later times, often served as a shelter for women and treasures. I have tentatively identified it with the place called on Russian maps *Yay-shahar* (in Turkish “summer-town”), which lies 16 kms. (*circa* 3 fars.) above Marāgha on the slopes of Sahand. If Vera were to be connected with Phraata (and not with Ganzak), this might be the *φρούριον ἐρυμνόν* which Antonius tried to capture.<sup>1</sup>

Strabo closes his difficult passage by mentioning (on the authority of Dellius) the distance between Vera and the Araxes as equal to 2,400 stades or 264·5 English miles (1 stade = 194 yards). If by “Araxes” is meant the nearest crossing of the river (near Julfa), the distance is far too great: in reality it would not exceed 160 miles to Leylān, 170 miles to Marāgha (following the road to the east of Sahand), or even 200 miles to Takht-i Sulaymān. If, however, Strabo, like Pliny) has in view not Julfa but Artaxata, another 90 miles should be added to the above distances, and as a result the eastern route from Marāgha would approximate the requirements of the case (260 miles, instead of 264·5).

Rawlinson, with his excellent knowledge of geography and military affairs, has traced Antonius’s disastrous retreat on the supposition that the march began at Takht-i Sulaymān and followed a road to the east of Mt. Sahand.<sup>2</sup> On the whole he takes the daily distance covered by Antonius’s army at 10 miles, but, as the Parthians constantly harassed the Romans and engaged them in fourteen battles, nothing definite can be affirmed about the various stages of the march. Below, I sum up Rawlinson’s explanations.

	from Takht-i Sulaymān
On the 3rd day the Romans reach a flooded valley ;	crossing *Aydoghmish (southern affluent of the Qaranghu)
on the 7th day : a serious engagement	70 miles from Takht-i Sulaymān, in the hills, to the E. of the Miyāndāb plain (?)
days 8th to 18th : constant attacks ;	along the northern skirts of Sahand into the Mihrān-rūd valley
19th day : halt ; a spacious plain appears ;	the plain of Tabriz
30 miles to a brackish river	Ajī-chay
march continued to a fresh water	Savalan-chay
days 21st–26th (27th ?)	80 miles from the Savalan to Julfa

<sup>1</sup> Another important ancient site in the same region is the castle known now as Qal’a-Zohāk, on the Qaranghu ; see Monteith, *op. cit.*, 4. It lies some 52 miles east of Marāgha, and tentatively might be identified with Ptolemy’s Phanaspā (?). Its distance from Zanjān is *circa* 100 miles. Thus in fact it lies at one-third of the distance Marāgha-Zanjān, and the general direction of the road (south-east) corresponds to Ptolemy’s co-ordinates.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *cf.* 41 : “Antonius was intending to lead his troops back by the same road, which was through a plain country without trees,” but a Mard guide “advised him in his flight to keep to the mountains on his right”, and took him by a “shorter road” along inhabited villages. The way there may have been *via* Sofyan—west of Tabriz—eastern bank of Lake Urmia, or alternatively, Sofyan-Tabriz and round the north-eastern side of Sahand. The retreat must have been by some shorter cut of the eastern Sahand, and more to the north-east of the former road (i.e. hugging the western hills of Qaraja-dagh which overlook the Tabriz plain).

In view of my different initial point I should make the following alterations in the scheme. As the Romans were travelling with heavy baggage and, especially in the beginning, had to regulate their order of retreat, three days would not have been too much for the passage from Marāgha, or Rūyīn-diz, into the upper valley of Qaranghu, which might be taken for the place flooded by the Parthians. The further line of retreat would be round the eastern slopes of Sahand, from Qaranghu into the Ūjān valley. In the latter I should place the major engagement with the Parthians. The remaining part of the route followed by Antonius would be in conformity with Rawlinson's explanations, the brackish river (Ajī-chay) being the only definite feature in Plutarch's picturesque report. Rawlinson's variant has some advantage of distances in the beginning, but the march round the south-eastern spurs of Sahand and the crossing into the Ūjān valley must have been a difficult task and taken quite considerable time. Consequently, the Marāgha version of the campaign meets with no difficulty.

Generally speaking, we have to allow for many differences between the campaigns of Antonius and of Heraclius. Antonius had lost his baggage-train and had before him a highly mobile and cunning enemy. His story does not seem to expand beyond the dominions of Artavazd of Atropatene, and it would have been very rash on his part to push forward so deep into the foe's territory as Takht-i Sulaymān.<sup>1</sup> On the way to it, there should have been some echo of his passage through Ganzak, whereas to besiege Phraata he may have turned off the main road somewhere near Bināb, before reaching Ganzak, and without tackling the problem of a large city which lay in the plain and was open to the counter-attack of the light Parthian cavalry. By no means should we forget the fact that the expedition of A.D. 591 carried out a detailed reconnaissance of the country which was of great use to Heraclius. Antonius had no such advantage and was moving in *terra incognita*.

Consequently, all the uncertainties weighed, I should stress the important similarity of the names Phraata and Afrāh-rōdh, in order to separate Phraata from Ganzak and Shīz, and to locate it at Marāgha.

#### § 6. Lake Čēčast

In addition to the difficulties presented by our texts we have to cope with some special complications in the toponymy of Azarbayjān. Under the Sasanians, the ancient Iranian mythology, which has in view chiefly Eastern Iran, was fitted into the background of Azarbayjān. The real geographical names, like Ganzak, belonged to definite places, but legends could be located anywhere and simultaneously at different points. Such is the purely mythical lake Var-i Čēčast (Avestan Čaēčasta)<sup>2</sup> in which Afrāsiyāb (Frañrasyan) tried to escape from Kay Khusrau.

<sup>1</sup> This point of view is not contradicted by a one day's raid and the foraging expeditions which Antonius launched from Phraata (Plutarch, ch. 39-40).

<sup>2</sup> I doubt Herzfeld's statement about the data of the Kay Khusrau cycle being "wirkliche Geographie", *Arch. Mitt.*, II/2, p. 72.

Firdausī, vii, 140, in his version of the battle fought between Khusrau Parvīz and Bahrām Chūbīn (*vide supra*) says that Khusrau hastened towards Lake \*Chēchast (cleverly restored by Rawlinson from the traditional *Khanjast*). As we know, the historical battle took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Lake Urmia, and this settles the problem in this particular case. The details are more confused in the legend of Afrāsiyāb, ed. Mohl, iv, 195–200. This Iranian hero takes refuge in a grotto near Barda' (Partav, in Transcaucasia) <sup>1</sup> and then throws himself into the sea called Āb-i Khanjast (\*Chēchast) in the neighbourhood of the fire-temple of Ādhar-gushnasp. Apart from the confusion of \*Vālarān (والران) with al-Rān (الران), already discussed on p. 247, it is possible that Barda' (or بردعه) has been mis-read from Marāgha (مرآغه), as precisely the same misunderstanding took place in Miskawayh's report on the Russian raid on Barda'a, see *The Eclipse*, ii, 64. These corrections take us back to Lake Urmia, and even the detail on Afrasiyāb being lassoed from "an island" improves the chances of our restoration (\*Marāgha), for there are islands in Lake Urmia.

At first sight, the names Čēčast and al-Shīz seem to be of different origin <sup>2</sup>; but there are some indications of the possible passage of the former into the latter.<sup>3</sup> We can follow the traces of such changes only in Islamic times. The Iranian sound č is rendered in Arabic both by *j* and *š*. According to Ṭabarī, I/2, 616, Afrāsiyāb hid himself in the pool (*ghadīr*) known as بئر جاسف "well of \*Jāsf", var. *Bar-jāst*, which Hoffmann, 251, reading the *alif* with *imāla*, restored as \**Bar-Čēst*, while he took *bar* for Iranian *var* "a lake, pond". A similar reduction may lurk in the name of the last stage before Marāgha which is greatly disfigured in the manuscripts: I. Kh., 120, سارحاست or خواصب, Qudāma, 212, سواکاست, Muq., امیوالحاسب or امیوالحاست. In the light of Ṭabarī's text, Muqaddasī's form might be restored as \*بئر الجاست *bi'r al-Čēst*.<sup>4</sup> In I. Balkhī's *Fārs-nāma*, 50 and 79, the fire-temple of Azarbayjān is located at Jīs (< \*Čēs, Čēč). Yāqūt, iii, 354, regards *Shīz* as the Arabic (?) form of the earlier *Jīs*. These examples indicate the possible links in the evolution of the name, but the passage of Čēč into *Shīz* (\**Shēz* ?) points rather to some purely Iranian dialectal differences (Parthian, Kurdish ?).

We have seen that the earliest location of Čēčast is connected with Lake

<sup>1</sup> Nasawī, the biographer of the Khwārazm-shāh Jalāl al-Dīn (p. 225), boldly indicates the exact place of the event in the highlands of Barda'a. [In the *Bundahishn*, xxii, 8, the "lake of Khusrau" is placed at 50 farsakhs from Čēčast. Even reckoning 1 far. = 3 miles, the distance would take us beyond Zanjān. E. W. West identified Khusrau's lake either with that of Van, or with Sevan (Gökche). The latter is preferable, as Van has no connection with Khusrau.]

<sup>2</sup> Two other *Shīz* (without the article) are known, Schwarz, op. cit., 703, 917, but their names are doubtful: one of them (perhaps \**Bīr*) in Shahrāzūr, and the other (var. *Sīr*) at 4 fars. north of Dīnavar. *V. supra*, p. 253, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> There was of course a temptation to take Čēčast for Čēč-ast "it is Čēč".

<sup>4</sup> The restoration of this name with *-khōst*, "a dam, a road rammed down," is unlikely. On *khōst* see Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, II/2, 80–3.

Urmia, but the modified name \**Shēz* was apparently reserved for the site of Takht-i Sulaymān, which, even before the transfer of the fire, may have been alternately identified with the death of Afrāsiyāb (see Mas'ūdī, ii, 131). Ṭabari's expression "the *ghadīr* of \**Čēst*" undoubtedly refers to some pool, and could not have been applied to such a vast expanse of water as Lake Urmia.

It is even possible that "Afrāsiyāb's pool" was sometimes located at a quite different point in the same region. Should our restoration of Muqaddasi's stage prove right, it would indicate that some place in the neighbourhood of Ganzak/Janza was also connected with the same legend. As Ganzak lay at 6 farsakhs to the south of Marāgha, and \**Bi'r Jāst* (Sābur-khāst) at 7 farsakhs in the same direction, we can think for it of some place in the neighbourhood of Miyān-du-āb, where several dams are in existence (on the Tatavu, on the Leylān river), to say nothing of the flooded stretches of land.

This brings us to a very curious discrepancy in Yāqūt. Frankly distrustful of Mis'ar, Yāqūt concludes the quotation from the latter's report on al-Shīz with his own remark that "the people of Marāgha and that region call this [*sic*] place Kaznā". In a special short paragraph on Kaznā, iv, 272, Yāqūt locates it at 6 farsakhs from Marāgha (cf. I. Kh. and Qudāma), saying that "therein [*sic*] is the temple of the Magians and the ancient fire-temple and a very high portico (*īwān*)". Further under *Jaznaq*, ii, 72, he repeats practically the same statement. No doubt is possible that Yāqūt is thinking of Ganzak (Leylān).

Mis'ar was the only traveller to visit the remote site of Takht-i Sulaymān and there to see the remains of the temple, which even now are said to be discernible on the spot (D. N. Wilber). But we cannot say whether Yāqūt saw the ruins of Ganzak, although he must have passed quite close to them.<sup>1</sup> His reports seem to confirm the supposition that in the neighbourhood of the ancient town there still survived some recollections of the time when the fire-temple (with all its legendary associations) stood in it.

We have but to repeat that the whole legend of Čēčast is an unhistorical fiction, only artificially connected with the real facts about Ganzak and the fire-temple of Ādhar-Gushnasp.

This brings us to the end of our article, in which, contrary to Sir H. Rawlinson, we have tried to distinguish between Phraata, Ganzak, and the *later* site of the fire-temple at Thebarmais = Shīz = Takht-i Sulaymān. Additionally we have considered the various ways in which the ancient myth of Čēčast was located.

I dedicate this paper to my friend Professor E. H. Minns, F.B.A., who has again put me under obligation by drawing a view of Takht-i Sulaymān.

CAMBRIDGE, 22nd June, 1944.

<sup>1</sup> See Wüstenfeld, *Jācūt's Reisen*, in *ZDMG*, xviii, 1864, p. 441. Yāqūt definitely says that he visited Baswē which lies to the south-west of Lake Urmia, but his road to Marāgha must have left Ganzak considerably to the south-east.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Bundahishn*, xxii, 8.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 11, No. 3 (1945), pp. 550-578

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609336>

Accessed: 01/03/2013 21:21

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# Khāqānī and Andronicus Comnenus

By V. MINORSKY

- §1. On Khāqānī (his works, editions, commentaries).
- §2. Andronicus Comnenus.
- §3. Andronicus in Georgia and Shirvan.
- §4. The Shirvān-shāh Akhsatān and Khāqānī.
- §5. The "Christian" ode translated.
- §6. Commentary.

Abbreviations: *Kh.* = Khanikov, *Mémoire*; *L.* = Lucknow edition of the *Kulliyāt*; *T.* = Tehran edition of the *Divān*; *Qor'ān* quoted in the translation of R. Bell.

## § 1. On Khāqānī

ONE of the greatest Persian poets, Afḡal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khāqānī, is still insufficiently known to the public. Only in 1937 was his *Divān* printed in Tehran, and before that date the readers had to content themselves with an inconvenient Indian lithograph published some seventy years ago.<sup>1</sup> The long Mathnavī (*Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn*) in which the poet describes his pilgrimage accomplished in 551–2/1156–7 is available only in Indian lithographs.<sup>2</sup>

This scarcity of editions is due to the difficulty of Khāqānī's poems, which bristle with rare words, unusual similes and allusions to astrology, medicine, theology, and history, to say nothing of the numerous hints concerning the happenings of the poet's own life and time.

Even two and three centuries after Khāqānī's death his poems caused embarrassment to accomplished connoisseurs of Persian letters. Daulat-shāh calls the ode which we propose to study *bisṡār mushkil* "very difficult", and cuts down his quotation from it on the grounds that it "requires a commentary" (*mauqūf ba-sharḥ*).<sup>3</sup> In fact, quite a number of explanations of the abstruse odes had to be composed for the benefit of readers, as will be seen from the following list:—

1. According to Daulat-shāh, Shaykh Ādharī explained Khāqānī's qaṣīda "on Christian matters" in his *Javāhir al-asrār* (840/1436), which is an abridgment of his previous work *Mafātīḥ al-asrār* (830/1427).

2. I owe to Professor C. A. Storey the reference to the rare *Sharḥ-i qaṣā'id-i Khāqānī*, Stambul, *Āṣafiya*, ii, 1252, No. 93, due to the pen of the great poet Jāmī (A.D. 1414–1492).

3. Muḥammad d. Dā'ūd b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd 'Alavī Shādiyābādī, who sojourned at the court of Nāṣir al-Dīn Khiljī (906–916/1500–1510), wrote a full commentary on forty-four qaṣīdas of Khāqānī, Rieu, ii, 561.

<sup>1</sup> *Divān-i Khāqānī-yi Shirvānī*, ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rasūli, Tehran, 1316, 944 pp., containing a short introduction and a detailed index of names (pp. 945–979). The previous edition (*Kulliyāt*, but without the *Tuḥfat al-'Irāqayn*) was lithographed in Lucknow, 1293/1878, 2 vols., 1582 pp., with a commentary in the margin (see below).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. by Abu' l-Ḥasan, Agra, A.D. 1855, 222 pp. (with commentary); Lucknow, 1294/1877; several selections: Cawnpore, 1867; Lahore, 1867.

<sup>3</sup> *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, ed. E. G. Browne, p. 79.

4. The 'Alavī Lāhijī, one of the courtiers of Jahāngīr (1014–1037/1605–1628), dedicated to him a commentary on some qaṣīdas of Khāqānī, Rieu, ii, 562.

5. 'Abd al-Vahhāb b. Maḥmūd al-Ḥasanī al-Ḥusaynī al-Ma'mūrī, surnamed Ghanā'ī, wrote a commentary called *Maḥabbat-nāma* some time about 1090/1679, Ethé, *Cat. India Office*, i, col. 593. *Vide infra*.

6. Qabūl-Muḥammad, who compiled for the Sultan of Oudh (d. A.D. 1827) the dictionary *Haft-Qulzum*, wrote also the commentary *Farah-afzā* on ten qaṣīdas of Khāqānī, Sprenger, *Cat.*, p. 463.

7. Ridā Qulī Khān (d. 1288/1871) explained the difficult verses of Khāqānī in his *Miftāḥ al-kunūz*, Rieu, *Supp.*, 221 (2). According to his own statement he worked independently, not having seen any of the previous commentaries.

8. The Lucknow edition (A.H. 1294) has a running commentary possibly utilizing the earlier works, but at many places bearing the signature of Maulānā Sayyid Muḥammad Ṣādiq 'Alī Lakhnautī (pp. 147, 637, etc.). The explanations inscribed in the margin, and sometimes inside the text, are very tiring for the eyes.

9. A commentary in Urdu entitled *Hall-i qaṣā'id-i Khāqānī* by Aḥmad Ḥasan Shaukat was published in Meerut in 1906.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of this plethora of exegeses, now and then the poet defied his commentators. In general, one can hardly expect Muslim commentaries compiled far from the field of Khāqānī's activities to be of much help in the particularly obscure passages and allusions (*vide infra*, p. 562, n. 4).

If the poet's countrymen had to cope with many knotty points in the Dīvān, it is obvious that, outside Persia and India, few attempts will have been made to assess the poetical value of Khāqānī. The single odes figuring in various readers and selections of the earlier part of the nineteenth century need not detain us.<sup>2</sup>

The only European who has produced a general study of our poet is N. V. Khanikov (1822–1878).<sup>3</sup> He began reading Khāqānī with a marginal commentary at the time when he was Consul-General in Tabriz and was collecting material for the history of the Shirvān-shāhs. His *Mémoire* is a valuable piece of research, but the Persian text of Khāqānī's poems which he quotes *in extenso* must hail from some very faulty MS. Nor had Khanikov much feeling for the metre.

C. Salemann's thesis on the quatrains of Khāqānī<sup>4</sup> is a careful essay with a full bibliography, glossary, and illustrative texts, although not carrying actual research beyond the findings of Khanikov. Salemann candidly confesses that he gave up the study of the chief source of Khāqānī's biography, namely his

<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether the commentary by Ḥasan Dihlavī (?), quoted in Tarbiyat, *Dānish-mandān-i Ādharbāyjān*, 130, is identical with any of the above.

<sup>2</sup> See a complete bibliography in Salemann, *Chetverostishiya*, pp. 13–14.

<sup>3</sup> Khanykoff, Lettre à M. Dorn, Tabriz, 8th–20th April, 1857, in *Bull. hist. et phil. de l'Ac. de St. Pétersbourg*, xiv, No. 23, col. 353–376 (various historical references in Khaqani, chiefly to the Russians); *Mémoire sur Khâcâni*. 1. Étude sur la vie et le caractère de Khâcâni, *J. As.*, aout-sept., 1863, pp. 137–200. 2. Texte et traduction de quatre odes de Khâcâni, *J. As.*, mars-avril, 1865, pp. 296–367.

<sup>4</sup> К. Залеманъ, Четверостишія Хакани, St. Petersburg, 1875, 87 + 92 pp.

*qaṣīdas*, after having discovered that “it was beyond my powers to understand them without a commentary”.

Both H. Ethé<sup>1</sup> and E. G. Browne<sup>2</sup> followed Khanikov's *Mémoire*. The conclusion of the former is that Khāqānī's poems, despite their forceful and melodious language, are characterized by an abundance of artificial *jeux de mots* and obscure hints. Browne finds still less redeeming features in Khāqānī, whose “style is generally obscure, extremely artificial, and even pedantic”. To some extent, the judgment of the two historians of Persian literature is difficult to gainsay, but the human and entertaining sides of Khāqānī's production appear much more clearly in Khanikov, who took more pains to ascertain the poet's atmosphere.

Recently Russian scholars of the younger generation (Yuri Marr, K. Chaykin, A. Boldirev) have become interested in the poet of Shirvan, and succeeded in explaining a number of difficult points. Still more important is the long chapter on Khāqānī included in the collection of literary essays by Professor Badi' al-Zamān Khorāsānī: *Sukhan va-Sukhanvarān*, ii/1, Tehran, 1312/1933. The general appreciation of Khāqānī occupies pp. 300–349, and is accompanied (pp. 349–403) by an illustrative selection of poetry. The author considers Khāqānī one of the great masters of the Persian tongue and a first class *qaṣīda* poet of his age. He notes the originality of his themes (*ibtikār-i maḍāmīn*), the easy overcoming of such technical difficulties as the unusual *radīfs*, the force of his descriptions, the vast range of his vocabulary and learning. He admits, however, that by indulging in a certain facile tendency Khāqānī becomes artificial (*az ḥadd-i ṭabī'at birūn*). By assuming his readers to be a match (*ham-tā*) to his learning he tends to be unintelligible. “The little acquaintance with the poetry of Khāqānī on the part of the majority of those interested in literature is not due to any tortuous or obscure ideas of the poet or to the fact that his thoughts lie outside common comprehension. Although such an explanation may be accepted for some of his verses, it is entirely untrue in the cases where Khāqānī describes nature, criticizes the manners of his contemporaries or sings their praises, for such lines are not unfamiliar to the public (*'umūm*), and the ideas (*khiyālāt*) of Khāqānī are within the range of common thought. The reason for this aloofness and the general insufficient acquaintance with the *ḏivān* lies rather in the poet's terms and mode of expression, which rest on the peculiar foundations of science and taste capable of finding favour (only) with the *élite*. Meanwhile, such learned verses are not appreciated by the common people, whose range of comprehension and reasoning is inadequate.”

Badi' al-Zamān refutes the idea that many of Khāqānī's verses (up to five hundred !) have no meaning, but admits that the labour involved in ascertaining their meaning is out of proportion to the result. The author has found in the *Mathnavī* a verse (ii, 3758) which seems to contain a censure of Khāqānī's obscurity. Several times the poet of Shirvan compares his poetry with the

<sup>1</sup> *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 263–5.

<sup>2</sup> *A Lit. Hist. of Persia*, i, 391–5.



“speech of the birds”, comprehensible only to Solomon (*vide infra*, p. 559). It is tempting, therefore, to read and interpret Jalāl al-Dīn’s verse as follows : “The speech of the birds of *Khāqānī* is but an echo ; but where is the speech of the birds of Solomon ? ”<sup>1</sup>

Badī‘ al-Zamān greatly admires Khāqānī’s talent for producing new combinations of words (*tarkīb*) and allusions, and calls his *divān* “a thesaurus of literary expressions”.

The essay of the Persian scholar, who prides himself on being untouched by the all-pervading European influences, has the merit of being amply illustrated by apposite quotations from the immense *Kulliyāt*. In Khāqānī’s poems the author has discovered a mass of new facts relating to his life, patrons, acquaintances, and rivals.<sup>2</sup>

Now that the *divān* is before us in a readable form one is more than ever struck by the wonderful mastery of the poet. Of course, the *qaṣīda* is a highly artificial class of poetry ; but within its framework Khāqānī moves with prodigious skill and ease. It would be a fallacy to imagine that the poems are only fulsome panegyrics. In many of them the poet displays a fine sense of nature : stars, clouds, and sun-rises, the desert, mighty streams, and the sea. Even in the longish *ṣūfī* poem moving along the beaten tracks of piety there are some real gems :—

*natarsam z’ān-ki nabbāsh-i tabī‘at gūr bishkāfad*  
*ki mahtāb-i sharī‘at-rā ba-shab kardam nigahbānash*

“No fear for me that Nature, that body-snatcher, might ransack my tomb,

“For I have made the moon-light of the Sharī‘at my night-watcher.”

The reverse of praise is satire, and the stabs of Khāqānī’s stiletto flash refreshingly throughout his *divān*. In his poem reminiscent of *Exegi monumentum*, he calls his rivals “suburb-whores and village-boors” (*gharzanān-i barzan-and u gharchagān-i rūstā*), with all the glitter of queer words and angry alliterations. At the risk of being accused of heresy I confess that, after this full-blooded speech, the mellowed but emasculated vocabulary of the followers of Ḥāfiẓ loses some of its lustre.

Above all the fireworks of words, metaphors, and similes the vistas of Khāqānī’s personality form the most attractive feature of his *divān*. The human element, which is so rare in the standardized ghazals with their hypocritical mixture of divine and profane, is abundant in his odes, satires, and dirges. If he languishes in prison we see the cross-bars of the skylight opening on the dark sky ; if he laments his wife, he finds simple and human words in which to describe the one who “was my companion, nay, the memory of my life ”<sup>3</sup> ; if he speaks of the loss of his child, one agrees with Khanīkov

<sup>1</sup> In the light of Badī‘ al-Zamān’s discovery R. A. Nicholson has changed his translation in his commentary, *G.M.S.*, iv/7, p. 368.

<sup>2</sup> Muḥammad ‘Alī Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Adharbāyyān*, 1314/1935, pp. 129–132, also contains some new facts of Khāqānī’s biography.

<sup>3</sup> I have recommended this verse to be engraved on the tombstone of Lady Ross, buried in Stambul by the side of Sir Denison Ross.

that “sa douleur lui fait oublier sa science”. He likes travel and new impressions, he is vainglorious, he often gets into trouble with his patrons and enemies, and five of his longer poems are bitter complaints written in jail (*vide infra*, p. 361, n. 3). He is a personality and not a sanctimonious abstraction like so many of the worthies quoted in Persian anthologies. Even his learning and “pedanticism” do not resemble in the least a metrical commentary on the Qor’ān or a versified treatise on sufism. The traces of his inquisitive mind and retentive memory give a picture of the cultural standards of his age, of the studies, readings, and meditations of his contemporaries. The *ḡwān* contains 265 geographical and 384 personal names.<sup>1</sup> It is a repertory meriting a close study on the lines of the methods applied to Dante’s text.

## § 2. *Andronicus Comnenus*

There is now no doubt about the identity of the patron to whom Khāqānī addressed his “Christian” poem.<sup>2</sup> It is no less a person than the famous Andronicus Comnenus, whose talents, loves, crimes, and adventures startle and amaze even on the colourful background of contemporary Byzantium.

Andronicus (born *circa* A.D. 1120) was a cousin of the great Emperor Manuel (1143–1180), and appeared before the public eye somewhere about 1150 as the hero of an irregular love-affair with a princess whose sister was held in a still more unhallowed union by her uncle Manuel. He twice led expeditions against the doughty Armenian king of Cilicia, Thoros. The results were nil except for the personal friendships which the gay and gallant prince easily contracted with neighbours, whatever their persuasion, Latin or Muslim. No sooner was he transferred to the Hungarian front than he plotted with the King of Hungary and the Emperor Frederick against his own lord Manuel. The latter locked him up in a tower, whence he escaped after four years, only to be recaptured. Not before another eight years had he a better chance. This time (A.D. 1165) he sought refuge with the Russian Prince Yaroslav of Halich. As the King of Hungary wanted Andronicus for his own designs, Manuel hastened to pardon his cousin and the companion of his youth, for whom there always remained a weak spot in his heart. In 1167 Andronicus distinguished himself in the battle of Zeugmine (Zemlin), where he fought the Hungarians, but he felt disappointed at the sudden *rapprochement* of Manuel with King Béla. For a third time Andronicus was sent to Cilicia, but, even though he succeeded in unhorsing the terrible Thoros, he lost the day. He retired to Syria, there to give full vent to his romantic vein. He first dallied with the Princess Philippa of Antioch, and then with his own cousin Theodora, the widow of the King of Jerusalem, Baldwin III. Manuel, furious at the thoughtless behaviour of Andronicus, sent emissaries to blind him, but the faithful Theodora warned him in good time; so, taking her with himself, Andronicus set out on a new series of adventures, which lasted some twelve

<sup>1</sup> Among them, Jesus Christ alone is mentioned 207 times.

<sup>2</sup> Khanikov wrongly took him for Isaac Comnenus, but Kunik (in Dorn’s *Caspia*, 1875, p. 240) corrected this mistake.

years (1168 ?–1180). From Syria he went to Damascus, and thence, with the help of Nūr al-Dīn (d. 569/1174), on to “Persia”.<sup>1</sup> The lovers stopped at Harrān, where Theodora was delivered of a child, and passed through Mārdīn.<sup>2</sup> The further itinerary is little known. According to Michael the Syrian the travellers made for Erzerum (Karin); but this is possibly a later stage of Andronicus’s peregrination, after his return from the Caucasus. There are some reports that he proceeded to Baghdad and was well received at the court.<sup>3</sup> This may be the source of the later references to his apostasy, which even nowadays appear in some hostile authors, but are entirely refuted by Khāqānī’s unequivocal references to him as “the glory of the Apostles” and “the sincere friend of the Messiah”. The farthest point reached by the noble travellers was the Christian kingdom of Iberia (Georgia). We shall speak separately of the activities of Andronicus in Transcaucasia, on which the local chronicle throws interesting light.

After Georgia we find Andronicus on the north-eastern border of the Byzantine empire.<sup>4</sup> He is kindly received by the Turkish ruler Saltukh, the holder of the fief of Coloneia (now Shabin-Qara-hisar), who had encroached on some parts of the neighbouring Chaldian theme (i.e. Trebizond). Saltukh is said to have given Andronicus a strong castle.<sup>5</sup>

Apparently there is some misunderstanding in the sources concerning Saltukh (Σαλτοῦχος \*Saltuq). This name is particular to the family of the Turcoman rulers of Erzerum, who do not seem ever to have possessed Coloneia.<sup>6</sup> The agreement of the name Saltukh with the mention of Karin (= Erzerum) in Michael the Syrian makes it probable that Andronicus visited the court of this small dynasty, but the definite reference to Coloneia suggests that Andronicus finally passed under the protection of another Turcoman dynasty, that of Mengüjek, whose dominions alone form a suitable geographical frame to the subsequent events.

<sup>1</sup> Willermus Tyrensis Archiepiscopus, liber XX, cap. 2 (*Recueil des hist. des croisades*, i/2, 1844, p. 943)—a trustworthy witness of the events (d. after 1183). “Persia” in this case means only the area directly or indirectly dependent on the great Seljuks.

<sup>2</sup> Michael the Syrian, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch, died circa 1199, vide *Recueil, Sources Arméniennes*, p. 361.

<sup>3</sup> Diehl, *Figures Byzantines*, ed. 1927, ii, 86–134, whose source I have failed to trace.

<sup>4</sup> It is doubtful whether on his way to Coloneia he visited Persia. Nicetas Choniata does not mention such a *détour*, and Cinnamus applies the term “Persian” to the Muslim neighbours of the Byzantine Empire. The contemporary Seljuk ruler of Persia was Arslan II (556–573/1161–1177). One might also consider as “Persia” the dominions of the powerful Ildeguzids, atabeks of Azarbayjan, namely of Muḥammad Pahlavān-i Jahān (568–582/1172–1186). His possessions lay on the road from Georgia to Armenia (Erzerum, Coloneia), but Saltukh’s dominions bordered directly on Georgian territory in the basin of the Chorokh.

<sup>5</sup> Nicetas, ed. Bonn, pp. 185, 294.

<sup>6</sup> Their history is very little known, apart from some reference sin I. Athīr, x, 147a (496); xi, 126: in 548/1153 Saltuq was defeated by the Georgians; xi, 185: in 556/1161 Saltuq was captured by the Georgians but redeemed by his daughter, wife of the ruler of Khilāt (Shah Arman); xi, 209: in 560/1165 the Dānishmandid Yaghī-Arslan kidnapped the fiancée of the Saljuq Qilij Arslan, who was the daughter of Saltuq b. ‘Ali b. Abu’l-Qāsim; xii, iii: in 597/1201 the Seljuk Rukn al-Dīn seized Erzerum, which belonged to the son of al-Malik (*li-walad al-malik*), son of Muḥammad, son of Saltuq, and this was the end of the dynasty.

The chief possessions of the Mengüjekids were Erzinjān, Coloneia (Koghūnia) and Kamākh. They were in close relations with Trebizond. They often attacked the Georgians and the Byzantines. The chief representative of the family at the time of Andronicus was Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām-shāh (*circa* A.D. 1155–1218), known as a very clever ruler, fond of learning and poetry. Nizāmī dedicated to him his *Makhzan al-asrār* (according to Rieu, *circa* 575/1179). He was a likely prince to befriend a noble visitor.<sup>1</sup>

Whether Andronicus, as asserted by some hostile sources,<sup>2</sup> really made incursions into Byzantine dominions and traded in captives with Muslims is open to doubt; but his presence on the frontier was certainly most unwelcome to Constantinople, and a means was found to deal him a hard blow. On Manuel's instructions the ruler of Trebizond, Nicephorus Palæologus, sent men to kidnap Theodora. In despair at the loss of his beloved Andronicus hastened to make humble submission to the emperor and appeared before him wearing a chain round his neck.

Again Manuel pardoned him and assigned to him a residence at Cænæum in the Polemoniac Pontus (now Ünye). Andronicus had now to wait but a short while before the news of the emperor's death reached him. The new emperor Alexis (1180–3) was eleven years old. Andronicus took up the attitude of one bound by oath to his father to ward off any danger from the royal family. The unpopularity of the dowager empress and her favourite the Protosebastos Alexis served him as a pretext to strike hard at his enemies. In 1183 he was crowned joint emperor with Alexis. Soon after the dowager empress was condemned to be strangled, the decision having been counter-signed by her youthful son. Then the latter's turn came, and he was strangled in his bed. Andronicus, still keeping his connection with Theodora, married the 11-year-old Agnes, who had been betrothed to Alexis. He reigned independently from 1183 to 1185, and the people welcomed his advent, as the two acknowledged objects of his policy were the elimination of Latin influence and the defence of the rights of the peasants against the landowners. A statue represented him as a toiler in modest garments and with a scythe in his hand. However, the terrorism of his old age was indiscriminate. His enemies exploited his excesses and executions. On 11th September, 1185, a mutiny broke out in the capital. Andronicus prepared to flee by sea to the Crimea, but the stormy sea threw him back on to the coast. He was caught and hanged in the circus.<sup>3</sup> Thus ended the reign which might have saved and regenerated the

<sup>1</sup> See Houtsma, *Mengüjek* in *E.I.* Important facts on the dynasty are quoted by van Berchem and Halil Edhem in *Corpus inscr. arab.*, iii, pp. 90–103.

<sup>2</sup> Cinnamus, vi, p. 251, and various Western European chronicles. How wild were the rumours circulating in the West may be instanced by the fantastic confusion in the report on the affairs in Constantinople which reached Ibn Jubayr during his sojourn in Sicily in January, 1185, *Rihla*, ed. Gibb Memorial, pp. 330–340 (tr. Schiapparelli, pp. 336–9 and 367).

<sup>3</sup> Lebeau, *Hist. du Bas-Empire*, 1834, xvi, ch. 89–91; Gibbon, ch. xlviii; Bréhier, *sub verbo*, in Baudrillart, *Dict. d'histoire . . . ecclésiastique*, ii, 1914, col. 1776–1182; A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1929, ii, 13–17, 88–95.

exhausted Empire had not Andronicus "lacked perhaps a little moral sense" (Diehl).

### § 3. *Andronicus in Georgia and Shirvan*

For a Byzantine prince Georgia had the natural attraction of a Christian and hospitable kingdom. There are also reasons to think that Andronicus had some particular links with King Giorgi III (1156–1184). The Trebizond chronicle of Michael Panaretus definitely affirms that the founder of the Trebizond Empire, Alexius, who was a grandson of Andronicus, was set on the throne with the help of his paternal aunt (πρὸς πατρὸς θεία), Queen Tamar (1184–1213), who succeeded her father Giorgi III. Thus some connection between the Comnenes and the Georgian Bagratids had been a well-known fact, but their actual link has been difficult to ascertain. Quite recently a Georgian scholar<sup>1</sup> has given a new interpretation to the passage of the official chronicle describing the arrival of Andronicus in Georgia "with a wife of dazzling countenance and with beautiful children". The latter are said to be "the sister's sons", and the new suggestion is that this indication of parentage refers *not* to Andronicus but to Giorgi. Consequently it appears that the first wife of Andronicus was Giorgi's sister. He must have married her *circa* 1144, and she gave birth to Manuel, the father of the first emperor of Trebizond. She probably died before Andronicus started on his adventures in Syria, for otherwise Giorgi "would hardly have shown so much kindness to his brother-in-law" being accompanied by Theodora. In the words of the chronicle<sup>2</sup> the king of Georgia gave him "as many towns and castles as he needed and assigned to him a residence in the neighbourhood of his own in Kakhetia, and opposite that of Aghsartan, king of Shirvan". This Muslim ruler's mother was the Georgian Princess Tamar, King Giorgi's aunt, and the cousins, Christian and Muslim, lived on excellent terms. Being pressed by the Khazars (?) of Darband, Aghsartan appealed to Giorgi for help. Giorgi raised a considerable army and, taking Andronicus with him, raided the region "of Muskir and Sharabam" and took the town Shaburan.<sup>3</sup> Under its walls Andronicus, by his behaviour, merited the approval of the whole army. The town was restored by Giorgi to Aghsartan.

As suggested by Pakhomov,<sup>4</sup> the invasion of Shirvan, which Andronicus helped to repel, was initiated by the ruler of Darband, Bek-Bars b. Muẓaffar.

<sup>1</sup> Prince Cyril Toumanoff, "On the relationship between the founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian queen Tamar," *Speculum*, 1940, xv, 299–312.

<sup>2</sup> Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, i, 396.

<sup>3</sup> Muskir = Mushkur; Shaburan = Shābarān and Sharabam = Sharvān (?). Several of Khāqānī's verses suggest that in his time Shirvan was called *Sharvān*. For example, T. 71 (already noticed by H. Ḥasan): "Do not blame Sharvān, for Khāqānī is from the town whose name begins with *shar* [*sharr* 'evil']. Why should you blame a town for the two letters with which *shar* ['religious law'] begins and *bashar* ['humanity'] ends," etc. Cf. also T. 405: "*Shar-vān* has become *Shir-vān* ['place of lions'], nay, *Sharaf-vān* ['place of honour'], for metaphorically it has assumed the aspect of Baghdad and Egypt, thanks to the (canal of) Khayr-vān," cf. T. 263 and 275.

<sup>4</sup> *O Derbendskom kniazhestve XII–XIII v.*, Baku, 1930.



The emancipation of Darband had taken place under his grandfather Sayf al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalifa al-Sulamī,<sup>1</sup> and already in A.D. 1124 the Georgian King David led an army against Darband in support of the rights of the Shīrvān-shāhs. Pakhomov thinks that Shābarān (originally the north-eastern part of Shirvan on the eastern slope of the Shirvan range) was usually under the amīrs of Darband.

Bek-Bars's levy must have had a composite character, for in the odes<sup>2</sup> describing the victory over the invaders Khāqānī speaks of *Rūs* and *Alān* (T. 139, 475), *Rūs* and *Khazar* (T. 135), and *Rūs* and the *Sarīr* (T. 476). The old "kingdom of the Throne" (*Sarīr*) is the Avar principality in Daghestan. Bek-Bars's appeal to these valiant mountaineers was natural. The Iranian Alāns occupied in the North Caucasus a much larger area than their present-day descendants, the Ossets. It is unexpected to find the Khazar mentioned towards the end of the twelfth century. Some Khazars may have survived in the mountains, but it is more likely that their name was applied by Khāqānī to their successors in the steppes, the Qipchaq (Polovtsi, Comans), who were at this period active along the whole Caucasian front. At an earlier time the term *Rūs*<sup>3</sup> would have referred to Norsemen; but towards A.D. 1173 they were very much mixed with Slavs. The initiative of Bek-Bars was independent of Kiev, and he must have used bands of free-lances (бродники) who were roaming in the south, as a prototype of the future Cossacks. Khāqānī's odes would suggest that the invasion was twofold: by land and by sea, the latter being the contribution of the *Rūs*. Khāqānī (T. 36) claims the destruction of seventy-three Russian ships, and names *Jazīra-yi Rūynās* ("the Madder Island") and Lanbarān as the scene of the operations against the *Rūs* (T. 406). The island is supposed to be the present-day Sarā, to the south of the old estuary of the Kur. Lanbarān lies far upstream on the Kur (south of Barda'a). If Khāqānī is correct, the Russian seamen seem to have operated in the direction of the much earlier Russian raid of 332/942.<sup>4</sup>

The years of Andronicus's arrival in Georgia and of the expedition to Shābarān are known only approximately. All we can say is that he and Theodora could not have reached Giorgi's court before A.D. 1170.<sup>5</sup> The cautious Kunik (Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 240) placed the Russian attack on Shirvan "provisionally" in A.D. 1175, or "possibly" in A.D. 1173.

Another hint at the chronology of the events has been made by Professor K. Chaykin.<sup>6</sup> This scholar, an expert on the Persian poetry before A.D. 1200, has found in Khāqānī's *divān* several references to an event which caused

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in Abu-Ḥamid al-Gharnāṭī, *Jour. As.*, 1925, No. 1, p. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Studied by Khanikov in *Mél. As.*, iii, 1853.

<sup>3</sup> They particularly interested the older generation of Russian scholars; see Dorn, *Caspia. Über die Einfälle der Russen*, 1875.

<sup>4</sup> On the geographical background see the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, pp. 398–411. Cf. Minorsky, *Rūs* in *E.I.*

<sup>5</sup> Such is also the view of Toumanoff, loc. cit., 310.

<sup>6</sup> *Khaqani, Nizami, Rustaveli*, fasc. i, ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R., 1935.

much anxiety to his contemporaries. The astronomers had predicted the conjunction of the seven planets in the sign of Libra, which, in the opinion of some of them, was to be accompanied by a devastating hurricane. One remembers the blow dealt to the reputation of the great poet but unlucky astrologer, Anvarī, when this prediction proved false, and on the fatal day there was not wind enough for winnowing (Browne, ii, 368).

According both to the historians and to the computations of the astronomer Dobronravin, the conjunction of the planets took place on 29 Jamādi II 582/16 September, 1186. In five of his odes Khāqānī refers to the expected event as due to happen in another 32, 30, 13, 6, and 2 years. Consequently the third of them was written in A.H. 582 — 13 = 569 (A.D. 1173–4). This long strophic poem (T. 485–494) was dedicated to Akhsatān, as it seems, on the eve of Khāqānī's second pilgrimage, which he accomplished in 569 or 570. Chaykin insists on the "lowly and repentant tone" of the seventh strophe, in which the poet renounces all opposition to fate and pledges his mouth to silence, not without some malice: "Solomon is no more there to listen to the secrets of the birds; so, in front of the demons, I close my mouth." Chaykin connects this ode with Khāqānī's liberation from the jail into which he had been thrown for his previous attempt to leave Shirvan without permission. Such a hypothesis is very tempting psychologically,<sup>1</sup> and we can now fix pretty closely the date of his imprisonment, during which Shābarān was recaptured. The probable year of the expedition must be *circa* A.H. 569, i.e. in the early part of A.D. 1174 or perhaps in the later part of A.D. 1173, as already guessed by Kunik.<sup>2</sup>

The date and the cause of Andronicus's departure from Georgia remain obscure. Perhaps Manuel made representations to Giorgi and requested him not to harbour his enemy. Maybe some new facts on the first marriage of Andronicus came to light and disturbed Giorgi's peace of mind. Knowing the character of Andronicus, one might even suppose that, despite the presence of Theodora, he got into some new trouble with Georgian beauties.<sup>3</sup> But all these guesses are not supported by any evidence.

#### § 4. *The Shirvān-shāh Akhsatān and Khāqānī*

The *Aysartan* of the Georgian Chronicle is known in Muslim sources and in his own inscription (of 583/1187) as Akhsatān b. Minūchīhr. The dates of his reign are uncertain (began to rule *circa* 544/1149, died *circa* 583/1187,

<sup>1</sup> Another ode, dated six years before the expected conjunction of planets (i.e. in 576/1180–1), is dedicated to the atabek of Azarbayjan Qizil-Arslan. In Chaykin's opinion, after his return from the second pilgrimage Khāqānī settled down in Tabriz and never revisited his birthplace Shirvan, but this view is contradicted by the facts quoted in Badi' al-Zamān, ii, 335.

<sup>2</sup> I see that Chaykin proposed to study the dating of the *qaṣīda* dedicated to Andronicus in fasc. ii of *Khaqani, Nizami and Rusthaveli*, but I do not know whether he has carried out this intention.

<sup>3</sup> The Georgian princes Andronikashvili claim descent from Andronicus. I do not know whether they consider themselves as issued of the first marriage of Andronicus (*vide supra*, p. 557) or of some other connection.

or rather some time before 600/1203).<sup>1</sup> The name Akhsatān does not occur in any other part of the Muslim world, and it is surely only an abbreviation of the foreign Aghsartan, which in its complete form sounded inauspicious (*saratān* meaning in Arabic “a scorpion, a cancer”). The origin of the strange name should be sought in the Georgian background of the prince’s mother Thamar.<sup>2</sup> In fact the name *Aysartan* was known among the rulers of Kakhetia (north-eastern Georgia) in the eleventh to twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> Even in Georgian the name is foreign and I think it is connected with the North Caucasian epics. The name *Ξαρθαβος* appears already in the Græco-Iranian inscriptions of the north coast of the Black Sea. In Ossetic *āχsar* or *āχsart* means “might”. According to the stories devoted to the local heroes (Nart), there were two clans in the Great Nartia: *Aχsar* and *Aχsartak*.<sup>4</sup> The connections of Georgia with the Northern Caucasus were manifold. The second husband of Queen Thamar (1184–1212) was an Osset. Osset nurses must have been as prized in Georgian houses as they were in far-off Muscovy (ясыня). One might even assume that it was through nurseries that North Caucasian mythology influenced both Georgian onomastics and Russian folklore.<sup>5</sup>

Akhsatān was the chief patron of Khāqānī, who dedicated twenty-three of his odes to him, and several others to his wife ‘Iṣmat al-Dīn. In a poem addressed to Minūchihr (T. 603) Khāqānī refers to his twenty years’ faithful service,<sup>6</sup> and complains of his patron’s son (*khalaf*), who “tore the clothes of my glory so that it is past hope to patch them up”. Minūchihr had four sons; but should Akhsatān have been the offender, this fact might account for some later complications. In the long ode inscribed to the ruler of Darband Sayf al-Dīn Muẓaffar (L. 343, T. 187), the poet says:—

*Pār-am ba-Makka dīdī āsūda-dīl chu Ka’ba . . .*

*Imsāl bīn ki raftam zī Makka-yi makārim*

“Last year thou sawest me with reposed heart at Mekka . . .

“This year see that I have gone to the Mekka of largesse.”

As the raid carried out by the Darband army on Shirvan took place under the successor of Sayf al-Dīn, and as Khāqānī visited Mekka for the second time after this expedition, it is clear that the ode was composed one year after the first pilgrimage, i.e. in 552/1157. In the ode he requests his patron to remember “what endless darkness I saw in the dungeon of the evil

<sup>1</sup> See a detailed analysis of the very shaky chronology of the Shirvān-shāhs in Hādī Ḥasan, *Falakī-i Shirvānī*, 1929, pp. 12 and 32. The author has carefully studied the Russian literature on the subject.

<sup>2</sup> After the death of her husband, Minūchihr, she retired to a convent in Georgia.

<sup>3</sup> Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> V. Miller, *Grundriss d. Iran. Philol.*, “Die Sprache d. Osseten,” p. 6; V. Miller-Freiman, *Osetinskiy slovar*, i, 242; G. A. Dzagurov, *Pamiatniki narod. tvorch. Osetin*, fasc. ii, Vladikavkaz, 1927, p. 3 (I was able to consult the latter through the kindness of H. W. Bailey).

<sup>5</sup> Minorsky, “L’épopée persane et la littérature populaire russe,” in *Hazāra-yi Firdausī*, Tehran, 1944, 48–57.

<sup>6</sup> If Khāqānī was born *circa* A.D. 1120, his “service” might have begun only about 1140. This would indicate that towards 555/1160 Minūchihr was still ruling.



of Shirvan (*dar chāh-i sharr-i Shirvān*)” and to draw to him a golden rope to bring him out from the jail. The verse points to the early beginning of Khāqānī’s misfortunes. Two of the jail-poems are dedicated to Andronicus; and at the time of Andronicus’s visit to Shirvan (i.e. after A.D. 1170) Khāqānī was in jail. According to Daulat-shāh the cause of this misfortune was Khāqānī’s flight from his master’s court to Baylaqān.<sup>1</sup> He was caught by the king’s henchmen and spent seven months in jail in Shābarān. One would be inclined to believe this circumstantial report were there not some difficulty about Shābarān, which, as we know, was reconquered by Akhsatān only with the help of his Christian allies. The ode bears no trace of the reconquest of Shābarān, an event which loomed large in the local life. It is more probable that Khāqānī was detained in Shamākhī, or in Baku, whither according to Khanīkov the residence was temporarily transferred.<sup>2</sup>

Five of Khāqānī’s poems<sup>3</sup> describe his sufferings in jail, and definitely such punishment struck him more than once, but the two *habsiya* dedicated to Andronicus seem to refer to the same term of imprisonment, despite their difference of tone.

The celebrated poem which forms the subject of the present article is remarkable for its sarcastic note. Under cover of the obeisance paid to the Christian ruler, Khāqānī writes with his tongue in his cheek. Purely in theory he explores the possibilities of a career as a Christian monk, to proclaim at the end his fidelity to Islām, in which he was born. The various episodes of his imaginary rise to high distinction in the Byzantine hierarchy are undisguised gibes at Christian superstitions (vv. 56, 58). One feels that in addressing Andronicus the poet wants to attract the attention of his own master the Shirvān-shāh. He carefully enumerates the rival Islamic potentates whose help he does *not* accept (vv. 24–5), and gives rein to his fantasy only supposing that “Muslims refuse justice to him” (v. 27). While he compares himself to Bizhan thrown into a dungeon, he complains of the indifference of Kay-Khusrau (v. 11) enthroned high above. No one would be mistaken about the bearer of this Iranian title suddenly emerging from amidst references to Jesus, Mary, and the Antichrist.

The poem could have been dedicated to Andronicus on the assumption

<sup>1</sup> South of the present-day Shusha; see Minorsky, *Mūkān* in *E.I.* (Supplement).

<sup>2</sup> Khanīkov, *Mél. As.*, iii, 117; Pakhomov, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku, 1923, p. 16. Cf. Hādī Ḥasan’s criticism, *Falakī*, p. 35. In any case the rise of Baku results from Khāqānī’s ode dedicated to Akhsatān (T. 34): “owing to his blessings Baku resembles nowadays the Bistām of Khāvarān (Khorasan ?); owing to his existence Baku collects tribute from Khazrān, Rayy, and Zirih-garān.” The latter is the famous Kubachi in Daghestan; Khazrān = “the Khazars”, or perhaps the canton now called Khazrī (north of Baku). “Rayy” is a puzzle, unless Khāqānī means that Akhsatān established rights on some dependency of the Seljuks of Rayy (?). At the period in question, Shirvan leant upon Georgia, whereas Darband sought help from the Seljuks.

<sup>3</sup> The poems beginning: *falak kazh-rautar-ast az khaṭṭ-i tarsā* (T. 19); *rāhat az rāh-i dīl chanām bar-khāst* (T. 17); *har ṣubḥ pāy-i ṣabr ba-dāman dar-āvaram* (T. 244); *rūzam furū shud az gham ham gham-khurī nadāram* (T. 272); *ṣubḥ-dam chūn kalla bandad āh-i dūd-āsā-yi man* (T. 327).

that the noble guest would be duped by the sound of the familiar names and terms, but be unable to grasp the subtleties of Persian rhetoric. It is a matter of course that Andronicus knew no Persian, although he may have had some smattering of Turkish. The relations between the Byzantines and the Seljuks of Konia were multifarious. At one time the father of Andronicus, Isaac Comnenus, sought refuge in Konia. His eldest son John, Andronicus's own brother (born *circa* 1154), fled to the Seljuk capital, became a Muslim, and married the daughter of Sultan Mas'ūd Qilij Arslan, who bore him a son called Sulaymān-shāh.<sup>1</sup> Andronicus himself in his youth was captured by the Turks as he was travelling home across Asia Minor after the death of his father.<sup>2</sup>

The second *ḥabsiya* has not been noticed until now, for only in the Tehran edition (T. 272–6) is it endorsed as dedicated to '*Aẓīm al-Rūm, Mukhlis al-Masīḥ 'Izz al-Dawla* (i.e. Andronicus). In the Lucknow edition, i, 535, it is described as addressed to "the throne of Maḥmūd-shāh". This is an entirely arbitrary attribution based on the metaphor (v. 18): "(a king) high-minded like Maḥmūd (of Ghazna) has come and I am his slave Ayāz, for I can find no better customer of knowledge from all around his kingdom." Moreover, instead of the "sincere friend of the Messiah (*Mukhlis al-Masīḥ*)" to whom the poet appeals in the new edition (v. 10), the Lucknow text has "the hero of Iran (*pahlavān-i Īrān*)".

The longish ode contains 72 verses divided into two *maṭla'* (of 10 and 62 verses respectively). In the second *maṭla'* very many verses do not scan, and as the result of these metric disturbances the text does not make good sense. Some confusion in the ode might suggest at first sight that two odes have been amalgamated by a negligent scribe; but such an explanation is unlikely in view of the absence of repetitions in the difficult rhyme running throughout the poem (*-rī nadāram*). One might also ask whether the ode has not been re-dedicated; but the objection to this surmise would be that the ode bears definite traces of being intended for a Christian, and even in the Lucknow text nothing has been done to obscure this characteristic. Therefore the most likely explanation of some inconsistencies in the ode would be that from the beginning the ode had in view two patrons.<sup>3</sup>

If then from the obviously "Christian" part of the ode (T. verses 10, 23–38, 58, 67, 72) we try to build a bridge to some other patron connected with Andronicus, we have to consider the titles of the patron described (vv. 45–6) as *marzubān-i kishvar Bahrāmiyān ba-ḥasbat* and *pahlavān-i mulkat Dāvūdiyān ba-gouhar*. The title *marzubān* points to some prince on the periphery of the Islamic dominions. The origin of the patron going up to Bahrām and Dāvūd is the chief difficulty. { The obvious candidate for the descent from David (*Dāvūd*) would be the king of Georgia, for the Bagratid dynasty<sup>4</sup> boasted

<sup>1</sup> Nicetas, in Manuel, i, § 2, (72), ed. Migne, p. 383. Cf. Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, i, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Nicetas, in Manuel, i, 1 (68), ed. Migne, 379.

<sup>3</sup> T. 127: in the ode dedicated to Sayf al-Din, commander of Shamākhī, his lord Akhsatān receives his share of eulogy.

<sup>4</sup> The commentator in L., 273 (bottom), took the "Baqratiyān" for descendants of Hippocrates!

of having issued from the Jewish prophet. In the closely following verse 47 Khāqānī says: "thanks to thy magnanimity (*himmat*) I see Shirvān like unto Baghdād and Egypt; therefore I do not consider the Nile and the Tigris even as dried-up river-beds (*farghar*) in comparison with (the largesse flowing from) thy hand." The hint at Shirvān might be taken for a reference to Giorgi III's help in liberating Akhsatān's kingdom. One might then consider the ode as addressed jointly <sup>1</sup> to Andronicus and Giorgi, before the Byzantine prince left Georgia. The point which remains unsolved is the connection of the patron with Bahrām (*Bahrāmiyān ba-ḥasbat*), unless we take *ḥasbat* for "personal nobility", and interpret the eulogy as "Bahrāmian in thy noble character".

Another not entirely satisfactory interpretation of the address would be to connect it with the Mengüjekid prince to whose court Andronicus seems to have migrated after Georgia (*vide supra*, p. 556). His name was Fakhr al-Din *Bahrām-shāh*, and both his father and his son were called 'Alā al-Din *Dāvūd*. These rather uncommon names being attested in a family may have tempted some unscrupulous genealogist (*nassāba*) to imagine a noble pedigree for the descendants of the Turcoman Mengüjek.<sup>2</sup> In this connection one should discuss another curious point. Some MSS. in the heading of the ode describe the patron as *Tahamtan Pahlavān-i Īrān*. This is surely a combination based on vv. 10 and 16. As already mentioned, *Pahlavān-i Īrān* is the variant of the Lucknow edition for *Mukhlīṣ al-Masīhā*. This may be a pure interpolation of the scribe.<sup>3</sup> *Tahamtan* ("strong-bodied") has been taken from the verse running as follows: "Shirvan is a mirage of bewilderment (*sarāb-i vaḥshat*), and like the thirsty Bizhan I have no drinking-place except at Tahamtan's court." Here Tahamtan, the usual epithet of Rustam, is a counterpart of Bizhan, who was freed by that famous hero.<sup>4</sup> } [See *Addendum*, p. 578.]

After this long digression we come to the contents of the "Christian ode No. 2". Possibly the effect of the first ode was lost on the "Kay-Khusrau", and the new ode is unreservedly deferential towards his patron. Khāqānī is crestfallen: "I was once a peacock in the pleasaunces of the kings; to-day

<sup>1</sup> The ode could hardly have been addressed to Giorgi alone, in view of the numerous references to Byzantium (*Rūm*), Caesar (*qaysar*), etc.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, Mengüjek may have been called Dāvūdī if he was a slave of Chaghri-bek Dāvūd, whose son Alp Arslan gave to him the fief of Erzinjan.

<sup>3</sup> This title cannot be equivalent to the *Pahlavān-i jahān*, which Khāqānī correctly gives to Muḥammad b. Ildiguz, atabak of Azarbayjan (T. 575).

<sup>4</sup> {It would be too far-fetched to imagine on the part of the poet a further reference to the patron's name. Tahamtan as a personal name is of course known in Ghazna, Ormuz, Fars, and Luristan. Curiously enough, a couple of centuries after Bahrām-shāh, the ruler of Erzinjan was called Ṭahar-tan: see *Zafar-nāma*, ii, 237 (under 802/1399). Thomas of Metzoph, in Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan*, Brussels, 1860, p. 59, calls him *T'ak'rat'an*. In the *Razm-u-bazm*, ed. Köprülü, 243 (circa 783/1381) the prince appears under the arabicized name of *Muṭahhar-tan*, but I feel strongly that Ṭahar-tan is likely to be a vulgar form of *Tahamtan*. Nothing is known about the connection of this amir with the Mengüjekids; but even the appearance of such a name in Erzinjan might be an indirect but curious hint in favour of our second surmise, which otherwise is less satisfactory than the hypothesis about King Giorgi.}

my (ugly) feet remain but my plumage is gone" (v. 69). This time again the phantoms of Jesus and Mary, "Nestorius, Jacob, and Malkā," the Patriarch and the Catholicos, are evoked, but without any pricks and sneers.<sup>1</sup> With a delicate hint at the miracle of the child-Jesus, the poet says: "I am thy bird, order it to fly, for my crop (*zaghar*) is made but for thy lawful grain" (v. 67). This time no travesty about the wish to visit Constantinople, but only "the heart's desire for 'Irāq, Mekka, and the *hajj*" (v. 68). And to conclude: "Thou art a friend, so let God and the Messiah befriend thee, for I have no better protection than thy eye of contentment" (v. 72).

If the long ode No. 1 was composed soon after Andronicus stepped on to the soil of Shirvan, and before the opening of the military operations, the second ode seems to echo the success of the expedition for the reconquest of Shābarān recorded in the Georgian Chronicle. If not actually in jail, the poet was apparently still detained in Shirvan: "I am the detainee of *thy* citadel, not the prisoner of Shirvan" (v. 79). The situation seems to be just the reverse of the statement!

In conclusion we should mention a third poem, consisting of eleven verses, which in the Lucknow edition (L. 733) is printed without the name of the *mamdūh*, and appears in the new edition (T. 782) under the heading: "Praise to 'Izz al-Daula." The ode is colourless and devoid of any references to Christian religion. The patron must be a person of consequence: "Should his pearl-scattering hand grip his shining sword, it will bring the Eagle of the Heaven (Aquila) as a guest to the banquet of the Sword." The patron is definitely not in Shirvan: "Let him instruct the wind to bring from his court (*dargah*) to Shirvan a collyrium for the eyes of Khāqānī (i.e. a present)." The poet informs the patron that in a short time "the servant of his court" will bring him a crown from Baghdad and an allowance (*sar bahr*?) from Isfahan,<sup>2</sup> adding, however, that by doing so a crown will be placed on the head of the (Seljuk) Sultan himself.

All one can gather from the poem is that Khāqānī is on the eve of a journey to 'Irāq, and that he is hoping for a subvention, for which he, on his part, is ready to put in a word at high places. On the whole, nothing in the text of the ode authenticates its dedication to 'Izz al-Daula, especially if by the latter Andronicus is meant. The poem seems to be contemporary with the valedictory ode to Akhsatān analysed by Chaykin (*vide supra*, p. 559), and may reflect the resigned mood of the poet on the morrow of his release from prison.

### § 5. The "Christian" Ode

For the explanation of this long ode (L. 271-8; T. 19-25) I was only able in the present circumstances to draw upon a manuscript commentary

<sup>1</sup> Except for one irrepressibly Khāqānian verse: "I shall seek your contentment, even though I seek no fortune. I possess a Messiah, although I have not the ass's hoof," with reference to a relic (the hoof of Jesus's ass) exploited by an unscrupulous monk. *Vide infra* our commentary on v. 58.

<sup>2</sup> *Isfahān* in the text is dubious, but it is suitable as indicating the residence of the Seljuk Sultan.

(Camb. Univ. Library, No. 250, fol. 34b-37b),<sup>1</sup> and the commentary in the Lucknow edition, both inadequate: the former is too brief and the latter diffuse and often misleading. Khanīkov had at his disposal some Persian commentary (according to Salemann, Ghanā'ī), but he used it critically. Much more than to the written tradition I owe to the advice of my learned friends Professor Muhammad Qazvini (in Paris, 1935) and H.E. S. H. Taqizadeh, two worthy representatives of true Persian scholarship.

A short survey of the contents of the ode will be useful for following its plan.

The poet complains of the anti-Christian treatment meted out to him by fate (vv. 1-5). He protests against his sufferings in jail (vv. 6-9). Neither Christ nor the stars come to his rescue (vv. 10-13). He is guiltless (vv. 14-21), and seeks no help from other kings (vv. 22-6). If Muslims are unjust to him, shall he, God forbid, desert Islām? (v. 27). This, after his punctual observance of the prescribed practices (vv. 28-32)? But since his enemies are threatening him, shall he escape from them to Christian lands and adopt Christian rites in the hope of rising high in the Christian hierarchy (vv. 33-59), and of explaining the mysteries of the Christian creed (vv. 60-4)? He might even disclose to the Cæsar the arcana of Zoroastrianism, mixed with some other exotic teachings (vv. 65-70). But enough of such Satanic thoughts (vv. 71-4). No need to travel far when the Byzantine prince is here (vv. 75-6). By all the sacred things of Christianity (vv. 77-86) and by the astrological omens (vv. 87-8), the poet beseeches the noble guest to obtain for him his master's permission to visit Jerusalem (v. 89), and winds up by praising the rosary of his own verses.

Almost every verse of the ode is intended to be a hint at some Christian dogma or practice, and the question arises as to the origin of Khāqānī's information. A detailed analysis will be given in the commentary, while here we shall indicate the main sources of his imagery:—

1. The *Qor'ān*, and especially the sūras bearing on Mary and the birth of Jesus (iii, 37-42; xix, 16-35, etc.), with the additional explanations found in the commentaries. As examples of such quotations and hints we may cite vv. 13, 14, 15, 20, 60-3.

2. The particular Muslim-Christian lore going back to the Christian apocrypha and legends, such as the story of the needle which hampered Jesus's ascent to heaven (vv. 3-5); that of Jesus dwelling in the Fourth Heaven next to the Sun (v. 12), etc.

3. Some points look as if they were based on the direct intercourse of Khāqānī with representatives of the Christian religion, and more especially Nestorians. Here belong the references to the attack of the enemies on Jesus (v. 32), the Syriac commentaries (v. 39), the term \*περικοπή (v. 39); Jesus's last words (v. 64), the betrayal of Judas (v. 72); the Syriac terms *shalikhā*, *dinh*, and the names of various fasts and holidays (vv. 80, 82); the con-

<sup>1</sup> The attribution of this MS. to Ghanā'ī in E. G. Browne's *Catalogue* is not certain, unless it is only a short extract from the original.



cordances of dates (v. 85), etc. It is very improbable that Khāqānī's mother, a Nestorian slave-girl converted to Islām,<sup>1</sup> could have contributed much to her son's knowledge of Christian arcana. It is safer to assume that this part of his information was derived not from direct intercourse with Christians but from some Islamic *maqālāt* describing the Christian religion. The most useful illustration of his allusions is found in Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, based (at least partly) on the report of a Muslim traveller to Constantinople (Abū'l-Ḥusayn al-Ahwāzī). The latter described the full ecclesiastic and administrative hierarchy of the Greeks. Khāqānī's mysterious *Tursīqos* must have been a misreading of some similar book.

4. The external rites and paraphernalia of the Christians may have been observed by the poet personally: the candelabrum, the horns blown by the monks, the details of the clothing of the divines and their practices of austerity. It is very likely that he visited Georgia. In an ode (T. 770) he tells the story of a man who lost one of his hairs in the Far West and thirty years later found it in the Far East, whither it had been brought by the Ocean. The poet says that in his case Georgia (*Abkhāz*) was the West and the court (of Shirvan) the sea, while his ailing body has thinned down to a hair. The burden runs thus: "(Were) Khāqānī and the Khāqān (on) the banks of the Kur (at) Tiflis, then the Kur (would) become the Oxus and Tiflis Samarqand." In another short epigram (T. 565) Khāqānī refers to the return of the "Shāh" from Abkhāz. He does not explain whether he himself was in the king's suite on that journey, but the nostalgic simile of the hair suggests that he had once been "in the West". In a quatrain (T. 926) addressed to a beauty "living in Abkhaz" he uses a Georgian word:—

*Az 'ishq-i šalīb-i mū-yi Rūmī-rū'i*  
*Abkhāz-nishin gashtam-u Gurjī gū'i*  
*Az bas ki biguftam-ash: mū'i, mū'i*  
*Shud mū-yi zabānam va zabān har mū'i*

"From love for the cross-wise hair of a Byzantine-faced (beauty)

"I became resident in Abkhāz, and speaking Georgian,

"So much I repeated: *moi, moi*

"That the pile of my tongue is gone, and each hair has become a (speaking) tongue."

*Moi* is a colloquial form of *modi* მოდი "come!", as explained by Yuri Marr, *Khagani, Nizami, Rustaveli*, i, 12. No doubt Khāqānī had many good

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the still obscure statements in the *Tuhfat*, p. 199: "of Nestorian and Mōbadian origin, of Islamic and godly nature. She was born in the country of Dhūghṭāb (?), the great \*Philippos was her ancestor. . . . She sat on the road of the temple (*miyāsfū*), silently (listening) to sorcery (*hērūtī*). . . . She was brought from the Byzantine darkness; the slave-trader of righteousness (?) educated her." [The term *Mobadī* apparently refers too family of Christian priests. The name *Dhūghṭāb* (var. *Ūghṭāb*) sounds Armenian, many Armenian place-names ending in *tap* ("flat"). The name might be restored as *Tūgh(a)ṭāb* and compared with *Tolatap* (now *Teghtap*), a small valley to the east of Khinis. *Faylaqūs-i kabīr* may be some Christian worthy. In W. Wright's *A Short History of Syriac Literature*, 1894 (Russian ed., completed by P. Kokovtsov, 1902), I have failed to find anything relevant.] Dr. W. Henning suggests that the doubtful *miyāsfū* should be read \**manāsfir* "or monastery".

occasions to study the habits of the Georgians and their Orthodox clergy (vv. 1, 6, 7, 40–3, 86).

*Complaint of imprisonment and fetters, with a “transition” to praise the adherent of the creed of Jesus, the chief of Byzantium, the Qaysar ‘Izz al-Dawla, and to move him to intercede and to obtain the release of the author.*

1. More crooked than the course of the Christian script is the course of Heaven,  
which holds me like a monk laden with chains.
2. Is God’s Spirit (i.e. Jesus) not in this world that the works of this enamelled  
cupola have become so Antichristian ?
3. My body is bent like Mary’s thread (*rishta*), my heart is lonely like the  
needle of Jesus.
4. I am shackled with ropes (*rishta*) here, as Jesus was pinned down there  
by a needle.
5. Why (was) the needle one-eyed like Antichrist to lurk in the pocket of  
Jesus ?
6. I am one whose days are clad in monks’ black garments ; therefore, nightly  
like a monk I raise my voice,
7. And with my morning horn-call I split the window cross (opening on to)  
the green roof (of the world).
8. From my sighs that make the sea boil, the bottom of the deep has become  
the desert where Jesus has to make his ablutions with sand.
9. The heavenly fathers (*ābā-yi ‘ulvī*) are inclement to me ; therefore, like  
Jesus, I have renounced my fathers.
10. What use to me that Luminary of Knowledge, since I am obscure, and it  
consists of shining particles ?
11. If it is the Kay-Khusrau of the portico of light, why has Bizhan fallen into  
the well of (the long night of) the Nativity ?
12. What comfort to the “ bird of Jesus ” (the bat) from Jesus, the neighbour of  
the Virgin Sun ?
13. Why does not Jesus heal his own bird, he who can give sight to a blind  
man ?
14. The progeny of the maiden of my nature (i.e. my poetry) is like Jesus  
speaking for the purity of His mother.
15. (My) words bear witness to my immaculate nature, just as the palm-tree  
to Mary’s miracle.
16. The five hundred years from the Prophet’s flight have not brought forward  
anyone like me ; behold, my proof is not false !
17. From this my heart, which is (pricked all over) like a honeycomb, I shall  
bring up a clamour of the bees in their bloody fight.
18. Let the (wick of my) oily tongue burn from the fire of my sighs like the  
heart of the Christian candelabrum.
19. Like a candelabrum my enemies suspend me and let me burn after they  
have attached me with three chains.

20. From blame I (sit) with downcast head like Mary, but my tears are as pure as the breath of Jesus.
21. Like the *alifs* standing (upright) in the words “we obey” (اطعنا) I turn my face and my back on blame (طعن).
22. No help to me from my friends’ equity, nor dare I complain of it.
23. Against the evil of the time *In Deo, in Deo (resignatio mea)*; *abscessio, abscessio* from those aloof from God.
24. I want no help from the Abbasids, nor do I wish to be befriended by the Seljuks.
25. As this age refuses me justice, of what use to me are Arslan-Sultan and Boghra ?
26. As there is no Joseph to save me from famine, what difference to me between Benjamin and Judah ?
27. As Muslims refuse justice to me, shall I, God forbid, turn away from Islām ?
28. After acquiring my religion from the Seven Men, after the inspiration descended on me from the Seven Readers,
29. After reciting *al-Hamd* (I), *al-Rahmān* (IV), *al-Kahf* (XVIII), *Yā-Sīn* (XXXVI), *Ṭā-Sīn-Mīm* (XXVI), and *Ṭā-Hā* (XX),
30. After performing the prescribed timing of the pilgrimage, the circumambulation of the Ka’ba, the lapidation (of Satan), the running between the two hillocks, the reciting of *labbayk*, and (standing at) the place of prayers (*muṣallā*),
31. After so many “forty-days retreats” performed in the course of thirty years, shall I go to observe openly the “fifty days” ?
32. I have a handful of enemies acting like Jews ; like Jesus I fear their sudden attack.
33. What if I fled from the Jewish oppression to the gate of the Monastery of Sukūbā ?
34. What if I seek the threshold of Infidelity, and cease to seek the path of the religion of the Supreme Leader (*Ṣadr*) ?
35. Here is the Gate of the Abkhazians ajar, there is the Byzantine sanctuary in readiness.
36. Shall I deflect my course from God’s house, the Qibla, towards Jerusalem (*Bayt al-Maqdis*) and the Niche of Solomon’s temple (*mihrāb-i Aqṣā*) ?
37. After fifty years of my Islām the cross-like fetters on my feet do not become me.
38. Shall I, from this dispensation, go to kiss the church-bell, shall I from this hostility gird up my loins with a *zonnār* (girdle) ?
39. Shall I prepare a Syriac commentary on the Gospel, explore the mysteries of Hebrew script ?
40. (Imagine) myself at (?) Nājurmakī and the monastery of Mukhrān, the gate of the Bagratids being my place of refuge,



41. (Imagine) me in the corner of a grotto as a horn-blower (monk) clad in a cassock (*chokhā*).
42. Amidst hard (*khārā*) stones, like the Patriarch, I shall don a rug (*palās*), instead of the waved-silk (*khārā*) vest (*ṣudra*).
43. As an ex-voto I shall suspend a cross round my neck, like that "wood of the True Cross" which they hang on the breast of a child.
44. Should they not show me esteem in the Abkhazian (country), I shall start thence on the way to Byzantium.
45. I shall open a school in the temple of Byzantium (*Rūm*) and shall refresh (*mutarrā*) the canons (*āyīn*) of the Metropolitan (*matrān*).
46. Like the Son of the Water-carrier, I shall change the *ridā* and the *ṭaylasān* for a *zonnār* and a *burnus* (cassock ?).
47. Before the Great Ṭursiqos I shall discourse on the Father and Son and the Holy Ghost.
48. Forsooth, in one word I shall bring forth the three hypostases out of the well of doubt into the open space of certainty.
49. The bishop will prefer my exegesis to that of Jacob, Nestorius, and Malkā.
50. I shall reveal the arcana of Divinity from (the conditions of) peerlessness ; I shall show the rise of Humanity from Matter.
51. You will see clerics (*kashīsh*) attracted by, and eagerly embracing the doctrines of a learned priest (*qasīs*) like myself.
52. They will call me a second Ptolemy, nay, recognize me as the Great Philippus (Faylaqūs).
53. I shall send an epistle on the Trinity (*thālith (al-)thalātha*) to the Tuesday (*thalāthā*) Market in Baghdad.
54. The living and the dead will carry (the products) of the beak of my pen to Constantinople as the perfume and scent of embalmment.
55. I shall get hold of the staff of Moses and shape it into a cross (*chalīpā*).
56. With the droppings of the ass of Jesus I shall stop the hæmorrhage of the ailing Catholicos ;
57. I shall send to the khāns of Bokhara and Samarqand crowns made of its bridle.
58. With the tears of my eyes and my brow, I shall set the hoofs of the ass in gold and rubies rubescent.
59. By way of proofs, I shall dictate a compendium of true commentary, upon the three hypostases and the three \*περικοπαί (\**farquf*) of the Gospels :
60. What was that breath of the Spirit, that ablution and fasting, when Mary was naked with only the Spirit present,
61. That, while the casket of her womb was still under seal, the heart-kindling jewel came into being ?
62. What was that discourse Jesus made at his birth, what was that fasting at the time when Mary patiently bore the insults ?
63. How Jesus made birds of clay, how he revived the body of Lazarus ?

64. What meaning did Jesus put into his words on the gibbet : “ I wish to go to my Father above ” ?
65. And should the Cæsar ponder over the arcana of Zoroaster, I shall enliven (*zinda*) the rites of the Zand and the Avesta.
66. I shall explain what is Zand and what is the Fire from which Pāzand and Zand have been surnamed ;
67. What burning coal remained of the fire into which the Beloved of God (Abraham) once fell in bewilderment (*darvā*).
68. I shall weigh the arcana of the mobad on a scale (*qustās*) the grain-weight of which will be Qustā son of Lūqā :
69. Why does the fly wear a turban (and) an apron and why does the locust put on breeches of brocade ?
70. I shall dedicate to the Cæsar works better than the Chinese *Artang* or Tangalūshā.
71. But enough, o Khāqānī, of evil melancholy, for melancholy is suggested by Satan.
72. How can a bad companion (Judas) plot against Jesus ; how can a bad vazīr teach Dārā ?
73. Utter no such heresy, but renew the faith. Say : “ I seek pardon for these cravings.”
74. Say and witness that God is unique, exalted above my divagations.
75. What need to travel in dejection all the way down to Byzantium, when ‘Izz al-Daula, chief of Byzantium, is here,
76. The right hand of Jesus, the glory of the Apostles, Mary’s trustee, the refuge of the Christians ?
77. O thou, endowed with the Messiah’s qualities, o scion of the Cæsars, verily I beseech thee,
78. By the Holy Ghost, the breath of the Spirit (Gabriel) and Mary, by the Gospel, the Apostles and the Messiah,
79. By the lawful cradle and virginal pregnancy ; by the hand and the sleeve through which the breath passed,
80. By Jerusalem, by the “ Furthest Mosque ” and the Rock, by the eucharist of the disciples and apostle(s) (*shalīkhā*),
81. By the bell, the zonnār, and the candelabrum, by John the Baptist (*Yahyā*), by the deacon and Baḥīrā ;
82. By Pentecost, by Epiphany (*dīnḥ*), by the night of the breaking of the fast (Easter Eve), by the Feast of the Temple, by the fasting of the Virgins;
83. By Mary’s purity in her wedlock with Joseph, by the exemption of Jesus from the link of the foetal clot (*‘ishā*).
84. By the root, branches, and foliage of the tree whose fruit came from the Exalted Spirit,
85. By the month of Tīr, which (in fact) occurred in Naysān, by the old palm-tree which then became rejuvenated,

86. By the clamour and wailing of the horn-blower (monk) in the monastery,  
by the irons on the limbs of the bishop,
87. By the *tathlīth* (triangular position) of the constellations (*burūj*), the moon  
and the stars, by the *tarbī* and *tasdīs* of Tuesday (?),
88. By the *tathlīth* which constitutes the good omen for the Heaven, by the  
*tarbī* (quadrangular position) of the cross of (my) air-hole,
89. (By all these I beseech you), ask the king of the world to grant me per-  
mission to visit Jerusalem.
90. For, as long as the Equator and the Axis appear as the cross of heaven,
91. It beseems the monk in the monastery of Heraclius to use these brilliant  
verses as his (pearl) beads.

### § 6. Commentary

1. The reference is to Greek script running from left to right.
2. *Rūh-Allāh* is the usual title of Jesus, to be distinguished from the Rūh sent by God to Mary, v. 66. *Dayr* originally means "a monastery".
3. Mary is said to have been a deft seamstress (Kh.). It has yet to be seen whether the French term "fil de la Vierge" describing autumnal spider-webs flying in the air is of Oriental origin.
4. Jesus was admitted to the fourth heaven on condition of not bringing with him anything sharp, but his ascent was impeded by a needle, which he overlooked in his pocket.
5. *Dajjāl* is said to be one-eyed; see *E.I.*
6. *Libās-i rāhibān-pūshīda-rūz* is one compound, "the one whose days, etc."
7. Cf. v. 83: *bād-parvā*. The poet seems to refer to the crosswise framing of the sky-light of his cell.
8. *Tayammum* (see *E.I.*) is the ablution which a Muslim travelling in a desert substitutes for the true *wuḍū'*.
9. *Ābā-yi 'ulvī* "constellations".
10. Judging by the following verses *akhtar-i dānish* is the Sun.
11. Reading with some MSS. *Kay-Khusrav-i wān-i nūr* instead of *Īrān-u Tūr* of Kh. and L. *Yaldā* is the symbol of a long and dark night. Sa'dī compares with it the stature of a tall negro. Some such simile explains the indecent use of this loan-word in Russian, Dal, *Slovar*, I, 1290. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 292, says that the Messiah was born on the 25 Kānūn I (December) on a "Thursday night" (meaning, on the night preceding Thursday).
12. The "virgin" Sun probably in view of *al-shams* being feminine in Arabic.
13. *Qor'ān*, xix, 23, 24: The birth-pangs drove Mary to the trunk of the palm-tree, and she said: "would that I had died before this." . . . Then he (the child) called to her from beneath her: "Grieve not; the Lord placed beneath thee a streamlet; shake down the trunk of the palm-tree, and it will let fall upon thee juicy (fruit)." Cf. Pseudo-Matthæi Evang., xx, in Tischendorff, *Evang. Apocrypha*, p. 87): Tunc infantulus Iesus laeto vultu in sinu matris suae residens ait ad palmam: Flectere arbor et de fructibus tuis refice matrem meam. Et confestim ad hanc vocem inclinavit palma cacumen suum usque ad plantas Mariae, etc. Another reference to the story is found in v. 85.

16. Cf. the praise of Isfahān, T. 362: *Pānsad-i hijrat chu man nazād yagāna*. Other examples of Khāqānī's self-glorification (*fakhr*) in T., p. 195:—

*Dānam-ki sāya-yi haqq dānad ki mī-na-dārad*  
*Dar āftāb-gardish giti chu man sukhavar*

and the ode, p. 18, beginning

*Nist iqlīm-i sukhan-rā bihtar-az man pādshā, etc.*

Our v. 16 confirms the fact that the expression *pānsad-i Hijra* (T. 362) has only an approximate meaning and does not indicate that Khāqānī was born in the year 500/1106–7 (as wrongly assumed by Kh., 145). In fact, if the visit of Andronicus to Shirvan took place *circa* 1173–4 (i.e. A.H. 569), and the poet (as he suggests in v. 37) was at that time fifty years old, he must have been born *circa* 519/1125. On different grounds Chaykin is prepared to lower Khāqānī's birth-date still further to 528/1133–4, but I maintain my reasoning.

17. *Khūn-ālūd* literally “covered with gore”, or rather “fighting a bloody fight”.

20. *Qor'ān*, iv, 155: the Jews invented a calumny against Mary.

21. One of the most imaginative similes in Khāqānī.

25. Arslan-Sultan must be the Sultan of 'Irāq Arslan II b. Tughril (556–573/1161–1177), to whom Khāqānī rather inconsequentially dedicated an ode (T. 557). “Boghra” apparently is used as a typical name of the so-called Qara-khanid khans of Central Asia, of whom Khāqānī speaks disparagingly, v. 57.

26. Jacob's youngest and fourth sons, *Gen.*, xxxv, 23. Possibly derived from some commentary on the *Qor'ān*.

28–30. Note the numbers “seven”, as opposed to the Christian “threes”. References to the suras and the rites in Kh. Cf. *E.I.*: *Hadjdj*, *Muṣallā*, etc.

31. Possibly Lent *plus* the Easter week, or the Pentecost, called in Arabic *khamṣin*, v. 82. As v. 37 suggests that the poet is fifty years old, his pious retreats must have begun at the age of 20.

33. *Dayr-i Sukūbā* is not among the numerous monasteries mentioned in Yāqūt. *Sukūbā* is perhaps meant to represent the title “bishop”.

34. *Ṣadr-i vālā*, the Prophet?

35. *Abkhāz* does not apply here to the original Black Sea people of this name (ancient *Ἀβασγοί*), but to the Georgians, who at that time were ruled by the Western (so-called “Abkhaz”) branch of the Bagratid (v. 40) dynasty; cf. the terminology of Mas'ūdī in *Murūj*, ii, 69, 74.

36. *Aqṣā*, i.e. al-Masjid al-Aqṣā, the mosque built on the site of the Temple of Jerusalem, mentioned in the *Qor'ān*, xvii, 1, as the place visited by the Prophet in the course of his “nocturnal journey” (*isrā'*).

38. *Nāqūs* is a wooden gong serving as a bell. *Zonnār*, Greek *ζωνάριον*, the distinctive belt of the Christians.

40. Mukhran (originally *Mukhnar* “oak-grove”) is a district between the affluents of the Kur: Ksani and Aragvi. Z. D. Avalishvili suggested to me (12.7.1936) the identification of the “Mukhran monastery” with the famous monastery of Shio-Mghvime lying on the northern bank of the Kur, some 7 km. to the west of the ancient capital Mtskheta. *Mghvime* means “a cave”, and inside the monastery there exists a grotto in which St. Shio lived; Prince Vakhush't's *Geography of Georgia*, Russ. translation by Janashvili, 1904, p. 69. This detail supports the image of v. 41.

41. The terms *chokhā* and *šudra* are well known, but their practical vestimentary meaning in the twelfth century is not clear; cf. v. 45: *ridā*, *burnus*.

*Man-u-Nājurmakī* means “(henceforth) I shall be inseparable from N.” (*Vide supra*, p. 566, and cf. *Anvār-i Suhaylī*: *man-u kunj-i vīrāna-yi pūr-zan*: “I shall never again quit the corner, etc.”) No explanation has yet been suggested of *Nājurmakī*. My first idea was to read \**Bā-jarmakī* and explain it as the name of some Syrian divine from the well-known diocese *Bā-jarmaq* (comprising Kerkuk, etc.). St. Shio, founder of the monastery, was one of the thirteen Syrian fathers who arrived in Georgia in the fifth or sixth century A.D., although he himself was from Antioch. Cf. his *Vita* in Peradze, *Die Anfänge d. Mönchtums in Georgien*, in *Zeit. f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1928, pp. 51–6. In this case, too, Z. D. Avalishvili’s suggestion appears to me now preferable: he connects *Nājurmakī* with *Nač’armag-evi*, the summer residence of the Bagratid kings in the twelfth century. It lay close to Gori (Stalin’s birth-place), and Vakhusht identified it with the present-day Karaleti. Khāqānī may use *Nājurmakī* as a name of origin (*nisba*), “the one connected with N.”, such as King Giorgi III himself; but *Nājurmakī* may be a mere simplification of *Nač’armag-evi*, in which case the poet wishes not to be separated from the pleasaunce of the Bagratids, which must have been well known at the court of Shirvan, *vide supra*, p. 566.

43. The reference is certainly to *fāvāniyā* “*pæonia officinalis*” on which see Bīrūnī, op. cit., p. 297. The Christians maintain that the cross-like lines which are seen in the cut of this plant “originated at the time when Christ was crucified”. Bīrūnī refutes this theory by referring to the pre-Christian Greek authorities quoted by Galen. He refers to the practice of attaching a piece of this wood to epileptics “as a symbol of the resurrection from the dead”. Abū Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq in his *Pharmacopœa*, No. 126 (Germ. transl. by Akhundov, p. 104) confirms Khāqānī by saying that pieces of *pæonia* are hung on children suffering from convulsions.

45. *Haykal-i Rūm*, meaning perhaps St. Sophia.

46. The memory of the Son of the Water-carrier must have been comparatively fresh in the time of Khāqānī. Under the year 504/1110, Ibn al-Athīr, x, 345, reports that when the preacher Yūsuf b. Ayyūb al-Hamdānī came to Baghdad he was plied with questions by a certain Ibn al-Saqqā. The preacher felt an odour of heresy coming from his words and remarked that he might perhaps die outside the pale of Islām, “and it happened that after a short while Ibn al-Saqqā went to the Byzantine dominions and became Christian.” The same story is repeated under 535/1140 on the occasion of the death of Yūsuf b. Ayyūb, *ibid.*, xi, 53. *Ṭaylasān* is a kind of veil which like an Indian *pagari* covers the neck and the shoulders of a divine.

47. *Ṭursīqūs*. No such title appears in the list of Byzantine officials in Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 290 (tr. 284), unless it has been misread from *stratēgos* (*īsrādhighūs*), the initial *alif* having been put on top of the *šād*.

48. Note some irony about the Trinity.

49. Here our poet’s learning has failed him signally. He wants to recall the founders of the three great divisions of Oriental Christianity: Jacobite, Nestorian, and Melkite, but he does not realize that *Melkites* means only “royal” and is not derived from the name of a founder. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 288: *al-malkā’iyya* are called thus “because the Byzantine king is of their persuasion”.



50. Arab. *hayūlā*, Greek ὕλη.

51. There is no difference between *kashīsh* (Per.) and *qasīs* (Arab.), but Khāqānī seems to put more weight into the Arabic form. Note the alliterations *kashīsh*, *kashīsh*, *kūshīsh*.

52. *Faylaqūs* is the well-known ancient misreading of Philippos (Arab. *q* for *f*)—like *Nītas* for *Pontos*. One would expect “the Great \*Philippos” to be some scholar ranking with Ptolemy, but no suitable bearer of the name appears in G. Sarton’s great *Introduction to the History of Science*, i, 1927. On the other hand, the Muslims were acquainted with the story of the Emperor M. Iulius Philippus (“the Arab”), whom Christian tradition readily considered as the first Christian emperor (A.D. 244–9), earlier than Constantine; cf. Hauck, *Realencycl. für protest. Theologie*, xv, 1904, pp. 331–4. According to Mas’ūdi, *Tanbīh*, 133<sub>5</sub>, *Filibbus* went over to Christianity “and left the creed of the Šābians”; cf. Abu’l-Faraj, *Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Pocock, 1663, 127 (tr. 80) = Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.*, vi, 34. The reference to him by Khāqānī would appropriately convey the idea of the rise of a former non-Christian to the highest dignity. To this may be added that Cl. Ptolemy as well was sometimes taken by the Muslims for a member of the royal house of Egypt. Mas’ūdi, *Tanbīh*, 115, gives a warning against such confusion, and some misunderstanding of this kind may have served as a bridge from Ptolemy to Philip.<sup>1</sup>

53. *Thālith al-thalātha*, “the third of the three,” is the Arabic for “Trinity”.

54. *Ḥanūt-u ghāhiya mūtā-va ahyā*, “the dead and the living fetch the scents and perfumes,” meaning that the scents are for the former and the perfumes for the latter. This figure of speech is called *tabyīn va-tafsīr*.

55. *Chalīpā* (Syr. *šlībā*). The verse may refer to the Christian belief recorded in Bīrūnī, p. 297: “the sign (*āyat*) of Moses was his staff, which formed a straight (*mustafīl* ?) line. Now when Jesus came he threw his staff upon it, and a cross was formed, and thus the law of Moses was completed by the advent of Jesus.”

56. *Ru’āf*, “bleeding from the nose.” *Jathlīq*, usual form for *Catholicos*. On the ass, cf. v. 58.

57. The hint is apparently at the barbaric horsiness of the Turkish khāns, who never invited Khāqānī to compose odes in their honour.

58. Here the Christians are taken to task for what seems to be only a Muslim idea of them: the ass of Jesus<sup>2</sup> does not appear to play any role in Christian practices, but is constantly referred to in Persian prose and poetry, cf. *Rāhat al-sudūr*, p. 506. The simile can be illustrated by contemporary habits. When the caliph sent to the sultan of Rūm ‘Ala al-Dīn Kay-Qubād a mule shod in gold, the sultan kissed its hooves, see Yazījī-oghlu ‘Alī in Gordlevsky, *Gosudarstvo Seljukov*, p. 83.

59. *Q.rq.f* or *f.rq.f* are explained by Persian commentators as “a book of the Christians”; cf. Vullers, ii, 722. The Arabic meaning of *qarqaf* “cold water, wine, small bird” and *qurquf* “small bird” are out of the question. The late Professor D. S. Margoliouth in reply to my inquiry wrote to me on 18th June, 1936: “I would suggest that Khāqānī’s word is a corruption (rather like *Faylaqūs*) for the Greek word *περικοπή* used by patristic writers for ‘text of scripture’, e.g. Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III. iv, 38: ἐκ τινῶν προφητικῶν περικοπῶν. Possibly the three texts which Khāqānī proposed

<sup>1</sup> See, however, above p. 566 where the poet says that his mother was descended from *Faylāqūs al-kabīr*.

<sup>2</sup> See Matthew, xxi, 1–7, etc.

to cite in proof of the doctrine of the Trinity were First Epistle of St. John, verses 6, 7, 8." The suggestion seems to be excellent.

60-4. The circumstances of the birth of Jesus seem all to be derived from the *Qor'ān* and its commentators; see the articles 'Īsā (D. B. Macdonald) and *Maryam* (Wensinck) in *E.I.*

60. *Qor'ān*, xix, 17: "Then We sent to her our Spirit, who took for her the form of a human being, shapely." The commentaries add that when Mary heard the tidings she put on her cloak (*ṭarāḥat 'alayhā jilbābahā*); Gabriel took her by the sleeves and breathed into the slit of her shift (*akḥadha bi-kummay-hā fa-naḥakha fī jaybi dir'i-hā*), Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xvi, 42. Khāqānī's 'ūr "naked" refers to another commentary, according to which Mary had removed her shift into which Gabriel blew; she became pregnant when she put it on; see Wensinck, *Maryam* in *E.I.* The sūra lxvi, 16, puts the story more crudely.

61. Possibly a development of *Qor'ān*, xix, 20-1.

62. *Qor'ān*, xix, 27, 31: after the birth of Jesus Mary made a vow to fast and not to utter a word for a whole day. When her parents asked her questions, she only pointed to the child, and Jesus said: "Lo, I am the servant of Allāh; he has bestowed on me the Book and has made me a Prophet." The Nestorians observed the "Fasting of our Lady Mary" (*ṣaum Mart Maryam*), which began on the Monday following the Nestorian Annunciation (v. 85), and ended on Christmas Day; cf. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 310.

63. On birds and reviving the dead, iii, 44; but Lazarus is not mentioned in the *Qor'ān*.

64. This allusion to St. John xvii, 16, 28, is not in the *Qor'ān*, which says, iv, 156, that Jesus was not crucified, "nay, Allāh raised him to himself."

65-9. There is nothing on the Zoroastrians in the *Qor'ān*, and Khāqānī lived far from the regions where Zoroastrians were still to be found. The Avesta consists of original texts in the ancient language; Zand is the Middle Persian commentary in Pahlavī characters; Pāzand is the super-commentary in which the Middle Persian is transcribed in the better (Avestan) script with vowels. In v. 66 one would expect "Zand and Avesta" (to form a parallel to v. 65). It is not clear how "Pāzand and Zand" could have been surnamed after "Zand and the Fire", but v. 67 seems to support "the Fire", for otherwise the abrupt reference to Abraham is still less comprehensible. The poet has in view *Qor'ān*, xxi, 69, where Abraham, for his disrespect to the idols, is about to be burnt, but God commands the fire to give "coolth and peace to Abraham". The "burning coal" might be flowers, to suit the popular Muslim interpretation.

68. Qostā b. Lūqā, the famous Christian mathematician of Ba'labakk, who lived in the second half of the ninth century A.D.; see *E.I.*

69. The relation of this folklore to Zoroastrians is obscure.

70. *Artang* is known to Muslims as the illustrated book of Mānī. Its name has been found in Manichæan writings: *Ardhang*. Dr. W. Henning (8th July, 1944) tells me that the book was "a picture of the whole world". In Coptic texts it is called εἰκὼν.

The Babylonian sage whom Muslim authors call *Tīnkalūs* (or *Tīnqarūs*) and *Tankalūšā* is identical with the Hellenistic scholar Teucros of Babylon, who lived in the beginning of our era. The compiler Rhetorius (sixth century A.D.) calls his work περὶ τῶν δώδεκα ζῳδίων τοῦ λόξου κύκλου παρὰ φιλοσόφου

ἀγαρηνοῦ Τεύκρου τοῦ Βαβυλωνίου. Already in A.D. 1648 the identity of *Tankalūšā* with *Teucros* was rightly claimed by Cl. Salmasius (Saumaise). The curious mutilation of the name is now attributed to its transmission through Middle Persian, the sign *w* standing in Pahlavi script also for *n* and *r*, and *l* and *r* being expressed by one sign. See Nallino, *Tracce di opere greche giunte agli Arabi*, in *A volume . . . to E. G. Browne*, 1922, pp. 356–363, and A. Borissov in *Jour. As.*, April, 1935, pp. 300–5 (who overlooked Nallino's excellent article).

72. *Dārā* (whom the Iranian tradition distinguished from his father *Dārāb*) was killed by his two ministers Mihyār and Jānūsiyār; *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Mohl, v, 86–8 (Tehran, vi, 1800).

78–88. A long catalogue enumerating pell-mell (and not without some malice!) all that Khāqānī can imagine as sacred to the Christians.

78. *Rūh al-quds* (also in v. 45): this definite reference to the Holy Ghost is interesting, for often the Muslims confuse it with Rūḥ-Allāh (i.e. Jesus), and complete the Trinity by including Mary as the third hypostasis; see *Maryam* in *E.I.* On the other hand, *Rūh* alone refers to the messenger of the Annunciation (Gabriel). "The sleeve" represents that slit through which the breath (*bād* "wind") penetrated Mary: *Ba-dast-u-āstīn-i bād-majrā* seems better than *āstīn-u-bād-u-majrā*.

80. *Qor'ān*, xvii, 1: "Glory to Him who journeyed by night with His servant from the Sacred Mosque (Ka'ba) to the Furthest Mosque (*al-masjid al-aqṣā*) around which we have bestowed blessing, that We might show him some of Our signs." The "Furthest Mosque" is supposed to refer not to the present-day mosque but to the site of the ancient temple of Solomon; see F. Buhl, *al-Ḳuds* in *E.I.* *Al-ṣakhra* is the rock considered as the navel of the world, on which the Omayyad 'Abd al-Malik built the famous Dome; see J. Walker, *Kubbat al-ṣakhra* in *E.I.* Cf. also Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, pp. 83–151.

The Jesuit Father Belot explains *taqdīs* as "consécration eucharistique". *Anṣār* "companions" apparently stands for "disciples". *Shatīkhā* in Syriac is "the apostle" (in Arab. *sillīh*); cf. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 308, *ṣaum al-sillīhīn*.

81. Baḥīrā (in Aramaic "elected"), or Sergius, was the Christian monk who foretold the prophetic mission of the child Muḥammad when the latter visited Syria; see Wensinck in *E.I.*

82. *Khamsīn* must be the Pentecost; cf. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 'īd *al-Banṭīqustī*. Instead of *dhibh* one must certainly read \**dinh* "Epiphany". *Laylat al-Fitr* can be only Easter Eve. Bīrūnī, 302, knows that the Christian Lent lasts forty-eight days, beginning on a Monday and ending (*fitr*) on (the eve of) a Sunday. 'īd *al-haykal*, the Feast of the Temple, on Sunday after Easter; see Bīrūnī, op. cit., 314. *Ṣaum al-adhārā*, beginning on Monday after Epiphany and lasting three days, was observed by the 'ibādī and the Christian Arabs, in commemoration of the maidens whose fasting enabled them to escape from the captivity of the king of Ḥīra; Bīrūnī, op. cit., 314. This legend may be remotely connected with the story of the king of Ḥīra, al-Mundhir, who abducted from Emessa 400 girls and offered them as a sacrifice to the goddess 'Uzza; see [Pseudo]-Zachariah Rhetor, viii, § 5 (Ahrens-Krüger, p. 157; N. Pigulevskaya, *Siriyskiye istochniki*, Moscow, 1941, p. 159).

83. The variant: *ba-dūriy 'Isā az payvand-i ashkyā*, "by the aloofness of Jesus from attachment to (material) things," makes good sense, but the unusual combination of 'īṣā and 'īshā would be typically Khāqānīan. 'īshā is a very



rare word of Syriac (or rather hybrid Syriac) aspect. Like the Persian *Masīhā*, it is unknown to Arabic dictionaries. It cannot be directly derived from the Arabic root 'yṣ "to live", for in Syriac an s would correspond to š. As to the meaning, the *Burhān-i qāṭi* explains it as "a womb", which does not fit into our verse. The Lucknow commentary defines it as *chīzī-ki badān farzand dar raḥīm-i 'aurat marjūd shavad, chanān-ki manī-va-khūn*, i.e. the formative elements of the foetus, corresponding to the Qor'ānic (xcvi, 2) '*alaq* "clotted blood". Cf. Dante, *Purgatorio*, xxv, 37, expounding the views of Thomas Aquinas on conception. Such a meaning suits our text better, for Jesus was born in the natural way, only his conception being miraculous. However, according to Bīrūnī, op. cit., 307, the Nestorians held the view that "the Messiah differs from mankind . . . his sojourning in the womb of his mother is contrary to the ways of human nature. The Annunciation may have occurred at a time when the embryo was already settled in the womb; it may have also occurred earlier or later".

84. Reading: *mīva-sh*. The "tree" apparently refers to the house of David and *rūh-i mu'allā* to Gabriel as delegated by God.

85. *Prima facie* this combination of the Persian and Syrian months should indicate the date of Jesus's conception. My learned friend S. H. Taqizadeh, the greatest authority on Persian eras, informs me that 25 March (Annunciation) of the year in which Christ was born corresponded to 1 Naysān of the Jews and, at the same time, to 30 Tīr of the Persians. Bīrūnī, op. cit., 294, rightly quotes the Annunciation (*subbār*) under 25 Adhār (March): "Gabriel came to Mary announcing to her the Messiah. From this day until the day of His birth is a little more than 9 months and 5 days . . . Jesus, though He had no human father, and though supported by the Holy Ghost, was in His earthly life subject to the laws of nature." But further, 309-310, he adds that the Nestorians celebrate Subbār on the first Sunday of Kanūn i (December) or on the last Sunday of Tishrīn ii (November), whereas the Jacobites celebrate it on the 10th of the Jewish Naysān; "this day fell, in the year preceding the year of Christ's birth, on the 16th of the Syrian Adhār." On the other hand, the verse as it stands definitely connects the miracle of the palm-tree with *ān zamān*, i.e. with the time when Tīr and Naysān coincided. The miracle, already quoted in v. 15, happened after the birth of Jesus.

86. The bishop is supposed to wear irons for the purpose of mortification (Russian *вериги*).

87, 88, 90. The poet feels the obsession of the "threes" and "fours", symbolizing the Trinity and the cross.

87. *Tathlūth* is the auspicious position of the planets when they are separated by four signs of the Zodiac (120°); *tarbī* (inauspicious) is the distance of three signs of the Zodiac (90°); *tasdīs* that of two signs of the Zodiac (60°). *Tathlūth-i burāj-u-māh-u anjum*, i.e. vaguely the *tathlūth* in which participate the signs of the Zodiac, the moon and the stars. *Ba-tarbī-u ba-tasdīs* (var. *tathlūth-i thalāthā*) is not clear. According to Bīrūnī's calculation, op. cit., p. 294, the Annunciation and the conception of Jesus took place on a Monday (25 Adhār a. Alex. 303). Khāqānī may have thought of "the eve of Tuesday". S. H. Taqizadeh suggests that in the present case *thalāthā* does not mean "Tuesday", but may be only a poetic licence for *thalātha* "the three (planets?)".

88. The verse possibly makes more concrete the references to *tathlūth* and *tarbī'*: the former (happily) in the sky, and the latter (unhappily) on the cross-bars of his cell.

91. *Rāhib andar dayr-i Hirqil* in the conclusion is more appropriate for presentation to a Christian prince than the variant adopted by T.: *'Isā andar bayt al-ma'mūr*: "Jesus in the frequented house." The reference would be to *Qor'ān*, lii, 4, which is usually explained as the Ka'ba. Thus Jesus would be invited to say his prayers in the Islamic sanctuary. Is this another touch of Khāqānī's irony?

### ADDENDUM

All things considered, the second *ḥabsiya* (*vide supra*, p. 563) seems to be dedicated to Andronicus and Akhsatān. In the *Divān*, Akhsatān and his dynasty are several times referred to as Bahrāmī:

*Shāh-i mashriq āftāb-i gauhar-i Bahrāmiyān* (T. 404)

*'Adiltar-i Bahrāmiyān Parvīz-i Irān Akhsatān* (T. 463)

*Nizām-i daulat-i Bahrāmiyān Rashīd al-dīn* (T. 564)

Thus the application of this cognomen to the Shīrvān-shāh is certain. Some obliging genealogists may have connected the dynasty with Bahrām Chūbīn, similarly to what was done in the case of the Sāmānids. Whereas in the second *ḥabsiya* Akhsatān is called Bahrāmī by renown (*ḥasbat*), in T. 404 he is said to be of the Bahrāmī origin (*gauhar*) and in T. 129 he is called "the head of the family (*āl*) of Bahrām". How to explain then the second reference in Akhsatān's pedigree: *Dāvūdiyān ba-gauhar*? Akhsatan was son of a Georgian princess, and this circumstance may account for his connection with the prophet David.

### ENVOI

I dedicate this article to my distinguished pupils Mrs. N. K. Chadwick and Prof. D. S. Robertson, F.B.A., who shared my enthusiasm for Khāqānī.



---

The Tribes of Western Iran

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 75, No. 1/2 (1945), pp. 73-80

Published by: [Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2844282>

Accessed: 22/03/2013 18:34

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## THE TRIBES OF WESTERN IRAN

By PROFESSOR V. MINORSKY

## INTRODUCTION

As one looks at the map of Iran, one feature strikes the eye at once : the two great ranges which join each other in the north-west (see Fig. 1). One of them crosses the northern part of the country latitudinally, between Afghanistan and Turkey, and its highest point in the west is Mount Ararat. The second chain begins immediately south of Ararat and runs south-east, forming the western border of Iran. It has no general name to-day, but in antiquity the middle section was called "the Zagros," and this name is still used as a convenient conventional term for the whole range. This longitudinal mountain tract forms the background of my story.

## I. THE PRE-IRANIAN PERIOD

The territory of Iran was not at first known by this name. About the year 1000 B.C. the Indo-European Iranians, speaking a language of the same family as the ancient Indian, Greek, Latin and other tongues, began to infiltrate into this country and, after they had occupied it, the country was named after them. We cannot say whence our Iranian cousins came or how long it took them to conquer their present habitat. We only know that between 844 B.C. and 836 B.C. the annals of the Assyrian Kingdom for the first time refer to the presence of Medians (*Māda*) and Persians (*Parsua*) somewhere to the south of Lake Urmia.

Who, then, were the inhabitants displaced by the Iranian invasion? For the eastern part of Iran we have no definite written indications, but we know of the existence in the West of at least two mighty kingdoms which for a long time asserted their independence against their more famous Mesopotamian neighbours. In the North, the kingdom of Van (Urartu or Khaldi) stretched between the three great lakes : Van (in present-day Turkey), Urmia (in Iran) and Sevan (in Soviet Armenia). In the extreme south, the kingdom of Elam, with its capital Susa (Shushan-the-Palace of the *Book of Esther*) dominated vast territories to the north-west of the Persian Gulf.

Both Van and Elam had languages of their own. These were unlike the languages of Mesopotamia, but as the speakers used the cuneiform script invented in Mesopotamia, it has been possible to establish the phonetic character of their tongues and gradually to

ascertain the meaning of their inscriptions, some of which are bilingual.

Apart from the two kingdoms, numerous small principalities existed in the central part of the Zagros. Some did not extend, apparently, beyond a few secluded valleys. Of them we know little beyond the names, which sound uncommon, unlike anything else. Mountains towering over lowlands are often the refuge of remnants of populations displaced from the plains : this is true of the sources of the Indus, as it is of the Caucasus, and it is a clue to the origin of the Zagros tribes, lost in the mists of prehistory.

Among such lesser peoples one should especially mention the Kassites (Kashshu), located in the northern part of present-day Luristan. The Kashshu once descended from their hills and ruled over Babylon, as a result of which we have a list of Kassite words. The language is an idiom apparently without relatives, but to the astonishment of the decipherers some names sound Indo-European : not "Iranian" Indo-European, but rather "Indian" Indo-European (e.g., *Suryash*). Some very early infiltration was naturally inferred, and as the Babylonians called horses "asses of the Eastern hills," it was suggested that these early Indo-Europeans were the horse-trainers who established themselves among the Zagros tribes, first as mercenaries and then probably as masters, as occurred in Upper Mesopotamia and also in the Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor. Shortly before 1930 a large number of bronze objects were discovered in northern Luristan, including bits and trappings which pointed to an advanced stage of horse-domestication in the area. The author was the first to show the connection between these groups of factors and to attribute the find to the Kassites, or rather to the early Indo-Europeans established among them.<sup>1</sup>

## II. ANCIENT IRAN : MEDIANS AND PERSIANS

When at a later date, about 1000 B.C., the Iranians reached their present homeland, they must have come in separate bands, painfully pushing their way towards the south. They belonged to two tribes, the Median and the Persian, closely akin. First the Medians were dominant (700 B.C.-559 B.C.), and, striding across conquered Assyria, undertook campaigns into the heart of Asia Minor. The Persians

<sup>1</sup> Minorsky (1931a), pp. 141f. ; (1931b), p. 293.

went farther south, into the dominions of the former Kingdom of Elam, and in the end overthrew their Median overlords.

Under Cyrus a great Persian empire was formed in Iran (559 B.C.-331 B.C.), with many territories and peoples incorporated in it. The famous bas-reliefs of Persepolis represent the various races among the subjects of the great kings. Smaller tribes were of course neglected in this precious picture gallery. Later the terms *Pārsa* and *Māda* (Persians and Medians) acquired a territorial rather than a strictly ethnical meaning.

### III. MIDDLE-IRANIAN KINGDOMS: PARTHIANS AND SASANIANS

There followed the long period of the Middle-Iranian Kingdoms, which lasted some nine hundred years (from 250 B.C. to the middle of the seventh century A.D.). Our knowledge of the changes which took place in the composition of the population is unfortunately still inadequate. The administrative centres shifted westwards into Mesopotamia, to Seleucia and Ctesiphon on the Tigris. The necessity for the Iranian kings to maintain communications with their homeland, now in the rear, must have led to the penetration of the Zagros region and to an increase of Iranian elements there. Nevertheless, at the beginning of our era many names in the western part of Iran, quoted by Ptolemy, were still non-Iranian.

### IV. THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

#### A. *Arabs*

After the Islamic conquest, completed in A.D. 651, Arab tribes settled in many parts of Iran, and we hear of several groups established along the eastern side of the central Zagros. These aliens were however not numerous enough to maintain themselves, surrounded as they were by the local population, and through intermarriage and the usual process of assimilation they were absorbed. One Arab family is known to have added to its Arab tribal name, *al-Azdi*, in the course of a century, the qualification *al-Kurdi*, i.e., Kurdish.

#### B. *Daylamites*

From ancient times there would seem to have been a surplus population in the highlands south-west of the Caspian, the so-called Daylam. There is some reason to believe that the Daylamites were of pre-Iranian origin, but by the tenth century they were Iranicized, although not entirely assimilated to the dominant race. Soon after A.D. 900, Daylam assumed the role which in Europe was played by the

Scandinavian homeland of the Norsemen.<sup>2</sup> The flood-gates were suddenly flung open and astonishing numbers of Daylamite adventurers, described as fierce and hairy bands, spread over Iran and thence down into Mesopotamia, for a century keeping the Caliph in complete submission. Chronicles, corroborated by present-day toponymy, show that Daylamite colonies existed also in the Zagros area.<sup>3</sup>

#### C. *Turks*

Much more important were later invasions from Central Asia. In the eleventh century, the hordes of the Turkish Oghuz, under the leadership of the Seljuk family, crossed Iran and overran Mesopotamia, Armenia and Asia Minor. These Turks congregated, in large groups, in the north-western corner of Iran, where they imposed their language on the population. Those of the former inhabitants who remained faithful to their own tribal organization seem to have been pushed back nearer to the Zagros.

#### D. *Mongols*

In the thirteenth century the Mongols, who had been living in areas of Central Asia to the east of the Turks, rushed westwards and wrought havoc throughout the Middle East. Tabriz, the capital of north-western Iran, became their chief residence, and Mongol hordes were quartered in many parts of the Zagros range. By the middle of the fourteenth century, however, the Mongols, now Islamized, ceased to be a political power and became amalgamated with their predecessors, the Turks.

For more than the next two centuries the Turks of western Iran lived in a perpetual state of agitation, now forming new coalitions and overrunning large areas, now splitting into single clans and settling in remote corners of the country. The western regions were, again, affected by these nomadic movements.

Under the Safavids (A.D. 1500-A.D. 1722) many Turkish and Kurdish tribes were split, and settled in remote corners of the Zagros.

### V. MODERN TIMES

The above catalogue of some of the changes which have taken place in western Iran throughout the ages is a warning against sweeping generalisations. It shows that in western Iran, as elsewhere, it is impossible to speak of a pure, unmixed race. Let us now consider the ethnical problems of the present time.

If we take language as our guiding thread, we must

<sup>2</sup> Minorsky (1932).

<sup>3</sup> The provincial capital of Salmas is called Dilmān (i.e., *Daylamān*).





FIG. 1.—THE DISTRIBUTION OF WESTERN IRANIAN TRIBES

admit that the situation is considerably simplified. Arab geographers of the tenth century refer to a special Khūzī speech near Ahwaz, and this was possibly a remnant of the old Elamite language.<sup>4</sup> But since then every trace of it has disappeared. The same applies to all other ancient idioms of the Zagros.

### *Minorities*

Most of the peoples of the western frontier now use Iranian dialects; but there are exceptions.

In the south, Arabic has made inroads, in the lower regions of ancient Elam. Turkish is found among isolated groups in the south, and it is still predominant in the northern part of the great north-western province of Azarbaijan (whose capital is Tabriz). Between Lake Urmia and the western frontier range there are Christian colonies of considerable size, Armenian and Syrian. As that part of the country bore the name of Persarmenia in Byzantine times, the presence of Armenians in the country must be of long standing. They are supposed to have come from Thrace. For a time they were in Phrygia, in Asia Minor, and they finally displaced and absorbed the ancient inhabitants of the Kingdom of Van.

The Syrians call themselves, nowadays, 'Assyrians,' but this is definitely a misleading term, at least as regards language, for they speak an Aramaic dialect closely akin to other Aramaic dialects surviving on the fringe of the Mesopotamian lowlands. Both Aramaic and Old Assyrian belong to the Semitic family, but Assyrian died out, as a spoken language, after the destruction of Nineveh by the Medians in 612 B.C. Aramaic is a different language, which must have been spoken by the peaceful populations dominated by the Assyrian conquerors.

So much for the differences in language. From the point of view of race, the Syrians, or at least the Syrian mountaineers, known for their warlike character, may have absorbed some remnants of the true Assyrians.

Finally, there are found throughout Kurdistan small colonies of Jews who also speak Aramaic, as well as Kurdish and other local dialects.

### *Iranian-Speaking Tribes*

The minorities having been briefly described in the previous section, we may now concentrate on the Western Iranians, who are the centre of our interest this afternoon. They may be classified roughly under three headings: the Lurs, the Kurds, and the Gūrān.

These terms have often been confused. In older

Persian usage, the word 'Kurd' acquired the meaning of a 'nomad' in general; thus, according to a tenth-century work, the Persians called the Mesopotamian Arabs "the Kurds of Sūristān." Similarly, the author of the famous History of the Kurds, Sharaf-al-din (sixteenth century), speaks of the Lurs as a branch of the Kurds. The Lur and Kurd dialects were little known until the beginning of the twentieth century, when the German Iranian scholar O. Mann undertook the systematic study of them on the spot, visiting nearly every tribe.

The subjects of H.M. the Shah, whom we used to call Persians, now call themselves *Īranī* (Iranians), a form of the ancient term *Aryan*. At the same time, they call their language *fārsī* or *pārsī*, i.e., the idiom of Fārs or Pārs, the southern province of Iran which now has Shiraz as capital. This terminology clearly confirms the fact that the old Iranian civilization rose in the south of Iran, in the province known to the Greeks as 'Persis,' and that the speech which was to be elevated to the dignity of the national language was originally the dialect of that province only. Innumerable *patois* are, in fact, spoken by the rural population of various districts of Iran; one of them is indeed spoken in Shemirān, the summer resort a few miles to the north of Tehran. But the dialects spoken in the central and northern parts of Iran possess features differentiating them from the official Fārsī, whereas the local dialects of Fārs province show the closest connection with Fārsī. This provides additional confirmation of the links binding the official language to that province, which gave birth to the great dynasties of the Achæmenids (550 B.C.-330 B.C.) and the Sasanians (A.D. 224-A.D. 651).

### *A. Lurs*

It is an important fact that the contemporary dialects of Luristan belong *grosso modo* to the same class as the dialects of Fars, whereas they digress definitely from the Kurdish dialects. But language is not a sufficient ground for assuming that the Lurs are, in blood, 'cousins' of the Persians, for many tribes have changed their speech in the course of history; we need recall only the Celtic peoples, many of whom have become English-speaking, even when they have not lost the consciousness of their national affinities. The character of the Lur dialects may thus be taken to reveal cultural connections, but not as a sure guide to the ethnical origin of the speakers. Here physical anthropology should come to our help, but no systematic observations on a large scale have been made among the Lurs, and when the task is tackled it will be wise not to 'add yards to metres' by photographing and measuring all Lurs, indiscriminately

<sup>4</sup> The name Khūz (which survives in the names Khuzistān and Ahwāz) is connected with one of the peoples of Elam whom the Greeks called *Uxioi*.



FIG. 2.—A SOUTHERN LUR

Well-defined tribal groups should be kept distinct, as they may well prove to be of diverse origin. There may also be a considerable racial difference between social classes, for it is a common practice among nomads to recognize as rulers, and receive in their midst, outsiders who offer them protection from a paramount enemy.

The Lurish-speaking peoples of western Iran<sup>5</sup> are found in four territorial groups:

*The Mamasani:* In the south, along the valleys connecting Fars with Khuzistan, live the Mamasani, who before the fourteenth century, but in the full light of history, absorbed the older residents of that tract, *i.e.*, the Shūl (who in their time enjoyed some notoriety).

*The Kuh-Gilu:* North of the Mamasani are the Kuh-gilu, who are considerably mixed with the Turkish clans established among them. Even the name of the principal clan, Aghachari, is that of an old Turkish tribe, and means "Woodsmen."<sup>6</sup>

*The Bakhtiyari:* To the north of the Kuh-gilu, between Isfahan and Khuzistan, live the numerous Bakhtiyari tribes, whose present name is comparatively modern and seems to be derived from that of some local chieftain. The earlier name for the Bakhtiyari territory was Great Lur; from A.D. 1155 to

A.D. 1423 it was ruled by an important local dynasty which was said to have come from Syria.

*The Lesser Lur in the Pish-Kūh and Pusht-i-Kūh:* The northern and western part of Luristan once formed a similar federation of the Lesser Lur, which was also ruled by its own dynasty (A.D. 1184–A.D. 1597). Later the territory split into two sections, the Pish-Kūh, meaning "this side of the (frontier) range," and Pusht-i-Kūh, "beyond the (frontier) range," *i.e.*, on the Mesopotamian slope of the western wall of the Zagros.

It is no easy task to sum up the characteristics of the original Iranian race; one can only proceed on the basis of the general impression conveyed by the stylised type represented on the Achaemenid bas-reliefs. The Mamasani and Bakhtiyari, who live nearer to Fars, look more 'Iranian' than the other two branches, as one would expect, but here again more attention should be paid to the lower classes than to the chieftains, who could more easily intermarry with neighbouring peoples and secure a better class of spouse (see Plate IIIb).

The physical type of the average tribesman may well have been affected by the extreme hardships these nomads experienced during seasonal migrations when, in search of grass for their herds, they climbed from the hot plains to the high plateaux, crossing icy rivers, trudging barefoot in the snow, following goat tracks up almost perpendicular, rocky mountainsides.

<sup>5</sup> Minorsky (1928).

<sup>6</sup> *Aghach-āri* (not *agha-chari*).



The film called "Grass," made by the American writer M. Cooper, and his book of the same name recorded the heroic epic of the Bakhtiyari before the Iranian Government attempted the forcible settlement of the tribe, on the land formerly used during half of the year.

The north-western Lurs are much more striking and unusual in their appearance. An Iranian friend of mine once called Luristan *ma'dan-e rīsh*, "a mine of beards," and such is indeed the first impression made by the Lurs, an impression emphasized by their rather short stature (see Fig. 2 and Plate IVa). Their faces are very wild, 'goatish,' and lean; apart from the scarcity of food the Lurs suffer constantly from indigestion, because of their use of flour made from wild acorns. In any case there is something 'primitive' and quaint about the Lurs which suggests that, despite their Iranian dialects, they belong to some peculiar, localized type of race. Their "black tents" are shown in Plate IIIa.

### B. Kurds

The Kurdish population<sup>7</sup> is first found, in Iran, somewhat to the south of the parallel of Kermanshah and extends in a broad belt to the south of Lake Urmia, and thence as a narrower band up to Mount Ararat. But the Kurds also form an important element in neighbouring states. In Iraq they occupy all the hilly part of the country, and in northern Syria they extend nearly to the Mediterranean. In Turkey large numbers of Kurds lived near Lake Van and from there westwards to the neighbourhood of Ankara, but after the decimation of the Armenians during the war of 1914-18, the situation is obscure. Few Kurds remain in Soviet Transcaucasia since 1919, when the territory of Kars was ceded to Turkey. On the whole the Kurds therefore represent an important aggregate of homogeneous population, which still awaits some final settlement.

The Kurdish language is Iranian, without a doubt, but it differs considerably from Persian. The common Indo-European word for 'heart' sounds *zird* in Kurdish, and *del* in Persian; 'name' is *nēw* in Kurdish and *nām* in Persian. There is no unique literary Kurdish (*koinē*); almost every tribe has a dialect of its own, although the basic characteristics of Kurdish appear in all of them. That they do so is astonishing, in view of the extensive dispersal of the Kurdish tribes, and I believe it to indicate that there was an ancient and powerful basic language, from which the dialects, through local influences and deformations, all evolved. The only way of explaining their consistency is, as I see it, by assuming that

Kurdish speech is an offspring of the early Median language. When the Medians destroyed the Assyrian Kingdom, many of their tribes must have moved into a vacuum; and as Median power extended to the border of Lydia, Median tribes (now represented by the Kurds) must have penetrated deep into Asia Minor.

But we cannot forget the danger, once more, of confusing language with race. Kurds differ widely in type, even within a single tribe. One of my photographs (Plate IVb) shows a Kurdish chieftain, Ja'far Agha Shakkāk, whom I used to know in Tabriz and who was executed in 1904 at the behest of the Governor-General. His oval face, with a straight nose of medium size, and his energetic appearance, characterise what one might term the 'original' Kurdish manhood, but the appearance of most Kurds shows strongly the influence of their Arab, Turkish, Armenian and Syrian neighbours. I have recently come to the conclusion that the Mongols, during their domination of the West in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, must have taken over the leadership of some Kurdish clans. One of the larger tribes to the south of Lake Urmia is called Mukri, which is a well-known Far Eastern tribal name.

In postulating Kurdish intermarriages, it would be a mistake to think only of forcible abductions. Kurdish youths are often romantically minded, and some fifty or sixty years ago the British Consul in Tabriz had much trouble in trying to repatriate the daughter of a British subject (of Central European origin) who had been kidnapped, but refused to leave her ravisher. Such examples are very frequent in Kurdistan, where women occupy an independent position. E. B. Soane, who for a considerable time lived in disguise among the southern Kurds, reports with what dignity solitary women receive guests in their tents. Several cases are known of Kurdish women successfully running the affairs of their clans. In 1913 I myself met one of these remarkable ladies in the district of Alabcha (then Turkish; now in Iraq). Adela-khanum, whom the British called Lady Adela, rose to distinction during the war of 1914-18, when she saved the lives of several British officers. She was decorated for her exploits by the British commander, receiving the title of Khan-Bahadur (see Plate Va).

In the region between Sulaimani and Lake Urmia, Kurdish attire is very original in style. The head-gear consists of pointed caps wrapped in ample silk kerchiefs, with tassels descending over the eyes. In summer the men wear baggy white cloth trousers and a shirt with extremely long sleeves, which touch the ground. During battle, these sleeves are tied together behind the back, to ensure freedom of move-

<sup>7</sup> Minorsky (1927, 1940).

ment for the hands. Over the shirt is worn a short jacket, and the waist is encircled by a narrow strip of shawl, sometimes from 15 to 20 yards in length, with many knots in front.

Other tribes, west of Urmia (whose ladies are shown in Plate VB), wear much longer coats, of a Persian pattern, with high top-boots for riding. Others, again, use embroidered boleros over their shirts. In Turkey the sartorial habits of the army have been imitated by the Kurds, who were often mustered as levies. The picturesque tribal attire is in their case unfortunately disappearing and, under Government pressure, is being replaced by drab semi-European clothes.

Thus, both in type and in dress, the Kurds show traces of manifold influences, the uniting factors being the common customs of a semi-nomadic existence and a speech which varies from tribe to tribe, but is mutually intelligible.

As in the case of the Lurs, any future physico-anthropological study must proceed cautiously, avoiding hasty generalisations, as the tribal groupings probably represent some original ethnical nuclei. The existing tribal records are of great importance, and by using them one can often ascertain the ancient and heterogeneous influences which played upon its ancestors.

### C. *Guran*

The Guran (*Gūran*) provide a good example of the need for careful historical and linguistic investigation before deciding to what group a tribe should be assigned. Since the fourteenth century, Muslim authors have treated the Guran as Kurds. Here, again, O. Mann has shown that the Guran (*gūrānī*) dialect lacks the basic features of Kurdish and that it is affiliated, instead, to the dialects of central Iran (*i.e.*, to the dialects which are not connected with the province of Fars).

The principal group of Guran is located just north of the main Zagros pass, through which runs the historic road from Baghdad to Kermanshah, but it has been established that several isolated villages to the east of this main Guran territory still speak the same language. In the large enclave of Awraman, to the north, a dialect of the same class is spoken. Moreover the large group of Zaza, who occupy the territory between Diyarbakr and Erzerum, hundreds of miles north-west of the Guran, use a language akin to Gurani. During the Crimean War many Kurdish prisoners taken by the Russians were concentrated in Smolensk, where they were visited by Dr. P. Lerch, on behalf of the Russian Academy of Sciences. This scholar at once noted the difference between the original Kurdish and Zaza speech, but only in our day

has the inter-relationship of these widely scattered non-Kurdish dialects been properly assessed.

The Guran are a very interesting tribe, having their own lyric and epic poetry and a most curious religion, on which I have published a considerable number of documents.<sup>8</sup> This religion has numerous ramifications among the non-Guran peoples of Iran and neighbouring countries. The Gurani dialect has even been used as a court language by a small dynasty in the Iranian part of Kurdistan. Finally, the Guran and cognate tribes are excellent gardeners and agriculturists generally, a fact which points to an ancient cultural tradition. In Awraman I was much impressed by the high standard of cultivation of irrigated terraces, placed on the slopes of the hills. These characteristics, taken together, entitle the Guran and Awrami to be considered as a special Iranian group.

For many years I have been much interested in the Gurans and their religion. In 1914 I had the opportunity of visiting their charming country and their sanctuaries, hidden amid green groves, rushing torrents and yellow cliffs, in the remote gorges of the Zagros. Quite recently I have once again gone through the source material in an endeavour to ascertain the origin of the Guran, and in the works of a ninth-century Arab geographer I have found the older form of their name (*Jābāriqa*), a clear distinction being also made between them and the Kurds.<sup>9</sup> The toponymy of the region of Kermanshah shows many traces of the name of this tribe, which was apparently the mainstay of a very remarkable local dynasty, the Hasanwaihids (tenth to eleventh century). I have even traced the Guran into the more central parts of Iran, and I have grounds for believing that the tribe may hail, more remotely, from the region south of the Caspian Sea, that great reservoir of peoples and starting-point of many migrations.

From the sociological point of view, it is of interest that the present day Guran tribe consists of several clans, some of which are composed of 'original' Guran, others simply of southern Kurds. Still more astonishing is the fact that the Kurds belonging to the Guran federation are good Sunnites, to whom the mystic religion of their Guran fellows must appear sheer heresy. Yet these associates are on quite good terms. This demonstrates, once more, that common ways of life and outward similarity in habits are no guarantee of a common origin in the case of an 'original' tribe with a fringe which has added itself in later times.

### VI. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have brought together some remarks on the highly varied and interesting population of

<sup>8</sup> Minorsky (1921).

<sup>9</sup> Minorsky (1943).

western Persia. Many years will pass before the attendant problems can be adequately dealt with. I shall be happy if my drop is not lost in the sea of future studies.

With special reference to the pre-occupations of the Royal Anthropological Institute, I should like to repeat my methodological hints. I wish to press the point that Physical Anthropology and Ethnology should proceed in the closest contact with Philology and

History, especially when we tread on a soil as saturated with historical memories as that of venerable Iran.

As some Iranian friends have honoured my talk with their presence, I should also like to say, emphatically, in conclusion, that in underlining the variety of the peoples of Iran I wish in no way to seem to question the ancient unity of their country, but rather to try to bring out all its charms, blended harmoniously as the colours of a bright carpet.

#### References

- |              |     |     |     |     |       |  |
|--------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|--|
| MINORSKY, V. | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1921  | "Notes sur la secte des Ahlé-Haqq," <i>Revue du monde musul.</i>   |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1927  | "Kurds", <i>Encycl. Islam.</i>   |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1928  | "Lur," "Lur-i Buzurg," and "Lur-i Kuchik," <i>Encycl. Islam.</i>   |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1931a | "The Luristan Bronzes", <i>Apollo</i> , Feb., pp. 141-2. (Address at the Congress of Persian Art, 5 Jan., 1931). |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1931b | "Les Tsiganes Lūlī et les Lurs persans", <i>Jour., As.</i> , Apr., pp. 281-305.                                  |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1932  | <i>La domination des Dailamites.</i> Paris.  |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1934  | "Ahl-i Hakk," <i>Encycl. Islam</i> , Suppl.  |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1940  | "Les origines des Kurdes," <i>Travaux du XXe Congrès des Orientalistes</i> , Brussels (1938), pp. 143-152.       |
| ————         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 1943  | "The Gūrān," <i>Bull. School Orient. Afr. Studies</i> , Vol. XI, no. 1, pp. 75-103.                              |

#### Description of Plates

Note.—Unless otherwise specified, the photographs illustrating this paper were taken by local photographers (among them A. Sevrugin), about 1905.

Plate III.—A. "Black Tents" (*kurang*) in Northern Luristan.

B. The Vali of Pusht-i-Kūh (in checked coat), with his brothers and retinue (*circa* 1900).

Plate IV.—A. The rebel Prince Sālār ad-daula (in white coat), with three chiefs of the Sagvand and Dirigvand clans (Luristan, *circa* 1907).

B. Ja'far Agha Shakkāk with his brother Simko (Kurdish chiefs), guests from Turkey and retinue (*circa* 1903).

Plate V.—A. Adela-khanum, with her son and daughter-in-law (Alabcha, 1914; photo. Mrs. T. Minorsky).

B. Kurdish ladies with attendants (Urmia).

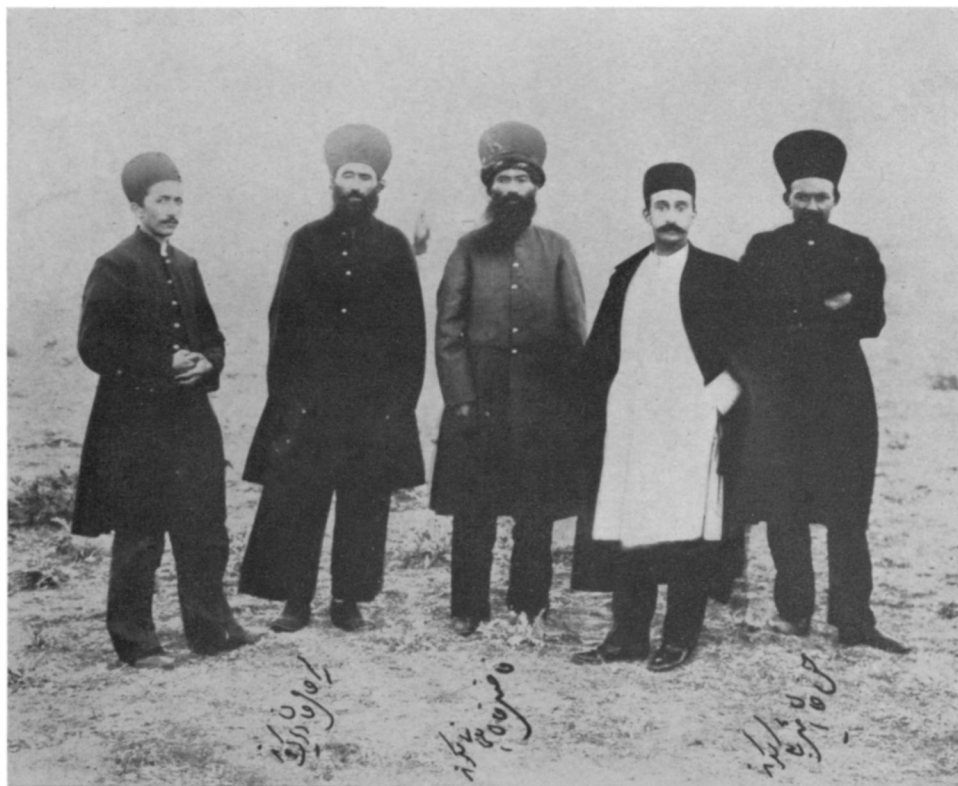




A. "BLACK TENTS" IN NORTHERN LURISTAN



B. THE VALI OF PUSHT-I-KUH



A. PRINCE SALAR AD-DAULA WITH LUR CHIEFS



B. JA'FAR AGHA SHAKKAK





*Photo : Mrs. T. Minorsky*

**A. ADELA-KANUM OF ALABCHA**



**B. KURDISH LADIES WITH ATTENDANTS (URMIA)**

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Jihān-Shāh Qara-Qoyunlu and His Poetry (Turkmenica, 9)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (1954), pp. 271-297

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609169>

Accessed: 29/09/2013 21:46

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# JIHĀN-SHĀH QARA-QOYUNLU AND HIS POETRY

(TURKMENICA, 9)

By V. MINORSKY

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Introduction                       | 5. The Manuscript Or. 9493                   |
| 2. The Qara-qoyunlu                   | 6. General remarks on <i>Ḥaḡīqī</i> 's poems |
| 3. Heresies <i>versus</i> Orthodoxy   | 7. Their Language                            |
| 4. Opinions on Jihān-shāh's character | 8. Translations                              |

Annex I : Selected Specimens

Annex II : Ghaffārī on the Qara-qoyunlu

## § 1. INTRODUCTION

**B**EFORE broaching my subject I should like to explain the reason why a serial number has been added to the title of this article. A list of my publications will be found in the *BSOAS.*, 1953, xiv/3, pp. 69–81, but as a variety of subjects has interested me during my career, readers may be baffled by the seemingly disconnected array of titles. In fact, my original intention was to integrate my studies in separate books, but on seeing that for both material and personal reasons this plan had no chances of success, I decided to take every opportunity for publishing the material collected—not only to solve some definite problems, but also to show the methods which I would have wished to apply to my subjects, in the light of my experience and the observations made in some more developed fields. This underlying preoccupation is what to my mind connects my writings. On the other hand, I should like to draw the attention of users of my ‘specimens’ to some particular classes of my studies ; in a word, to their serial character.

Here, then, is the list of precursors to my present contribution, sometimes disguised by their titles :—

1. Uzun-Hasan in *Encycl. of Islam* (1932).
2. La Perse au XV-e siècle entre l'Empire Ottoman et Venise, *Société des Etudes iraniennes*, No. 8, Paris, 1933.
3. A civil and military review in Fars in 881/1474, *BSOS.*, 1938, x/1, 141–178.
4. The Turkish dialect of the Khalaj, *BSOS.*, 1940, x/2, pp. 417–437 (translated into Turkish by F. Güley, *Istanbul Edebiyat fakültesi Türk dili . . . dergisi*, 1950, iv/1–2, pp. 82–106).
5. The poetry of Shah Ismā'il, *BSOS.*, 1942, x/4, 1006a–1053a.
6. Aynallu/Inallu, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, Krakow, 1953, xvii, pp. 1–11.
7. The clan of the Qara-qoyunlu rulers, in *F. Köprülü Armağanı*, 1953, p. 391–5.
8. Thomas of Metsop' on the Timurid-Turkman wars, to appear in Lahore.

As yet nothing seems to have been published on the Br. Mus. manuscript Or. 9493, which contains the bilingual collection of poems of *Ḥaḡīqī*, i.e. of the Qara-qoyunlu sultan Jihān-shāh (A.D. 1438–1467).<sup>1</sup> Thirty years ago the first announcement of the discovery of the manuscript <sup>2</sup> quickened the interest of the

<sup>1</sup> Under the influence of the following *ā* the Persians say now *jahān* and not *jihān*.

<sup>2</sup> E. Edwards, ‘The books of Sultan Abdul-Hamid’, *The Times*, 17 November 1924, p. 17, col. 5.



present author, not only in view of his appreciation of the fact that the so-called 'Turkman' period of the history of Persia served to prepare the advent of the Safavis,<sup>1</sup> but also in view of his studies on the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect.

The manuscript throws some unexpected light on the inner life of a Turkman ruler known only as a doughty warrior and an astute politician. Though the poems are abstract and impersonal, one is tempted to look to them for an explanation of the vague reports concerning the heresy of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty, and especially for the roots of such heterodoxy within the background of the Near and Middle East in the 15th century A.D.

As the history of the Qara-qoyunlu is still very little known in the West, it will be helpful to speak of this period in more detail to facilitate the proper understanding and assessment of the poetical material contained in the manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

## § 2. THE QARA-QOYUNLU

For a number of years I have been collecting materials for a history of the Qara-qoyunlu federation, but the project has now lost much of its urgency in view of the publication in the Turkish *İslam Ansiklopedisi* of several competent articles bearing on this subject.<sup>3</sup> To indicate the general pattern of events under the Qara-qoyunlu I am giving in annex a translation of the chapter from Qāḍī Aḥmad Ghaffārī's *Jihān-ārā* (compiled in 972/1564), which I wish to complete by some general remarks on the position of the Qara-qoyunlu in Time and Space, especially in comparison to their rivals and successors, the Aq-qoyunlu.

The original centre of the Qara-qoyunlu federation lay at Arjish, on the northern bank of Lake Van, whereas the rival Aq-qoyunlu group of tribes was based on Diyārbakr. Each of the two federations consisted of various Turkman clans; the Aq-qoyunlu had been organized by leaders belonging to the Bayundur tribe, and the Qara-qoyunlu by the Bārānī (or Bahārū) family, which in my opinion was connected with the Yivā<sup>4</sup> tribe. Some confusion results from the fact that the *clans* of the federations probably occupied their territories at the time of the Seljuk invasion, i.e. much earlier than their *dynasties* succeeded in taking their leadership.<sup>5</sup> During the Mongol domination

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, GMS., 1943, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> In his article Mr. E. Edwards (see above) expressed the hope that a close study of Or. 9493 'may throw light on the political events of those stormy days and, furthermore, reveal some features that will relieve the dark picture of Jahan-shah's character drawn by Prof. Browne'. The first part of this expectation has proved vain and we are reduced to a more careful sifting of the general sources, but for the second part the very existence of the MS. is a fact full of significance.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ak-koyunlu' and 'Cihan-şah' by my old friend Prof. M. H. Yinanç, and 'Kara-koyunlu' (1953), by Dr. Faruk Sümer. A great wealth of quotations from very rare sources is found in 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī, *Ta'riḫ al-'Irāq*, ii (1357/1939). As regards the Western outlines see the old *Histoire générale des Huns*, by Deguignes, 1757, i/1, p. 263, and iii, pp. 301–4. The more recent references in E. G. Browne, *LHP.*, iii (1920), pp. 399–403, and W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaat*, 1936, pp. 126–8, are very brief.

<sup>4</sup> The Turkish authors (F. Köprülü, F. Sümer) read the name with hard vowels, *Yiva*.

<sup>5</sup> M. H. Yinanç has rightly pointed out that in the traditional version of the arrival of the Turkmans, 'the time of ارغون' is only a mis-reading for 'the time of اوغوز'.

the clans were still unorganized, and only after the disruption of the Il-khans' empire do we hear of the two fully-fledged Turkman federations.

In the 14th century these groups, which occupied the territories between the Black Sea, Lake Van, and Upper Mesopotamia—on the roads of communication between the East and the West—formed a kind of elastic buffer separating the two Islamic empires, that of Timur and his successors, and that of the Ottomans.

The Aq-qoyunlu, whose front was turned northwards and westwards, were bound to come to grips with the Ottomans and hailed Timur as a great ally. The Qara-qoyunlu were expanding eastwards and their chief struggles were with the Timurids. They made efforts to reinsure themselves with the Ottoman Turks, but judging by Ottoman sources, the Turks treated the Qara-qoyunlu with some reserve and suspicion because their beliefs and ways of life seemed tinged with heresy.

### § 3. HERESIES *versus* ORTHODOXY

The 15th century was a time of considerable religious movements. While the Timurids and the Ottomans were organizing their empires on the basis of strict orthodoxy, on the territories separating them (Persia, Armenia) the elements refractory to conquest and forcible centralization favoured ideologies which would underpin the loose tribal connexions and help them to form more stable communities. As usual in the history of Islam, the *shī'a*, with its long-established methods and practices of opposition, offered wide possibilities to such attitudes of mind.

Revolts in Anatolia,<sup>1</sup> the propaganda of Faḍlullāh the Ḥurūfī,<sup>2</sup> the Mahdism of the Musha'sha' in Southern Iraq,<sup>3</sup> the deep penetration of Safavi agents into Asia Minor,<sup>4</sup> and possibly the final formation of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq doctrine, are characteristic of the epoch of the Turkman dynasties. If the Aq-qoyunlu remained unsusceptible to such influences, it was probably by opposition to their immediate Qara-qoyunlu neighbours and for fear of the latter's 'fifth-columnism'.<sup>5</sup>

Even in the cases when we possess authentic writings of the founders of the sects,<sup>6</sup> it is hardly possible to get to the core of the doctrines, because of the secrecy and disguise used in the written sources. One cannot fail, however, to

<sup>1</sup> See Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-dīn, der Sohn des Richters von Simāw*, 1921 (the revolt broke out in Aydin in 1415–16 and spread to Macedonia).

<sup>2</sup> See Huart and Riza Tevfik in *Gibb Memorial Series*, vol. ix (1909), and Browne, *LHP.*, iii (1920), 365–375. Faḍlullāh, born in 740/1339, was killed by Mirānshāh in 804/1401. His follower, the poet Nasīmī, was executed in Aleppo in 820/1417.

<sup>3</sup> Sayyid Ahmad Kasrawī, *Tārīkh-i pānsad sāla-yi Khūzistān*, Tehran, 1313/1934; W. Caskel, 'Ein Mahdi des XV. Jahrhunderts', *Islamica*, iv/1, 1929, pp. 49–93.

<sup>4</sup> Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg, passim*.

<sup>5</sup> In his history of Sultan Ya'qūb, Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān most definitely opposes his Aq-qoyunlu patrons to the Qara-qoyunlu stained with heretical influences, see *Tārīkh-i Amīnī*, Bib. Nationale, ancien fonds persan, No. 101, f. 4a, and Istanbul Fatih, No. 4431, f. 15b. F. Köprülü in his unfinished book *Anadoluda Islam*, p. 121, speaks of *shī'a* influences at Ya'qūb's court, though they seem to have been isolated exceptions.

<sup>6</sup> See the rich literature of the Ḥurūfīs, the *Kalām al-Mahdī* of Muḥammad b. Falāh (in Kasrawī) and some Ahl-i Ḥaqq documents.

recognize the general pattern of the teachings pivoted on the divine or semi-divine nature of the chief representatives of the religious groupings.

With regard to the Qara-qoyunlu, the evidence is clear that they pretended to something more than domination based on sheer force and that, in trying to unify their adepts on a *shī'a* platform, they can be regarded as the forerunners of the Safavids. This circumstance communicates a particular interest to Jihān-shāh's poetry, but before analysing it one must group together the scanty historical facts capable of illustrating the background.

The naturally biased orthodox authors give the most negative attestation to the Qara-qoyunlu princes who ruled in Baghdad. SHĀH-MUḤAMMAD, son of Qara-Yūsuf, who succeeded the Jalāyirids in the ancient seat of the caliphs, ruled from 5 Muḥarram, 814, to 18 Sha'ban, 836/29 April 1411, to 9 April 1433.<sup>1</sup> He is depicted as the worst of the contemporary kings for his vices (*fisq*) and his disregard of the religious law (*abtala sharā'i al-Islām*).<sup>2</sup> As a youth he associated himself with the Christians of Erbil, learned from them 'vicious doctrines and heresy (*zandaqa*) and felt an inclination for Christianity'. Though in the first ten years of his rule in Baghdad he manifested piety and showed justice towards his (*scil.* Muslim!) subjects, after the death of his father Qara-Yūsuf he behaved as a heretic, neglected the Friday prayers, and displayed his belief in Christianity and his glorification of Jesus. He used to ask the 'ulamā: 'who is better: the living or the dead?', and when they gave preference to the living, he wound up saying: 'and Jesus is alive, and Muḥammad is dead'. The real governor in his state was a Christian doctor called 'Abd al-Masiḥ (who died of a bee-sting in Muḥarram, 836/September 1432).<sup>3</sup> Thinking that the Tigris and the walls of Baghdad gave him sufficient protection, Shāh-Muḥammad dismissed his army, and for seven years did not collect revenues (*kharāj*). This last detail might hint at the popular tendencies of the ruler.

Shāh-Muḥammad lost Baghdad to his brother ASPĀN,<sup>4</sup> who ruled from 18 Sha'bān, 836, to 28 Dhul-qa'da, 848/9 April, 1433, to 25 February, 1445. The sunnite historians describe him as being even more infidel and tyrannical (*akfar wa azlam*) than his predecessor,<sup>5</sup> though they recognize<sup>6</sup> his personal abstemiousness. The ultra-shī'a *Majālis al-mu'minīn*<sup>7</sup> particularly insists on the facts that he took only one wife and that he did not like revellers (?) and gluttons.

<sup>1</sup> I am using the dates quoted by A. 'Azzāwī in his *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, though there are some discrepancies in the sources.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn Taghri-berdi, *Manhal al-sāfi*, and the *Ta'rikh al-Ghiyāthi* quoted in 'Azzāwī, iii, 90-1.

<sup>3</sup> 'Azzāwī, iii, 86 (following the *Ta'rikh al-Ghiyāthi*).

<sup>4</sup> Other historians call him Isfahān, or Ispand, the latter being the Persian name (in Turkish: *üzarlík*) of the wild rue used for magic purifications. See the Azarbayjan incantation: *üzarlík-sān havā-sān, hazār dārdā dāvā-sān!*

<sup>5</sup> 'Azzāwī, iii, 91.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, iii, 129 (following *al-Ghiyāthi*).

<sup>7</sup> Tehran, 1268, p. 392b (I am using the pagination added by E. G. Browne in his personal copy).

In his time the shī'a Musha'sha'<sup>1</sup> raised their standard of mahdism and revolt. According to *al-Ghiyāthī*,<sup>2</sup> Aspān was impressed by this development and convoked a meeting of Islamic doctors, both sunnite and shī'ite, after which he opted for the shī'a and struck coins with the names of the Twelve Imams.<sup>3</sup> He first helped the Musha'sha' leader by sending him barges laden with rice, but soon changed his attitude and invaded the territory of the new Mahdi.<sup>4</sup> Such sudden complications in relations between closely connected parties are frequent and inevitable when the struggle goes on for the monopoly of political power. Thus, too, Shah 'Abbās took up arms against the Musha'sha' (see *E.I.*).

After the death of Aspān, Baghdad was occupied by the troops of his other brother, JIHĀN-SHĀH, the ruler of Tabriz and Persian 'Irāq (since 841/1437). Of his specific activities we know that about 851/1447 he married his favourite daughter to a descendant of the famous mystic Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī,<sup>5</sup> whom the shī'a revere as a saint and a worker of miracles.

The close relations of this family of shaykhs with the Bahmanids of Deccan are well known, and they also patronized the Qara-qoyunlu. When the scion of this royal family, Sultān-qulī, was on his way from Hamadān to India he visited Yazd and received the blessings of Shāh Ni'matullāh II (?), who intimated to him his high destiny in India (see below). On the other hand, Jihān-shāh encouraged a split in the family of the Safavid shaykhs of Ardabil, when he supported Shaykh Ja'far's action in expelling Shaykh Junayd,<sup>6</sup> the grandfather of the future Shah Ismā'il. We also hear that during Jihān-shāh's raid into Georgia a shaykh of Ardabil<sup>7</sup> accompanied him as his adviser. Later, when Shah Ismā'il was fighting the Aq-qoyunlu, a Qara-qoyunlu chief 'of Jihān-shāh's progeny', called Sultan Husayn Bārānī, received him with much kindness in the neighbourhood of Lake Sevan (Gökche).<sup>8</sup>

Jihān-shāh was succeeded by his son HASAN-'ALĪ, who during his father's lifetime several times revolted against him and, therefore, was kept in prison in Mākū. During one of his escapes he sought refuge with Uzun-Hasan Aq-qoyunlu,

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky in *E.I.*

<sup>2</sup> 'Azzāwī, iii, 109.

<sup>3</sup> *Majālis*, *ibid.*, 'he introduced the names of the twelve imams on the coins and in the *khuṭba*'. On coins see below, p. 279. The year 820/1417 in 'Azzāwī (*al-Ghiyāthī* ?) is wrong : probably \*840/1436.

<sup>4</sup> 'Azzāwī, iii, 128-9 (year 847/1443).

<sup>5</sup> See *Tārīkh-i Qutb-shāhī*, Bib. Nat., Supp. persan 174, f. 18b, cf. Cambridge, Christ's College MS., Dd. 4. 10, f. 25a. Shāh Ni'matullāh Valī was born in 730/1330 and died in 834/1430, see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS.*, ii, 634-5. The Qara-qoyunlu princess was married to his homonymous descendant in the fifth generation, Na'im al-dīn Ni'matullāh II, see *Jāmi'-i Mufīdī*, Br. Mus., Or. 210, f. 44a. cf. also 'Abd al-Husayn Āyatī, *Tārīkh-i Yazd*, Tehran, 1317/1938, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> See Hinz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23-32. Junayd, who spent a long time (1449-1456) among the western Turkoman tribes of Anatolia and Syria ('*Āshiq-pāshā-zāde Tārīkhī*', ed. 1332/1914, p. 266 : *yürükde yürürken*), was the great organizer of the Safavid followers, among whom the Rūmlu and Shāmlu tribes ('those of Anatolia and Syria') played a great rôle.

<sup>7</sup> Probably the same Shaykh Ja'far.

<sup>8</sup> See the anonymous history of Shah Ismā'il, Cambridge University Library, Add. 200, f. 30a ; cf. *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (Tehran), iii/4, p. 336 (below).

but his heresy (*ilhād*) was manifest, and he was obliged to flee under the protection of his equally unsubmitive brother Pīr-Budāq, the governor of Baghdad (in 854-6/1450-2, and 864-870/1459-1466).<sup>1</sup>

It remains to mention the branch of Jihān-shāh's eldest brother ISKANDAR. The historians describe this brutal warrior as a man 'who did not profess any religion' (*lā yatadayyanu bi-dīn*), though possibly his perpetual struggles with the Timurids, the Aq-qoyunlu, and his own family left him practically no time to think of anything but his expeditions. During the interval between the death of Jihān-shāh and the short-lived reign of Hasan-'Alī we hear of the unsuccessful attempt of Iskandar's two daughters to proclaim in Tabriz their brother ḤUSAYN-'ALĪ, 'who was a *darvīsh*'.<sup>2</sup> Iskandar's other son, Alvand, went to live near Hamadan and, three generations later, his grandson SULTAN-QULI fled<sup>3</sup> to India to the court of the Bahmanids. He later (towards 918/1512) succeeded them and founded a new shī'a dynasty of the Quṭb-shāhs (of Golconda). He is said to have been boasting that 'the Duodeciman creed was not inaugurated by the Safavids, but that his family had professed it even at the time of Qara-Muhammad and Qara-Yūsuf'.<sup>4</sup>

All the facts enumerated above point to the close connexion of the Qara-qoyunlu with various heterodoxies, and I cannot fail to mention in conclusion a fact which greatly struck me in 1905. During a trip to the former khanate of Mākū, I visited its inner district lying round Mt. Soqqar and called *Qara-qoyunlu*. The inhabitants of all but three of its villages (910 families) professed the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion and this supported my earlier hypothesis that the beginnings of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq must be connected with the Qara-qoyunlu period.<sup>5</sup> The final formation of this religion took place in the region of Shahrazūr and Zohāb, and it may be recalled that, having lost Baghdad, Shāh-Muhammad sought refuge precisely in that region (Dartang, Shaykhān). So even if the Ahl-i Ḥaqq doctrines were not a kind of state-religion under the Qara-qoyunlu, they may have developed in the favourable climate of unorthodoxy which prevailed under the sultans of the Black Sheep.

#### § 4. OPINIONS ON JIHĀN-SHĀH'S CHARACTER

Abū Muzaffar al-dīn JIHĀN-SHĀH (23 Shavvāl, 841, to 5 Rabi' I, 872/19 April 1438, to 4 October 1467) was the central figure in the Qara-qoyunlu history. The historians, in judging his personality, differ considerably.

The most unexpected perhaps are the opinions of the contemporary 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandī. This official historian of the orthodox Timurids must have met Jihān-shāh during the latter's six months' occupation of Herat in

<sup>1</sup> Münejjim-bashi (in Turkish), iii, 152. On coins his name appears sometimes as Pīr-Būtāq.

<sup>2</sup> Or 'came to Tabriz (disguised?) as a dervish (beggar)', see below Ghaffārī, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> Some time after the advent of the Aq-qoyunlu Ya'qub in 883/1478.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tārīkh-i Turkmāniya*, India Office MS. 3022-5H, f. 229b.

<sup>5</sup> See Minorsky, 'Notes sur la secte des Ahle-Haqq', in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, xl (1920), p. 66, and V. A. Gordlevsky, *Kara-koyunlu* (in Russian), Baku, 1927, pp. 5-33 (the author visited the district in 1916). The sectarians apply the name 'Aq-qoyunlu' to their shī'a neighbours!



1458 (from 24 June to 14 December). We do not know whether ‘Abd al-Razzāq received any favours from the Turkman ruler, but the fact is that in his account he gives him royal titles and repeatedly speaks of his justice and of the peace enforced in Herat through his orders.<sup>1</sup>

Under the year 867/1462, ‘Abd al-Razzāq describes Jihān-shāh’s rule in the following terms, *ibid.*, 1271 : ‘Owing to the benevolent administration (*husn-i ‘ināyat va lutf-i ‘ātifat*) of Mirza Jihān-shāh, Azarbayjan was a highly thriving state. That well-meaning sovereign was anxious to practise justice, to secure the prosperity of the country, and to treat his subjects honourably. The capital, Tabriz, by its numerous population and the prevalence of tranquillity, emulated Egypt (*miṣr-i jāmi‘*). The rumours of the good behaviour of that felicitous king spread throughout the world. The inhabitants of his God-protected kingdom, indifferent to the arrows of events, enjoyed peace’.

Less favourable is the judgment which ‘Abd al-Razzāq passes on Jihān-shāh’s sons : ‘he gave Isfahan—which is the throne of ‘Irāq—as a *soyūrghāl* to his son MUHAMMADĪ and this prince grossly maltreated the population, considered kindness as a sin, and spent his days and nights in impiety and licentiousness (*fisq-va-fujūr*). While his father displayed features of kindness and lights of justice, the son burnt the (great) families (*khānadān*) with the fire of iniquity and wrath. This lasted for several years but the population did not abandon the ways of obedience.

‘Fars and Shiraz were held by prince PĪR-BUDĀQ, who appeared (?) as the eldest (*arshad*) son of Jihān-shāh. When he, together with his father, returned from Khorasan, he went back to Shiraz and raised the banner of independence, considering his father’s orders and the filial duties as non-existent. Several persons from Jihān-shāh’s court visited Pīr-Budāq, but he would not listen to them. He fortified the hills of Shiraz and gave the impression of preparing for war. Jihān-shāh came to Fars (*tā ḥudūd-i Fārs*), but did not want to uproot his greatness with one stroke. Pīr-Budāq’s mother, after many visits, brought about a settlement, by which the prince with all his establishment had to move to Baghdad. Fars was recovered by Jihān-shāh, who gave it to his son Diyā al-dīn YŪSUF. Jihān-shāh returned to Tabriz and sent ambassadors to Khorasan with assurances of friendship ; they were received by Prince Sultan-Muhammad, who transmitted their messages to the king (Abū-Sa‘id) at the time when the latter was besieging Shāhrukhīya.’

Even in reporting Jihān-shāh’s ill-starred expedition against Uzun Ḥasan in 872/1467, *ibid.*, 1318, ‘Abd al-Razzāq speaks of the vast size of the territory under Jihān-shāh’s sway, but finds it natural that, nevertheless (*bā vujūd-i ‘in tamkīn va iqtidār*), he should wish to reduce the vassal of a hostile family.

Daulat-shāh, who at the time of Jihān-shāh’s invasion was a young man of twenty-three or twenty-five, is more critical of the Qara-qoyunlu king.

<sup>1</sup> *Maṭla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, ed. M. Shafī‘, ii, 1148–1184. Only at the moment of the evacuation of Herat did the Turkmans (already defeated by Abū-Sa‘id) begin to plunder the inhabitants, *ibid.*, p. 1184.

‘Jihān-shāh was a mighty and felicitous king but he was an unreliable and violent (*bad-khūy*) man. Under the slightest pretext he imprisoned the sardārs and his prison was a jail for life (*zindān-i abadī*).’<sup>1</sup> ‘When the defeated (*makhdhūl*) Jihān-shāh reached (Persian) Iraq, the fear which he inspired dwindled in the hearts. Through excessive covetousness (*hirs*) and harshness of heart he antagonized his son Pīr-Budāq. The latter revolted against his father and from Shiraz moved to Baghdad. Jihān-shāh besieged Baghdad for a year and a half.’ Daulat-shāh quotes two epistles in Persian verse which Jihān-shāh and Pīr-Budāq are said to have exchanged on that occasion. ‘Pīr-Budāq was a valiant and generous young man and Jihān-shāh much-travelled, prudent, wily, and clever.’ By his silence he approved the plan of his other son Muḥammadi to kill Pīr-Budāq, ‘that mine of generosity’. (N.B.!) His attack on Ḥasan-beg is also explained by his extravagant greed, see *ibid.*, 459.

The author of the *Lubb al-tawārīkh*, Mīr Yahyā Qazvīnī,<sup>2</sup> put to death in 960/1552 as the leader of the sunnites of his native town, had no difficulty in recognizing the lack of Jihān-shāh’s orthodoxy, for he writes that he ‘spurned the Sacred Law and led a life of impiety and licentiousness’. His terms *fusūq-va-fujūr* were taken up by several later authors (see below, Münejjim-bashi).

As the Aq-qoyunlu were the rivals of the Ottoman sultans, Jihān-shāh could to some extent contemplate a community of interests with the Ottomans. In Feridun-bey’s collection several letters exchanged between Istanbul and Tabriz are quoted. One of them (i, 273) was written by Jihān-shāh at the moment of his departure (*nahdat*) ‘to crush (*az miyān bardāshtan*) Uzun Ḥasan’. Jihān-shāh, though complaining of the previous lack of attention from Istanbul, now solicited the sultan’s help to extirpate the enemy whom he accused of perjury, with a hint at his unorthodox views (*khubth-i ‘aqīdat*). However, the next letter came to Sultan Muḥammad II from Uzun Ḥasan to announce the defeat and death of Jihān-shāh on 11 November 1467.

Two centuries later (c. 1672) the Ottoman historian Münejjim-bashi<sup>3</sup> passed a severe judgment on Jihān-shāh, often reproduced in European books: ‘He was an abject creature, impious and licentious (*fāsiq fājir*), a bloodthirsty oppressor, inclined towards heresy (*ilhād-va-zandaqa*). He did not follow the pure Shari‘at and at night was engaged in vice (*fisq*) till the dawn broke. Like dogs, he slept during the daytime and therefore was surnamed “the Bat” (*shab-para*)’.

Of the Christian sources the Georgian chronicles are of little help, although

<sup>1</sup> See *Tadhkirat al-shu‘arā*, ed. E. G. Browne, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> See Br. Mus. Or. 140, f. 63a.

<sup>3</sup> I have used the Turkish translation, iii, 153, though the Arabic original, still unpublished, must contain more details, see my *Studies in Caucasian History*, p. 3, and F. Sümer, *Karakoyunlular*, loc. cit., p. 305. Browne’s translation, *LHR.*, iii, 403, is more literary. It is difficult to assess the amount of ‘impiety’ put into these terms. *Fisq* probably refers to illicit pastimes, chiefly drinking; *ilhād* is worse and suggests ‘heresy’; *zandaqa* originally ‘Manichæism’, would place the accused outside the pale of Islam. The whole tirade seems to have been influenced by the author of the *Lubb al-tawārīkh*. On the grades of heresy in Islam see now B. Lewis in *Studia Islamica*, 1953, i, 43–63.

Jihān-shāh devastated Tiflis in 1439–1440. Among the Armenian authors Thomas of Metsop<sup>1</sup> describes this raid. Through his confessional enmity he reproaches the Georgian king Alexander with the insolence of his reply to Jihān-shāh and then describes how this king, accompanied ‘by the cruel ruler of Ardabil’ and all his qādis and mudarrises, marched on Georgia and, on his way thither, committed all kinds of abominations in the town of Samshvilde, which had a large Armenian population: 1,164 heads went into the making of a tower of skulls and 9,400 prisoners were carried off into captivity. He similarly ruined Tiflis, and on the advice of the ‘cruel shaykh of Ardabil’ imposed heavy levies on the inhabitants in the hope that this might make them change their religion.<sup>1</sup>

It is more pleasant to speak of Jihān-shāh’s building activities in Tabriz, where even now one sees the ruins of the magnificent Blue Mosque (*Gök-masjid*), many times described by archæologists.<sup>2</sup> During his visit to Persia in 1936 W. Hinz ascertained the signature of the builder: *Abul-Muzaffar Jihān-shāh ibn shah Yūsuf nūyān* (\*noyon), and the date: 4 Rabī‘ I, 870/25 October, 1465.<sup>3</sup> In view of the title of the builder the mosque was also known as ‘*Imārat-i Muzaffariya*.’<sup>4</sup>

Curiously enough, the coins of the Qara-qoyunlu usually bear the sunni formula mentioning the four orthodox caliphs, Abū-Bakr, ‘Omar, Othmān and ‘Alī, although Ahmed Tevhid-bey attributes to the Qara-qoyunlu two coins struck in Baghdad on which the names of the *chahār-yār* are replaced by the names of Hasan and Husayn, ‘two grandsons (*sibtān*) of the Prophet’. On a coin of Jihān-shāh (No. 940) the names of the four caliphs have been cut off (*kesik*).<sup>5</sup>

#### § 5. BRITISH MUSEUM OR. 9493

I first learnt of the existence of Jihān-shāh’s ‘divan’ from the article in *The Times* (17th November, 1924) which I have mentioned. In it the late Mr. E. Edwards gave a notice of a valuable collection of Turkish and Persian manuscripts which, after the deposition of Sultan Abdul-Hamid, found its way to Italy and then to Egypt, and was on the point of leaving for America when it was acquired for the British Museum.<sup>6</sup>

The handsome little manuscript of Jihān-shāh’s poems consists of 85 folios, 23 × 16 cm. (written surface 16 × 11 cm.), with 10–11 lines to a page. Fols. 1b–42a contain 105 Persian ghazals and one *mustazād*. They are followed

<sup>1</sup> See F. Nève, *Exposé des guerres de Tamerlan, etc.*, Bruxelles, 1840, pp. 144–5.

<sup>2</sup> See Sarre, *Denkmäler persischer Baukunst*, Berlin, 1910.

<sup>3</sup> See Hinz, ‘Beiträge zur iranischen Kulturgeschichte’, *ZDMG.*, 91/1 (1937), pp. 58–60. See also M. A. Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbāyjan*, 1314/1535, pp. 120–1, who says that all the inscriptions of the mosque were made by the calligrapher Ni‘matullāh Bawwāb.

<sup>4</sup> A *khānqāh* ‘college’ seems to have been added to the mosque under Sultan Ya‘qūb Aq-qoyunlu. In the inscription his name is associated with that of his (!) wife Kamāl al-Ihsān khātūn, daughter of Jihān-shāh, see M. A. Tarbiyat, loc. cit., 121.

<sup>5</sup> cf. also S. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Oriental coins in the Br. Mus.*, viii, 1883: on a coin (No. 9) of Jihān-shāh (struck in Baghdad) the names of the caliphs are obliterated.

<sup>6</sup> Among the MSS. was the important manual of the Safavid administration (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk*), which I published in 1943.



(fols. 45b–80a) by 87 Turkish ghazals and (fols. 80b–85a) 32 Turkish quatrains. On fol. 85b two poems by a certain Farrukh have been added; one of them is in Persian and the other in Turkish, and both are very much in the same vein as Ḥaḡiqī's verses.

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the MS. is its colophon on fol. 85a :—

تمّ الكتاب بعون الملك الوهاب من كلام سلطان العارفين افتخار السلاطين في  
لوانه زبدة العادلين في زمانه سلطان جهانشاه انار الله براهنه وبرّد مضجعه على يد (؟)  
العبد الفقير اصغر عباد الله واحقرهم قنبر على بن خسرو الاصفهاني اصلح الله شأنه وعفا  
الله عنه لوالديه ولصاحبيه ولاستاذيه ولبن سعى فيه برحمتك يا ارحم الراحمين في عام  
ثلاث وتسعين وثمانمائة در شهر شوال ختم بالخير والاقبال .

‘Finished by the grace of the King of Generosity, the book (containing) the words (*kalām*) of the Sultan of the Gnostics, Pride of the Sultans in his epoch and the essence of the Just in his time, Sultan Jihān-shāh, may God enlighten his justification (on the Day of the Last Judgment) and cool his mausoleum—by the hand of the least and humblest of God's slaves, Qanbar-‘Alī b. Khusrau al-Isfahānī, may God settle his affairs and pardon him, his parents, his two masters, his two teachers and those who made efforts for him. Through Thy mercy, O most merciful of the compassionate. In Shavvāl of the year 893 (September, 1488).’<sup>1</sup>

What strikes one in this entry is the fact that twenty-one years after Jihān-shāh's death (in 872/4th October, 1467) he was still so highly revered in some circles of sufis and mystics. One knew that Jihān-shāh used the poetical pseudonym of Ḥaḡiqī<sup>2</sup> but, as this *nom de plume* is uncommon and as no other collections of Ḥaḡiqī's poems are available, one might have suspected some confusion, and even in this respect the positive testimony of the colophon is welcome. In point of fact our poet uses alternatively another form of his *takhalluṣ*, namely Ḥaḡiqat.

The present manuscript can hardly be regarded as anything like a complete *divan* of Jihān-shāh. When this prince sent his poems to Jāmī, the latter in his acknowledgment wrote<sup>3</sup> :—

<sup>1</sup> About that time lived the well-known calligrapher Ḥāfiz-Qanbar Sharafī, a slave of Abyssinian origin in the service of Qādī Sharaf al-dīn Qumī. He perished with his master—when an Aq-qoyunlu general took Qum—in 904/1498–9. However, the *nisba* (*al-Isfahānī*) makes it a difficulty to identify our Qanbar-‘Alī with Ḥāfiz-Qanbar, on whom see ‘The Treatise on Calligraphers’, by Qādī Ahmad (son of Qādī Sharaf's daughter), Russian translation by B. N. Zakhoder, Moscow, 1947, p. 80. *Nūyīn-i a‘ẓam Ḥājjī Qanbar Jihān-shāhī* (i.e. a great amir closely connected with Jihān-shāh) was governor of Yazd about 854/1450, see Āyatī, loc. cit., 205.

<sup>2</sup> Ghaffārī, *Jihān-ārā* (Br. Mus. Or. 141, f. 199a), says that Jihān-shāh ‘by times indulged in writing verse under the *nom de plume* of Ḥaḡiqī’, and further quotes the chronogram of Jihān-shāh's march on Shiraz : *Ḥaḡiqī kām-i dīl yābad zi-Shīrāz* (i.e. A.H. 865). See also M. A. Tarbiyat, *Dānishmandān-i Ādharbayjān*, 1314/1935, pp. 120–1 (under Ḥaḡiqī); A. A. Hekmat, *Jāmī*, 1320/1941, p. 34 (on Jāmī's relations with Jihān-shāh).

<sup>3</sup> The poem, consisting of 29 verses, is included in Jāmī's correspondence (*majmū‘a-yi munsha‘āt*). A. A. Hekmat, *Jāmī*, Tehran, 1320/1941, pp. 34–6, quotes it in full.

8. Let us cut down words. Of the children of the (poetical) nature of the Shāh,  
Repository of knowledge and refuge of knowledge,
9. An august book has arrived, like a casket of pearls  
Full of jewels of truth-seeking (*taḥqīq*).
10. It contains both *ghazals* and *mathnavīs*  
And secrets, both imaginative and moral.
11. From the opening verse of each *ghazal* there broke  
The felicitous brightness of the dawn of the morning of Pre-eternity.
12. What shall I say of the final verses, each of which  
Is a source of eternal grace.
13. To the worshippers of outward forms, in the abode of metaphors,  
(This book) has revealed the true (*ḥaqīqī*) shah.
14. As in his *mathnavī* he did full justice to the Verb,  
Ancient mysteries have found novelty.
15. In the penetration into the mysteries of the Mother of Books  
Reason finds doors open in every verse . . .
21. A perfect proof of this nice point is the saying :  
*Verba regum reges verborum.*

The state of preservation of the MS. is perfect, but one may doubt whether the Iṣfahānī scribe fully understood the Turkish verses, or could follow their metres. Several words are omitted, misread, or copied out only approximately. The study of the manuscript is not plain sailing, and for the interpretation of some embroiled readings I am greatly indebted to Mr. H. A. Sultān-zāde Pesyān, himself a scion of one of the Turkman clans of Azarbayjan.

#### § 6. GENERAL REMARKS ON ḤAQĪQĪ'S POEMS

The author's mind moves strictly along the trodden paths of Persian mysticism, with its longings for a reunion with God, and its ambiguous references to the supreme being in terms of earthly beauty and profane love. Some *ghazals* sound like versified prayers but the stress is put not on man's humility or on his solicitations of pardon and grace, but on the seeking of approach and the pangs of separation.

The *nom de plume* of the royal author is curious in its hinting at the highest degree of mystic knowledge, *ḥaqīqat*, 'the Real Truth', which lies beyond the stages of the ascent followed by a novice through the *sharī'at*, the *ṭarīqat*, and the *ma'rīfat*.

Only on close examination can one discover in the poems a tinge of shī'ite feelings and terminology. The verse :—

*Parvāna shud Ḥaqīqī bi-sham'-i janāb-i Shāh  
Ḥayr az janāb-i Shāh nabāshad panāh-i mā* (f. 3a)

and the invocations to *shāh-i ḥusn* (f. 7a) and *janāb-i shahriyār* (f. 66a) must refer to 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib, as the *shī'a* imām.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Khwāndamīr, see the biographical excerpts, *Rijāl-i Ḥabīb al-siyar*, p. 115, says of the well-known poet Shāhī (d. 857/1453) : 'as he derived his origin from the sarbadārs of Sabzavār, and as he was a *shī'a*, he adopted the poetical pseudonym of *Shāhī*', i.e. definitely with reference to 'Ali.

The poems of Jihān-shāh have no claim to originality. His similes are hackneyed<sup>1</sup> and his verses dull. One does not feel in them even that measure of individuality which characterizes Shah Ismā'il's poems.<sup>2</sup> Despite this harsh judgment, one cannot deny to the author a certain technical experience and glibness. He is fully abreast of the artifices of Persian poetry and his knowledge of Persian standards of *ars poetica* is unmistakable. On the other side, his poetry is far removed from the simplicity of such Turkish popular bards as Yūnis Emre (c. A.D. 1300) or even Qāḍī Burhān al-dīn (1344–1398).<sup>3</sup>

Not only the Persian ghazals but all the Turkish poems in the collection are written in Persian metres, among which the authors' predilection is for the more complicated patterns, such as *mudā'irī* (—|—○—○|—○—○|—○—○|—), *mujtathth* (○—○|—○—○|—○—○|—) and even *rajaz-i maṭwī-yi makhbūn* (—○—○|—○—○|—○—○|—○—○|—). These metres, little adapted to, and rarely used in Turkish, oblige the poet to juggle with the Turkish elements which make no distinction between short, long, and supra-long vowels. Ḥaḳīqī's quatrains are peculiar. Contrary to the Persian *rubā'īs*, they are monorhyme *aaaa* (instead of *aaba*) and scan in the *ramal* (—○—○|—○—○|—○—○), instead of the classical *hazaj* pattern. In this latter respect they resemble some of the *tuyughs* of Qāḍī Burhān al-dīn whose metres, however, are much more irregular.<sup>4</sup>

Of other poems by Ḥaḳīqī we know only a few verses from his exchange of poetical messages with his rebellious son Pīr-Budāq, quoted in Daulat-shāh.<sup>5</sup>

1. O my son, do not hurry along the road of opposition !  
Throw down your *tīgh* (meaning both 'sword' and 'ray') for I myself  
am the sun.
2. I am the shah and the realm of caliphate (perhaps 'inherited realm')  
is mine.  
You are a son (*khalaf*) and (a claim of) caliphate (succession?) from you  
is a mistake.
3. Do not usurp my previous charge :  
Usurpation is not admitted in my ordinance, etc.

This letter in Persian is both apposite and firm, and its tone is very different from that of the highly artificial, stencilled, and impersonal poems of our

<sup>1</sup> The poet refers to Khusrau and Shīrīn, Majnūn and Laylī, and makes ample use of Maṣnū al-Ḥallāj's passion, with its *anā 'l-Ḥaqq*, gallows, and other accessories. Repetitions are not infrequent.

<sup>2</sup> See my article in *BSOS.*, x/4, 1942, pp. 1006a–1053a.

<sup>3</sup> See F. Köprülü, *Türk edebiyatı tarihi*, 1928, p. 312 (on Yūnis), and F. Köprülü in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, ii, 130 (on Burhan al-din, whose negligence (*ihmāl*) in his metrics is admitted).

<sup>4</sup> In his *Mizān al-awzān*, Mīr 'Alī Shīr says that, apart from the quantitative metres, the Turks (especially the Chaghatay Turks) have special metres to which belong the *tuyughs*. The latter forms consist of two *bayts* (four hemistiches) in *ramal-i musaddas-i maqṣūr*, i.e. exactly —○—○|—○—○|—○—○. In each *tuyugh* the poets try to make a *calembour*. (Quoted from Melioransky, 'Otrivki iz divana Burhan ad-din'a', in *Vostochniye zametki*, 1895, pp. 131–152.) See also a reference to the *tuyugh* in Navā'i's other work *Muhākamat al-lughatayn*; see Quatremère *Chrestomathie en turk oriental*, Paris 1841, p. 12.

<sup>5</sup> *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, ed. E. G. Browne, p. 459: Jihān-shāh's letter—twelve lines; Pīr-Budāq's answer—eleven lines.

collection.<sup>1</sup> For the composition of such sophisticated poetry one would have to credit Jihān-shāh with an unexpected range of Qor'ānic learning and literary experience, and I am inclined to put the question, whether the real author of his ghazals was he himself or some *protégé* signing in his name.<sup>2</sup> We know that in calligraphy and painting a pupil often received the authority (*ijāza*) from his master to put the latter's name to his work, and even in our days the sovereigns leave the composition of their addresses to their secretaries. Such a hypothesis would in no wise diminish our interest in the poems, which clearly indicate how Jihān-shāh wanted to be seen by his intimates, or how the latter wished to represent their master.

### § 7. THE LANGUAGE

Coming now to the language of the Turkish poems, one has also to admit that, perhaps in sympathy with the subject-matter, it is not distinguished by originality. Even in comparison with the poems of Khaṭā'i (Shāh Ismā'il), already quoted, our collection displays less variety in grammatical forms and in vocabulary. It is somewhat astonishing that a sturdy Turkman like Jihān-shāh should have been so restricted in his ways of expression. Altogether the language of the poems belongs to the group of the southern Turkman dialects which go by the name of 'Azarbayjan Turkish'.

*Phonetics.*—The writing is purely phonetic but is not vocalized, though the metric pattern supports some conclusions. The difference in the vowels *ā* and *é* is hinted at by the spellings *sew* سِو 'to love' and *et* ایت 'to do', as against *gätür* گاتور 'to bring', for example. The sequence of the vowels *a/u* has not yet become *a/ī*: *salor* (79b), *gätürmāz* گاتورمز (53b), *dägül* داکول 'not'; cf. also *yilur* ییلور (45b), *ayru* ایرو (46b).

The *saghür-nün*, with a few omissions, due probably to the scribe, is spelt out clearly as *ng*. Curiously enough, in scanning it can begin a new syllable; thus *anka* 'to him' scans *a-na* (as *˘ ˘* or *˘ —*). While in an intervocalic position *t* becomes *d*: *nider* (76a) 'what shall he do?', in the past tense we find *etti* ایتی (with assimilation). An interesting parallel to the Azarbayjan *duttü* (western Turkish *tuttu*) is presented by the spelling *dotdi* دوتدی (46a). In a pause *q* becomes *x*: *yox*,<sup>3</sup> *bax*, *yax*, and then survives as such even in intervocalic position: *axar*, *baxar*.

*Morphology.*—The dative, in words ending in a soft vowel, is written jointly *وعدیه* which may indicate the pronunciation *\*va'diyä*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only in one quatrain (see below, p. 286, No. 2) one finds some energetic feelings expressed.

<sup>2</sup> Daulat-shah, loc. cit., 457, says that the Khorasanian poet Maulānā Tūsī came to live under the patronage of Jihān-shāh and Pīr-Budāq.

<sup>3</sup> But, in the suggested restoration of *جون* (84b), *جو\** is graphically better than *جوخ*.

<sup>4</sup> See A. Djaferoghlu, '75 Azerbajġanische Lieder', in *Mitteilungen d. Seminars für Orient. Sprachen*, Band 32, 1929, ii, 66: *dävä*, dative *däviä*.

The difference between the present and present-future must be expressed by the change of vocalization, as in the Azarbayjan dialects, where we have the forms *baxîr* and *baxar*. So we have to read *خورر خچن* (45v) as *xācan görār* 'when will he see'; see also *هرکیم کورر* (79b).

The negative of the 1 p.s. in the present-future has several variants *دیمن* *demān* (70a), *ویرمن* (63b), *بیلیم* *bilmānām*, and *باخمنم* (63b) and *بیلمز* *bilmāzām* (65a).

The optative forms are : *اولم* *olum* (70a), *دیم* *\*diyim* (70a), *تā-görüm* (70a), *ایلیم* *eyliyim*, and *ایدم* *\*edim* (49b).

By the side of the forms of preterite in *-di* and *-mish* one finds the perfect construction *اولدر* *olup-tur* (46a), *دوشبدر* *düşüp-tür* 'has fallen' (69b).

Somewhat unexpected is the western (?) form *کورندی* *\*göründi* (46a) 'appeared' and the verbal adverb *ایکن* (70a) by the side of *اولنده* *olanda* and *ایلینده* *eyliyändä* (76a).

*Vocabulary.*—*طاپدی* *tapti* (77a) 'he found', but also *بولیشم* *bulmishām* (68b). *ایتوردی* *itürdi* 'he lost' (46b); *ایچوردی* *içürdi* 'made him drink' (46b); *سپشم* *sap-* for *sarp-*; *کورسدر* *görsädür* 'he shows' (53b); *däng-ol-* (81r): 'to be dumbfounded'. 'With' is expressed by the postpositions *ilä*, *ilän*, and *bīrlä* (69b); 'when' by *خچن* *xācan* (45v); 'what for' by *نیشه* *neyšä* (49b).

## § 8. TRANSLATIONS <sup>1</sup>

### 1. Metre : *muḍārī* (in Persian), f. 1b

I wished to explain Godhead  
 So as to offer my soul to its attributes.  
 Should I only breathe (a word) on a point of mystery of *\*kuntu kinzan*,<sup>2</sup>  
 I shall turn the devotees of Love into Men of Purity.  
 So long as His attributes of beauty and grandeur are a refrain on my lips,  
 (God) forbid that I should speak of fraud or hypocrisy.  
 Since I have taken refuge at the sanctuary of that threshold,  
 It will not be fitting to leave this place.  
 If I openly put (the question) to people : ' *li-man al-mulk ?* ' <sup>3</sup>  
 I shall turn many sovereigns of the kingdom of (this) world into beggars.  
 My tale will not end before the Day of Resurrection,  
 If only I disclose a whiff of His truth (*ḥaqīqat*).  
 Should all the people of the world become my enemies,  
 Where shall I find a refuge except at the threshold of the Friend ?  
 O *Haqiqi*, seek a remedy for the pangs (caused by) the Friend,  
 That I may heal the ailing centre of my heart.

<sup>1</sup> For the original text see Annexe I.

<sup>2</sup> Hadith on God's words in Pre-eternity : ' I was a hidden Treasure and I wished to be known '.

<sup>3</sup> 'To whom does the kingship belong ?'

2. Metre : *mudâri'* (in Persian), f. 7a

In the whole epoch there is none Incomparable like yourself.  
 Without your radiant beauty no inner light exists.  
 When will the bird of the heart, free from the captivity of a lock (of yours),  
 Soar in amorous rapture for you.  
 He who possesses none of the ever-lasting secrets,  
 From the point of Truth, is not an initiated (*khabîr*) preacher.  
 O heart, do not advise me in the ways of love,  
 For those of the path of love do not accept advice.  
 No sooner did your eyes wink at me  
 Than the sword of punishment appeared, and yet there is no fear of arrows.  
 O Lord, what is this state that in the inner heart  
 There is a burning of separation, but no sighs and lamentations ?  
 O shah of Beauty, for the pupil of Ḥaqīqī's eyes  
 There is no collyrium apart from the dust of your abode.

3. Metre : *ramal* (in Turkish), f. 46a

O you, whose down and mole are ' God's word ' and ' the Mother of the Books ',  
 From yearning for you the eyes of the lovers are drowned with tears.  
 One wink of your eye has given a hint to the People of Promise ;  
 Therefore, sleep has fled the eyes of those drunk with love for thee.  
 Both \**Laylat al-isrâ* and *Wal-layl*<sup>1</sup> have been sent down with regard to your  
 (black) locks.  
 By the verse *wal-Shams*<sup>2</sup> the sun has appeared from your face.  
 O you, whose face is before my eyes like ' the light that fails not ! '  
 O you, from every lock of whose hair pure musk spreads over the world.  
 The light of your appearance has illuminated the world for ever.  
 On your ' Preserved Tablet ' even the ' Day of Reckoning ' <sup>3</sup> is clear.  
 I am sick and lovelorn, will you deign to appear, be it for a glance ?  
 In the dust of your footsteps I have scattered julep from my eyes.  
 In drawing a balance of that down, mole, appearance, and locks  
 Love's treasurer has succeeded in clearing his account before God.  
 For the people of this world your face has become a mirror of love.  
 On thy ' Preserved Tablet ' the ' Book of Discrimination ' became a book  
 full of wisdom.  
 O Ḥaqīqī, place thy head (at the feet) of that Holiness,  
 On no account let the hem of reunion slip from your hands.

5. Metre : *mudâri'* (in Turkish), f. 68b

Come, for among the beauties I have loved you,  
 And I am ready to stake my soul amidst the madmen for the sake of you.  
 When passion has settled in my deserted heart  
 I have found a treasure among the ruins of (my) heart.  
 Your pure lips are not any thirsty one's cup (*jām*),  
 But I am he who drinks the Water of Life from those cups.

<sup>1</sup> ' The night of Nocturnal Journey ' and ' I swear by the Night ', see the *Qor'ân*, xvii and xciv, 1.

<sup>2</sup> ' I swear by the Sun ', *Qor'ân*, xci, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Yauma yakûnu al-ḥisâb*, *Qor'ân*, xiv, 42.



In my longing for Shīrīn I have surrendered my soul  
 And, among other fairy-tales, I shall not tell the story of Khusrau.  
 There are convents and schools, devotees and shaykhs,  
 And I wish that God discover (the accomplishment) of what is desired in those  
 houses (?).

Who is that stranger whom I can call an acquaintance,  
 Or can I become an acquaintance among stranger souls?  
 As Ḥaḳīqī looked at his soul with the candle of your face  
 His sighs and pains have burnt him like a moth.

#### 6. Metre : *hazaj* (in Turkish), f. 69b

Every night to the candle of your beauty moonlight (is attracted) through the  
 window

Because the brilliance of its sun has appeared through the window.  
 (The perfume) of your fragrant and curling locks is wafted by the breeze  
 Putting a bait (*qullāb* 'a hook') for your ailing people through the window.  
 O ravisher of hearts, if I sigh from sorrow and passion for you, at once  
 A torrent of tears from people's eyes will rush in through the window.  
 When in the shadow of your tresses your face has assumed an eternal light,  
 In envy, the celestial awning (*chatr*) has put in its tent-ropes ('rays') through  
 the window.

When Ḥaḳīqī addressed a prayer to your threshold for reunion (*viṣāl*)  
 A door of the manifestation of Truth opened through the window.

#### 7. QUATRAINS IN TURKISH, ff. 80b–85a

1. O you, reunion with whom is a paradisiac meadow for us!  
 O you, whose lips are the spring of life for us!  
 As you are our soul in the two worlds  
 Our *credo* is to explain the (bewitching) heresy of your locks.
2. The means for repelling an enemy is war.  
 A stranger (to you) becomes lame on the path of manliness (*ärlik*).  
 He who is faithful to the Friend becomes like Him  
 The brains of an ignoramus are dumbstruck in trying to understand this.
3. O you, whose eyes are the lamps of both worlds!  
 The scripture ('down') on thy face contains the Mother of Books.  
 Burning has beset the heart from the fire of separation.  
 The passions and the love of you have roasted (*kabāb*) my breast.
4. As in the beginning and in the end there is only one Being (*dhāt*),  
 With regard to Him oneness has been proven.  
 The scripture of the down on His face are the verses (of the Qor'ān)  
 And all that is 'other than His face' is dead.
5. The water of Kauthar is pure in the spring of your lips.  
 The people of prostration circumambulate your face.  
 Hypocrisy and insincerity, in their substance, are a revolt,  
 But the words 'do not fear' (*lā takhāf*, read *\*lā takhaf*) have reached (the)  
 believer from God.

6. To the candle of your face the soul is a moth.  
The heart is the pass (*parvāna*) to the treasure of reunion with you.  
The desires of Men of Love go towards such a Khan as yourself.  
Therefore their hearts are dwellings of yearning.
7. O Chosroes, do not engage too much in tyranny and injustice,  
Do not render a lover like unto Farhād.  
Do not take the oppressive decision of separation,  
Do not gladden the heart of the Opponent.
8. O you, whose face is the Ka'ba of my heart,  
The glance of whose eyes is the Imām of my heart,  
Whose Kauthar-spring is *yuhyi l-'izām*<sup>1</sup> of my heart,  
Whose lips are the wine and the cup of my heart.
9. O you, whose face is the sun of the realm of the King (or of the Angels ?),  
O you, whose stature is the Lote-tree (of) Paradise and your *khatt*<sup>2</sup> the  
Mother of Books.  
(My) burning in the sorrow of separation has consumed my soul,  
The desire of your love has roasted (*kabāb*) my breast.
10. The light of your Oneness is the moonlight of your face.  
'The Night of Nocturnal Journey' is the length of your tresses.  
The secret of the Kauthar-spring is the sugar-water of your lips.  
The lovelorn is he who is drowned in that wine.
11. O you, whose face represents the names of the goals of the invisible world,  
O you, whose attributes possess (*dhāt*) the contents of the invisible world.  
The witness and the witnessed of (a being) like you possess the invisible world.  
(Thus) the proofs of the invisible world have become obligatory for you.

## ANNEX I.

## منتخبات از اشعار

## حقیق

## 1. مضارع (f. 1b)

میخواستم که شرح الهی ادا کنم  
 تاجان خویشتن بصفاتش فدا کنم  
 کردم زخم زنگنه اسرار کُنت کُنتز (کذا)  
 زهاد عشق را همه اهل صفاکم

<sup>1</sup> *Qor'ān*, xxxvi, 78 : ' (and he says : Who can) bring to life the bones already rotten ? '

<sup>2</sup> *Khatt* meaning both ' writing ' and ' the down on a youth's cheek '.



تا ورد من صفات جمال و جلال اوست  
 حاشا که من حکایت زرق وریا کنم  
 چون معتکف بحضرت آن آستان شدم  
 شرط ادب نباشد اکر ترکِ جا کنم  
 کر فاش میزنم لَمَن المَلک را بخلق  
 بس خسروان ملک جهانرا کدا کنم  
 تا روز رستخیز پایان نمیرسد  
 یک شمه از حقیقت وی کرادا کنم  
 خلق جهان اکر چه همه خصم من شوند  
 جز آستان دوست کجا التجا کنم  
 درمان زدرد دوست طلب کن حقیقا  
 تا من درون درد دلم را دوا کنم

## 2. مضارع (f. 7a)

مثل تو در زمانه کسی بی نظیر نیست  
 بی پرتو جمال تو نور ضمیر نیست  
 پرواز عشق کی زند اندر هوای تو  
 مرغ دلی که بر سرزلف (زلنی ؟) اسیر نیست  
 هرکس که او نداشت زاسرار لم یزل  
 از نکته حقیقت واعظ خیر نیست  
 ای دل مرا نصیح مشو در سلوک عشق  
 کاهل طریق عشق نصیحت پذیر نیست  
 تا غمزه‌های چشم تو بر من نگاه کرد  
 تیغ سیاست آمدو پروای تیر نیست  
 یا رب چه حالیت که اندر درون دل  
 سوزِ فراق هست فغان و نفیر نیست  
 ای شاه حسن مردم چشم حقیق را  
 غیر از تراب کوی تو کحل بصیر (؟) نیست

## 3. رمل (f. 46a)

ای خط وخالنک کلام الله هم امّ الکتاب  
 حسرتن کدن دیدۀ عشاق اولی در غرق اب  
 غمزۀ جسمنک اشارت قلدی اهل وعیدیه  
 مست عشقنک شول جهانده قالمدی عینده جواب  
 لیلۀ الاسری<sup>1</sup> ووالیل ایندی زلفنک شاننه  
 آیۀ والشمسه وجهنکدن کورندی اقتاب  
 ای مم عینده رخسارنک چو نور لم یزل  
 وی ساجنک هرتاره (طره؟) سندن عالم ازده مشک ناب  
 عالمی قیلدی منور نور وجهنک تا ابد  
 لوح محفوظنده روشن اولدی هم یوم الحساب  
 زارو بیارم اکر تشریف قلسنک بیرنظر  
 خاک راه مقدمکنده سپشم کوزدن کلاب  
 اول خط وخال ورخ وزلفنک حسابن قلمغه  
 حاسب عشقه میسر اولدی حقندن احتساب  
 صورتنک آئینه عشق اولدی اهل عالمه  
 لوح محفوظکنده فرقان اولدی حکمتدن کتاب  
 ای حقیقی باشکی قوی اول جناب حضرته  
 قوی کل الدن وصالنک دامنن از هیچ باب

## 4. رمل (f. 53b)

تا که حسنک صوره ومعنیده دعوی کورسدر  
 عارضنک نوری جمالنکدن تجلی کورسدر  
 سجده ایمان گتورمن قاشارنک محرابنه  
 هر بصیرت سیز کم آنی طاق کسری کورسدر  
 سورۀ سبع المثانی خط رخسارنکده در  
 شول جهندن صورتنک هر شیده معنی کورسدر  
 ای مسیحادم سنک انفاس لعلنک عاشقه  
 نفخۀ روح القدوس (کذا) نطق عیسی کورسدر

<sup>1</sup> This should be لیلۀ الاسراء but the sura xvii is called سورۀ الاسری.

کیم که حیران اولمز اول معشوقه نَنک رخسارنه  
 اهل دل اول \* مشرکی معنیده اعمی کورسدر  
 زاهد اکل سجده قیل شول صورت رحمانه سن  
 سجده حق سنکا چون اهل تقوی کورسدر  
 چون حقیقی هر که منصور اولدی در میدان عشق  
 بر سرِ دارِ محبت شرط دعوی کورسدر

### 5. مضارع (f. 68b)

گلکِل که سیومیشم سنی جانانه لرده من  
 جان اوینرم یولنکده بو دیوانه لرده من  
 ویرانه کونکلی غم عشق ایتی چون مکان  
 بیر کنج بولیشم دل ویرانه لرده من  
 هر تشنه نَنک که \* جامی مصفا لبَنک دکول  
 ایچن حیات این (کذا) او پیانه لرده من  
 شیرین غمنده جامی تسلیم قلمشم  
 خسرو حکایتن دیمن افسانه لرده من  
 چون خانگاه و مدرسه وزاهدست و شیخ  
 حقدن مراد ایسترم اول خانه لرده من  
 بیکانه کیم \* درر کیم انکا آشنا دیم  
 یا اولم آشنا دل بیکانه لرده من  
 باخدی حقیقی جاننی شمع رخنکده چون  
 یاندم بوآه و سوزایله پروانه لرده من

### 6. هرج (f. 69b)

جالَنک شمعنه هر شب (\*کلور) مهتاب روزندن  
 چون آنَنک افتابندن دوشوپدر تاب روزندن  
 معنبر زلف پُرچینک کلور بادصبا بیرله  
 بخلق دردمندانت صالور قلاب روزندن  
 غم و دردنکدن ای دلبر اکراه ایلسم دردم  
 زاشک دیده مردم آخر سیلاب روزندن

ساجنک ظلّنده رخسارنک که نورجاودان الی  
 بو حسرتدن سالورچتر فلک اُطّساب روزندن  
 حقیق آستانکدن تمّنا چون وصال ایتی  
 تجلی حقیقتدن آچلدی باب روزندن

7. رمل — رباعیات (f. 81a)

- (a) ای وصالنک روضه رضوانمز  
 وی دوداغنک چشمه حیوانمز  
 چون ایکی عالمده سنسن جاممز  
 کفر زلفنک شرح در ایماممز
- (b) دشمنک دفعنه چاره جنک آلور (کذا)  
 غیر اولن ارلک یولنده لنک اولور  
 یارلن کرچک اولن همرنک الور  
 جاهلنک عقلی بو فهمه دنک الور
- (c) ای ایکی عالمده چشمک افتاب  
 مصحف وجهنکه در ام الکتاب  
 دوشدی جانه آتش هجرانکه تاب  
 شوق عشقنک باغرمی قلدی کباب
- (d) اول و آخرده چون بیر ذاتمش  
 واحدیت شاننه اثباتمش  
 مصحف خط رخی آیاتمش  
 غیر وجهش جلکی امواتمش
- (e) کوثرنک آبی لبنک عینده صاف  
 وجهنکا اهل سجود ایلر طواف  
 زرق و تزویر اولدی معینده خلاف  
 مؤمنه حقدن ایرشدی لا تحف
- (f) شمع زخسارنکا جان پروانه در  
 دل وصالنک کنجه پروانه در

- اهل عشقنك ميل چون سن خانه در  
اندن اوترو كونكلي حسرتخانه در  
(g) خسروا \* چوق ظلم وييداد ايلمه  
عاشقي مانند فرهاد ايلمه  
عزم هجران جور بنياد ايلمه  
مدعينك كونكلي شاد ايلمه  
(h) اي يوزنك بيت الحرامى كونكلمنك  
غمزه عينك امامى كونكلمنك  
كوثرنك يحيى العظامى كونكلمنك  
لبارنك صهباء وجامى كونكلمنك  
(i) اي ملك ملكنده وجهنك افتاب  
وى بوينك سدره خطنك ام الكتاب  
جامعى ياخذى غم هجرانكده تاب  
شوق عشقك باغرمى قلدى كباب  
(j) وحدتنك نورى يوزنك مهتابى در  
كوثرنك \* رمزى لبنك قنابى در  
ليلة الاسرى ساچنك اطنابى در  
مست عشق اول باده تنك غرقابى در  
(k) اي رخنك أسماء مقصودات غيب  
وى صفاتنك ذات موجودات غيب  
شاهد ومشهود مثلنك ذات غيب  
واجب المصدر سنكا اثبات غيب

## ANNEX II

*Translation from Ghaffārī's Jihān-ārā*

[Note.—Qāḍī Aḥmad al-Ghaffārī al-Qazvīnī completed his work in 972/1564, a century after Jihān-shāh's death, and his narrative is only a compilation based on earlier sources (*Matla' al-sa'dayn*, etc.). For the early history of the Qara-qoyunlu the Egyptian histories and the newly discovered *Tārīkh-i Diyārbakriya* (now being prepared for publication by Dr. F. Sümer) contain incomparably more material. However, some of the details which Ghaffārī gives (like Jihān-shāh's *takhalluṣ*) are useful, and his report on the interregnum

after the death of Jihân-shâh is important. Moreover, the Br. Mus. Or. 141 <sup>1</sup> (written apparently in the 17th century) contains a number of marginal notes by an attentive reader. Therefore I have translated the passage from the *Jihân-âra* as a short *résumé* of the events, subject to comparison with other sources, of which I have also prepared translation.]

[f. 187b] Chapter XIX of the *Qara-qoyunlu* sultans who are also called *Bārānī*.

QARA-YUSUF b. Qara-Muḥammad was one of the amirs of Sultān Aḥmad Jalāyir and his daughter was married to the Sultān. He <sup>2</sup> was killed in 792/1390 (?) in Syria . . . (Qara Muḥammad ?) b. Turish b. Bayrām-khwāja was a retainer (*mulāzim*) of Sultān Uvays Ilkānī (756–776/1355–1374), after whose (?) death he became the leader of his *oymaq*, and of other tribes (*aqvām*) (which) joined his clan (*khayl*) for the sake (*bi-vāsiṭa*) of protection and attached themselves to him. He occupied the region (*ölgä*) of Mossul, Sinjār, and Arjīsh [f. 188a]. The rise of that tribe (*firqa*) was due to him. He died in 782 (\*792 ?). As (his son) Yūsuf was an extremely daring and manly stalwart, he repeatedly opposed Amir Timur and together with Sultān Aḥmad Jalāyir (784–813/1382–1410) went to Rum and to Syria. To please Timur, the king Malik-Ashraf <sup>3</sup> imprisoned both of them. At that time a son was born to Yūsuf who received the name of Pīr-Budāq. Sultān Aḥmad adopted him as his son. After Amir Timur's death they escaped from captivity. One thousand horsemen, who had come with him (Yūsuf) to that country (Syria–Egypt) and become dispersed, now came together. They fled and on the way to the banks of the Euphrates fought victoriously 180 battles [f. 188b] with the frontier people and garrisons. Yūsuf's *oymaq* gathered round him and he occupied the castle of Avnik. On 1 of Jumadi, 809/14 October, 1406, he defeated (the Timurid) Mirza Abā-Bakr <sup>4</sup> near Nakhchavān. In a second battle he slew Mirza Mīrān-shāh and became master of the whole of Azarbayjan and Iraq and of some parts of 'Irāq-i 'Ajam.<sup>5</sup>

Mīrzā Shāhrukh came to Rayy with 200,000 horsemen to repel Yūsuf, and the defenders of the capital recited (*khatm*) 1,000 times the sūra *inna fataḥnā* (*Qor'ān*, xlviii, 1) for the destruction of the enemy. Despite the difficult situation, Qara-Yūsuf most boldly marched from Tabriz to Ūjān and there died on Thursday in Dhul-qa'da, 823/December, 1420.<sup>6</sup> None of his sons was in

<sup>1</sup> I have used the copy once lent to me by my lamented friend M. Qazvini.

<sup>2</sup> Some gap in the text : the passage refers to Qara-Yūsuf's father Qara-Muḥammad, who in fact died about that time. According to F. Sümer, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, 58 cüz, p. 296, he was killed in April, 1389 (Rab' I, 791 ?).

<sup>3</sup> This is wrong. Ashraf ruled in 825–841/1422–1438. The ruler of the time was Faraj (801–8/1399–1405), see F. Sümer, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> This is the contemporary spelling of the name.

<sup>5</sup> *Marginal note* : ' He also seized Sultāniya, Qazvin, Tārom, and Sāva '.

<sup>6</sup> *Note* : ' The duration of his rule was just over four years.' Perhaps the annotator refers to the period after the death of Yūsuf's son Pīr-Budāq whom his father recognized as a nominal ruler. However, according to F. Sümer, Pīr-Budāq died in 1418, which reduces to only two years the period of Qara-Yusuf's rule ' in his own right '.

attendance and his camp got into such confusion that nobody stopped before anybody (?). They left him on his couch <sup>1</sup> and dispersed <sup>2</sup> and the crowds of his clansmen (*ulūsāt*) came and took away his apparel (*rukhūt*). They were tempted by his ear-ring set with gems, but were unable to take it off the ear, and so they cut off his ear.<sup>3</sup>

He had six sons : the first was PĪR-BUDĀQ, whom he had proclaimed king while he himself used to stand in front of him holding a golden mace (*chomaq*), on the plea that he was Sulṭān Aḥmad's son. Pīr-Budāq predeceased his father and the latter assumed the kingship. The second son was SHĀH-MUḤAMMAD, who for two to three years governed Baghdad and on 17 Dhul-Hijja, 836/4 August 1433, was killed by Bābā Ḥājji Hamadānī. The third son was AMĪR ISFAHĀN, whom some call Aspān and Ispand ; he took the governorship of Baghdad from his brother Shāh-Muḥammad and after twelve years' rule died on 28 Dhul-Qa'da, 848/7 March 1445. The fourth son was ABU-SA'ĪD who in 838/1434–5 was slain by the fifth brother Iskandar.

QARA-ISKANDAR b. Qara-Yūsuf was an extremely valiant and courageous man. After his father's death he sat on the throne and on 28 Rajab, 824/29 July 1421, at a place called Yakhshi, (in the neighbourhood of) Alashkard and Qaqizmān, fought a 48 hours' battle with Mirza Shāhrukh. He displayed great spirit and heroism but when his force was exhausted he fled to Rūm. After his return, Mirza (Shāhrukh) occupied Azarbayjan for a (second) time. When in 839/1435–6 the Mirza came to Rayy to repel him (for the third time), Mirza JIHĀNSHĀH, (the sixth) son of Qara-Yūsuf, waited on him and won the royal favour. [f. 189a] To him Shāhrukh entrusted the task of warding off the evil of Iskandar.

MĪRZĀ JIHĀN-SHĀH b. Qara-Yūsuf, who sometimes indulged in poetry under the pen-name of *Ḥaqīqī*, became in 839/1435–6 the ruler (*vālī*) of Azarbayjan by investiture (*tafwīd*) from Shāhrukh. He was at his winter quarters at Qizil-aghaj, in Tālīsh, when his brother Iskandar returned from Rūm and, from the winter quarters of Surmalu, arrived in Tabriz and seized the town. Jihānshāh hurried to repel him and in the beginning of 840/autumn 1436, a battle was fought by the two brothers at Sofyān (near) Tabriz. Iskandar was defeated and fled to the castle of Alinjaq where he was slain on Saturday, 25 Shawwal, 841/21 April 1438, by his son Qubād, who was enamoured of one of his father's handmaidens (*quma*). His body was carried to the castle of Akhī Sa'd al-dīn, lying on the Valiyān-kūh of Tabriz. In retaliation Jihānshāh put his nephew (Qubād) to death, and in the whole of Azarbayjan no one opposed him. In 844/1440–1 he led an army into Georgia and conquered it. In 851/1447 he occupied Iraq. In 857/1453 he carried out a general massacre in

<sup>1</sup> Note : in his tent.

<sup>2</sup> Note : no one took the trouble to put him in a shroud and to perform the rites (*tajhīz*).

<sup>3</sup> Note : finally some of his grooms (*akhtāchī*) carried his body to Arjish and buried it in the ancestral sepulchre. [G. Barbaro, Hakluyt series, p. 85, says that in Herzil (Arjish) stood the mausoleum of Giansa (Jihān-shāh's) mother.]

Isfahan.<sup>1</sup> In 859/1455 he wrested Baghdad from his nephew, son of Iṣfahān-beg. In 861/1457 he left for Khorasan and marched down to Herat.<sup>2</sup> ‘Alā al-daula b. Bāysunqur b. Shāhrukh sought his protection and was received with great honour. Then Sultān Abū Sa‘īd Gurgan (\**kürākān*) arrived from Transoxiana to fight him, and from Azarbayjan came the news of the revolt of his son Ḥasan-‘Alī. Jihānshāh was obliged to make peace with Abū-Sa‘īd and to return home. Ḥasan-‘Alī fled and took shelter in the castle of Mākū. The father pardoned him and brought him to his (court). He had (however) intentions against his (Ḥasan-‘Alī’s) life, but his spouse the Begum prevented him (from carrying them out); so finally Jihānshāh expelled Ḥasan-‘Alī from his dominions (*qalam-rāu*). As his other son Pīr-Budāq revolted in Shiraz,<sup>3</sup> he disowned him and sent him to Baghdad. The numerical value of the letters of the following hemistich points to the date of this event :—

*Haqīqī kām-i dīl yābad za-Shīrāz* (865/1460–1)

Having gone there he persisted in his disobedience (*‘uqūq*) to his father and in 869/1464 Jihānshāh went to besiege him and after a year won a victory on Saturday morning, 2 Dhul-qa‘da, 870/2 June 1466. Pīr Budāq was slain by (his ?) brother Muḥammadī.

[In the margin. In 871/1466–7 Jihānshāh returned to Tabriz and his grandeur reached a degree one hundredth part (*‘ushr-i ‘asharāt*) of which had never been dreamt of by his fathers. The regions of both Iraqs (Arabian and Persian); Fars, Kerman down to the shores of the sea of ‘Oman, and Azarbayjan down to the frontiers of Rūm and Syria were under his signet-ring, but then his power declined.]

In 872/1467–8 he led an army against Ḥasan-beg (Aq-qoyunlu) to Diyārbakr. In view of the approaching winter he returned from the Mūsh plain and, as was his wont, sat up late into the night and slept in the day-time, so that the sultan of Rūm nicknamed him ‘the Bat’. When he was asleep at his camp the main part (*khulāṣa*) of the army with the impedimenta (*ordu*) moved on to another camp. Ḥasan-beg seized the opportunity and with 6,000 swift (*bidau* [?]) horsemen fell upon him, and on 12 Rabī‘ II, 872/10 November, 1467, Jihānshāh, being on flight, lost his life at the hands of an unknown (soldier). His sons Mahdī (\*Muḥammadī) and Abū-Yūsuf were captured (*yasīr* [*sic*]); Muḥammadī was killed and the other blinded.

[f. 199b] Verse :—

On the 12 of Rabī‘ ii

Such a sign happened in the years *biḍ’*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Note : and captured Fars and Kerman.

<sup>2</sup> Note : and for six months ruled there independently.

<sup>3</sup> Note : in 863 [which is contradicted by the chronogram which follows].

<sup>4</sup> The reference is to *biḍ’ sinīn* ‘some years’ in the *Qorān*, xxx, 3 (*sūrat al-rūm*). The numeric value of *biḍ’* is exactly 872. This mystic hint at the year, in which Uzun Ḥasan defeated two mighty enemies, struck the imagination of the contemporaries, see Minorsky, *BSOS.*, 1939, x/1, 148.



Jihānshāh was born in 880 (?)<sup>1</sup> in the Madrasa of Mardīn.

ḤASAN-‘ALĪ b. Jihān-shāh. When his father expelled Ḥasan-‘Alī from his dominions he joined Ḥasan-beg (Aq-qoyunlu) in Diyār-bakr and was treated with consideration. He several times intended to return to his father’s camp but, on the way, became suspicious and returned to Ḥasan-beg and again was received with kindness. Finally his vice and heresy (*fisq-va-ilhād*) became manifest and Ḥasan-beg refused him his hospitality (*‘udhrash khwāsta*). His brother Pīr-Budāq, who in heretical dispositions (*mashrab-i ilhād*) was of a like mind (*ittiḥād*) with him, took him to his (dominions). At the time of Pīr-Budāq’s end (*vāqī‘a*) Ḥasan-‘Alī fell into his father’s [f. 190a] hands and was again imprisoned in the Mākū castle. On his father’s death he regained freedom and came to Tabriz.<sup>2</sup> Before that, the daughters of Iskandar, Ārāyish-begum and Shāh-sarāy (or *Shāh-sazāy*) revolted (*khurūj*) in Tabriz and proclaimed as sultan their brother Ḥusayn-‘Alī, who arrived in the garb of a darvish (beggar). Begum, the wife of Jihānshāh (who built the Muẓaffariya building), was at that time at the winter quarters of Khoy and, on hearing of the events, left for the \*Rūyīn-diz of Marāgha.<sup>3</sup> In order to quell the fire of Iskandar’s daughters, she sent her brother Qāsim-beg with a daughter (whose daughter?—V. M.) to Tabriz. (Ḥusayn-‘Alī?) was captured and his son killed.<sup>4</sup> When the news of Ḥasan-‘Alī’s arrival in Tabriz spread, he got hold of the stores (kept in the) castles and distributed the treasury among the crowd of rascals and Kurds<sup>5</sup> whom he considered his suite (? *jaulī*),<sup>6</sup> and gave salaries to 180 (\*180,000) horsemen.<sup>7</sup> His brother Abul-Qāsim revolted in Kerman and intended to seize Isfahan but did not succeed. Of necessity, he sought the protection of his brother but, on his order, was put to death. Ḥasan-‘Alī let perish by strangulation his father’s much respected wife, the Begum, who was the queen of the chaste and beneficent ladies and the cause of his own life. He also put to the sword her (?) brothers Qāsim and Ḥamza.

Briefly,<sup>8</sup> under the sinister impression of the innocent blood spilt by him

<sup>1</sup> Note: ‘It is reported that Jihānshāh was an unreliable and ill-natured man. Under the slightest pretext he executed (his) amirs. He held the Divine Law in contempt and lived in profligacy and heresy (*fisq-va-fujūr*). They transported his body to Tabriz and buried it in the Muẓaffariya. His age was 70 years and he had ruled 33 years.’ Consequently Jihānshāh was born in \*802 or, with an easier restoration, in \*800, for the commentator has probably indicated Jihānshāh’s great age only approximately. Cambridge, E. G. Browne MS., G. 10 (13): ‘he was born in about 808/1405’ (?).

<sup>2</sup> Note: ‘As for 25 years he had been imprisoned in a fortress, and his mind had become disturbed, he had no political skill; he (got hold) of his father’s castles, treasures, and property . . .’

<sup>3</sup> Both MSS. have جوشین (*Jūshīn*), but I have no doubt that it is a mis-spelling of رویین *rooyīn* as the famous castle at three farsakhs from Marāgha was called, see Minorsky, *Marāgha* in *EI*.

<sup>4</sup> The text is out of order. I tentatively translate the more complete text of the Cambridge MS.

<sup>5</sup> *Ardhāl-va-‘akrād*.

<sup>6</sup> The term is unknown. It may be connected with *jaul* ‘going round’; *jaulī-yi khud* ‘those who go about in the suite’?

<sup>7</sup> Note: ‘and humiliated his father’s amirs’.

<sup>8</sup> Note: when the news that Ḥasan-beg was coming reached Tabriz, Ḥasan-‘Alī intended to fight him and from Tabriz marched to Marand.

and of his other turpitude, the army of such greatness which in Khoy (*note* : or Marand) was arrayed against Ḥasan-beg, became utterly perturbed and entrenched itself. On the edge of the last ditch the army met the servants (*qulluqchiyân*) of Ḥasan-beg (Aq-qoyunlu) who destroyed them with stones flung from their slings.<sup>1</sup> Ḥasan-‘Alî fled to the Qaramanlu community in Barda‘<sup>2</sup> and thence moved to Ardabil. When (the Timurid) Sultân Abū-Sa‘îd<sup>3</sup> reached Miyāna, Ḥasan-‘Alî came to him in the suite of Shaykh Ja‘far Safavî.<sup>4</sup> On the day of the Sultân’s death, he fled to Hamadân and there created trouble.<sup>5</sup> [f. 190b] Ḥasan-beg sent his son Oghurlu Muḥammad against him in all haste (*ba-îlhār*). In Shawwāl, 873/April, 1469, he was captured before Hamadân and put to death,<sup>6</sup> and with him the dynasty (of the Qara-qoyunlu) came to an end.<sup>7</sup>

[Addition to p. 285] 5. Metre : *ranial* (in Turkish), f. 53b.

Since Thy beauty has made a claim, both outwardly and innerly,  
The light of Thy face is reflected in Thy beauty.  
Not every sightless one comes with prostrations of faith  
To the *mihrāb* of Thy brow which displays before him its Arch of Crosroes.

The first *sūra* is written on the down of your cheeks,  
Therefore in every thing Thy visage displays a meaning.  
O possessor of the breath of Messiah, the respiration of Thy mouth  
Displays to a lover the Holy Ghost’s blow and the speech of Jesus.  
Should someone be not stupefied by the looks of that Beloved,  
The people of sincerity will denounce that heretic as potentially blind.

O recluse, come, bow down before the face of the Merciful One,  
And he will show to you, like to (?) some righteous one (the worth of ?) the true  
prostration.  
He who, like Ḥaḳīqī, has won a battle in the field of Love,  
(Even) on the gibbet of Love will support his claim.

<sup>1</sup> *Bar gird-i khud khandaq zada* (?). The Cambridge MS. : *bar karda-yi khud khanda zada* ‘laughed at their own achievements’. The first variant is better. The fact was that the army did not fight and was dealt with by Ḥasan-beg’s camp-followers, armed with slings. On the term *qulluqchi* see Minorsky, *BSOS.*, 1939, x/1, pp. 155, 167.

<sup>2</sup> See *Matla‘ al-sa‘dayn*, ed. M. Shafī‘, i, 439.

<sup>3</sup> Moving on his ill-starred expedition against Uzun-Ḥasan.

<sup>4</sup> The uncle of Shah-Ismā‘îl’s grandfather Shaykh Junayd. See above p. 275.

<sup>5</sup> *Note* : again a great number of his clansmen and followers (*ulūs-va-aḥshām*) gathered round him.

<sup>6</sup> *Note* : ‘In the *Lubb* (*al-tawārikh*) it is reported that it was Oghurlu Muḥammad, son of Ḥasan-beg, who took him prisoner and slew him.’

<sup>7</sup> But the descendants of Iskandar founded a new kingdom in the Deccan, see above p. 276.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

A Mongol Decree of 720/1320 to the Family of Shaykh Zāhid

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (1954), pp. 515-527

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608620>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:34

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# A MONGOL DECREE OF 720/1320 TO THE FAMILY OF SHAYKH ZĀHID

By V. MINORSKY

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| §1. Introduction                   | §4. <i>Dramatis personae</i> in Abū-Saʿīd's decree |
| §2. The Zāhidi and Ṣafavī families | §5. Geography                                      |
| §3. The split in the Zāhidi family | §6. The isphahbads of Gilān                        |

TO BORIS MILLER

## § 1. INTRODUCTION : BACKGROUND AND SOURCES

THROUGH the kindness of Professor F. W. Cleaves I am in possession of an offprint of his important article 'The Mongolian documents in the Musée de Téhéran'.<sup>1</sup>

The first two documents are only insignificant fragments, but Document III, which consists of eight pieces and two endorsements, is nearly complete and full of personal and geographical names. It is a decree issued in the name of the last ilkhan of Persia, Abū-Saʿīd (716–36/1316–35), and bearing the date 720/1320 (according to Pelliot : September 1320).

Here is Professor Cleaves's summary of its contents :

'It had been reported by the *šiy* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmur that, although, by virtue of an edict, he had, in the place of his father the *šiy* Čamadin, sat on the *sujada* of the *šiy* *šaqid* Ibrayim and had been appointed over the *qayas-a-yin wayb-ud*,<sup>2</sup> his elder brother, Šamsadin Maqmad, not letting him approach, took his edicts and writs and let the foundation go to wrack and ruin. Judging this to be an illegal act, Busayid Bayatur Qan decreed that Šamsadin Maqmad should restore whatever edicts and writs he had taken and whatever he had misappropriated from the terms of the foundation. He further decreed that the *šiy* Badaradin Abul Maqmad Maqmur should, as formerly, sit on the *sujada*.'

We learn that Professor Cleaves's work on the document lasted six years (p. 3), and that he was able to examine the original on the spot.<sup>3</sup> His decipherment leaves far behind the very brief remarks which Pelliot added to the photographs of the Tehran documents which he published in 1936.<sup>4</sup> Despite this progress, the decipherment still leaves certain points undecided. More precision is to be expected from a repeated examination of the original, and, still more, from a careful study of the Muslim background, which lay beyond Professor Cleaves's immediate task.

The contents of the document are twofold : in the first place it sets forth

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 16 (June, 1953), Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 1–107.

<sup>2</sup> As suggested by Professor Henning : وقف خاصه. The Mongol *-aya-* indicates only the length of *ā*. The practical meaning of the term *khāssa* in this case remains to be discussed. Were the estates assigned to the shaykhs from the ilkhan's own treasury ?

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 4–5, 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Āthār-e Irān*, I/1, 1936, pp. 37–44.

the decision of Abū-Saʿīd khan in a contest of two descendants of a shaykh concerning their rights of succession, and secondly it confirms the immunity from taxes and levies secured to the estates in question. The first part has some definite interest for the history of Persia and finds its explanation in the available sources. The second part has very numerous parallels in the documents already known and explored.

A. For the historical background two hagiographical works are of special importance :

(a) *Ṣafvat al-ṣafāʾ*, an account of the life and miracles of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Iṣḥāq, founder of the Ṣafavī order (d. 724/1334). This *vita* was written towards 750/1349 by Tavakkulī b. Ismāʿīl, known as Ibn-Bazzāz (cf. Minorsky in *E.I.*), and based on the recollections of Ṣafī al-dīn's son and other contemporaries.<sup>1</sup> The book was printed in Bombay in 1329/1911. cf. Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, i, 345. A summary of its contents was submitted to the 23rd Congress of Orientalists, in August 1954, by Mr. B. Nikitine.

(b) *Silsilat al-nasab-i Ṣafavīya* written by Shaykh Ḥusayn Zāhidī for Shāh Sulaymān (1077–1103/1667–94); published in Berlin in 1343/1924; for contents see E. G. Browne, *JRAS*, July 1921, pp. 395–418. Shaykh Ḥusayn, a descendant of Ṣhaykh Zāhid, the *murshid* of Shaykh Ṣafī, makes ample use of the *Ṣafvat* but underlines the rôle of his own family and brings the account down to his own time.

B. The second part of the document forms a parallel to the grants which, in somewhat later times, became known under the term (of Mongol origin) : *soyūrghāl*.<sup>2</sup> This term is absent from our document and this confirms Belenitsky's conclusions that it first appeared only in the second half of the 14th century, though the practice certainly goes back to a much older period, at least to Seljuk times. The interdiction to the government officials to 'enter' the estates of the beneficiary bears a striking resemblance to similar formulas used during the Middle Ages in Western Europe and in Russia.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Faḍlī Isfahānī, author of the *Afḍal al-tavārikh*, written *circa* 1026/1617, see Eton College Library M179 (on the binding : 278, vol. 1), fol. 2a, declares that among his other sources he used the *Maqāmāt va-maqālāt*, otherwise called *Siyar-i ṣūfiya* and included (?) in the volume (*saḥīfa*) known as *Qara-majmūʿa*—which Ṣafī al-dīn himself completed up to the year of his death (735/1334). See Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 1943, p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> The questions concerning this important institution have been discussed several times : I. P. Petrushevsky 'On immunity in Azarbayjan in the 17th to 18th centuries' (in Russian), *Истор. Сборник Акад. наук С.С.С.Р.*, IV, 1935, p. 58; Minorsky, 'A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim Aqqoyunlu', *BSOS*, IX/4, 1939, pp. 927–60; A. Belenitsky, 'On the formation of the institution called *soyūrghāl*' (in Russian), *Историк-Марксист*, 1941, No. 4, pp. 43–58 : the earliest mention of *soyūrghāl* found under 779/1377–8, see Nizām al-dīn Shāmi, ed. Tauer, 77; Sharaf al-dīn Yazdī, I, 289 (I am thankful to the Library of the University of Glasgow for the communication of this article); Petrushevsky, 'Sketches of the feudal relations in Azarbayjan and Armenia in the 16th–19th centuries' (in Russian), Leningrad 1949, see ch. IV 'soyūrghāl and *muʿāfi*', pp. 145–83; A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant in Persia*, 1953, *passim*, see Index.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin formula *absque introitu judicum*. 'Toute l'immunité est comprise dans ces trois mots,' remarks Fustel de Coulange, *Les origines du système féodal*, 1890, p. 368. Pavlov-Silvansky, 'Feudalism in ancient Russia' (in Russian), 2nd ed. 1923, p. 32 : 'а волостели мои в околицу его не въѣзжают'.

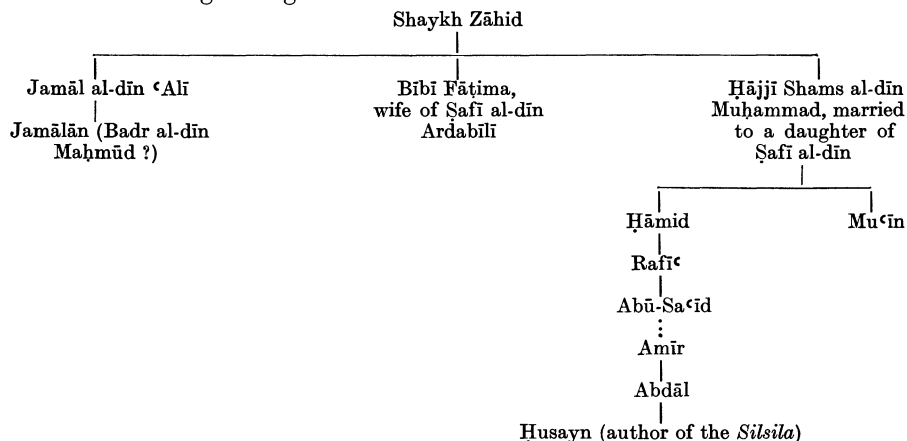
It is only by studying the lists of exemptions conferred on the holders of the *soyūrhāls* and similar fiefs that one will be able to establish the exact meaning of the Mongol text. For example, it seems very likely that the words *aban choban*, which Prof. Cleaves (p. 32) takes for personal names, refer to some restraints on the activity of shepherds tending their flocks in the neighbourhood of the estates. Consequently, the translation 'let them, subjugating Aban Cuban, not take anything whatever,' will have to be revised accordingly.

In his commentary the translator has profited by several good suggestions made to him by Prof. W. B. Henning. The latter has established the forms of several terms used in Muslim administration,<sup>1</sup> made a good hit in defining the area to which the document refers (p. 98: 'the region of Tālīsh-Mūqān') and remarked (p. 66) the importance of the term *\*sajjāda*, 'prayer carpet', as pointing to some religious order to which the beneficiary of Abū-Saʿīd's decree must have belonged.

## § 2. THE ZĀHIDĪ AND ṢĀFAVĪ FAMILIES

It is in this latter direction that my personal contribution will chiefly go. No sooner had I taken a look at the names than it occurred to me that the grantees must be members of the family of the well-known shaykh Tāj al-dīn Ibrāhīm Zāhid (615–700/1218–1301), the spiritual guide of the still more famous founder of the Ṣāfāvī order, Shaykh Ṣāfi al-dīn Ishāq (650–735/1252–1334).

Here is their genealogical tree :



The families of Shaykh Zāhid and Shaykh Ṣāfi were separate. The pedigree of the former is fantastic. According to the *Ṣafvat*, p. 51, Shaykh Tāj al-dīn

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to make further suggestions without knowing the possibilities which the Mongol palaeography offers. *Qarja/xarja* (pp. 26, 30) is probably *kharj* 'sustenance', cf. *Ālam-ārā*, 194: the money previously received as *pishkash* was given to the commanders sent to Gilan by way of 'subsidy to (their) sustenance' (مدد خرج). *Keyenūwes* (p. 28), despite the expected plural, may be *\*kād-nuvēs*, some official in charge of the census (*kād-khudā* suggested on p. 63 sounds different at the end).



Ibrāhīm was the son of Raushan-Amīr, son of Bābil, son (?) of Shaykh Bundār al-Kurdī al-Sanjānī (or *al-Sinjānī*). Elsewhere, p. 12, the same source affirms that the Sanjānī Kurds, led by a king issued from Ibrāhīm Adham,<sup>1</sup> conquered Azarbayjan at the time when the population of Mūqān, Arān, Alivān, and Dār-i Būm<sup>2</sup> consisted entirely of unbelievers, whom the conquerors converted to Islam. Nothing is known of the proselytizing activities of the Kurds at an early date.<sup>3</sup> To complete the fairy-tale character of the story, the *Ṣafvat* adds that a king of the *jinn* gave a *jinn* girl to Shaykh Bundār and she bore him a son, Bābil.<sup>4</sup> Shaykh Zāhid was born at Siyāv-rūd and his mother was from the village of Bahrālāla (?) in the highlands of Gilan. His teacher was Shaykh Jamāl al-dīn, specially sent to Gilan for this purpose by Shaykh Shihāb al-dīn of Ahar.<sup>5</sup>

Shaykh Ṣafī claimed the origin of his ancestors from ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, but there is some uncertainty about it (cf. *Ṣafvat*, 11, 21). His ancestor in the seventh generation, called Fīrūz-shāh, is said to have been a rich man. He first lived in Gilan, on the outskirts of the forests, at a place called Rangīn, and then the Kurdish kings (already mentioned) gave him Ardabil and its dependencies. Ṣafī al-dīn’s brothers were rich merchants trading in Fars and Hurmuz, see *Ṣafvat*, 12, 18.

Shaykh Zāhid married twice: of his first marriage he had a son Jamāl al-dīn<sup>6</sup> ‘Alī; then at the age of seventy he married the young daughter of an Akhī-Sulaymān, who bore him first a daughter, Bibī-Fāṭima, and then a son, Shams al-dīn Muḥammad. Shaykh Ṣafī married Bibī-Fāṭima and thus became affiliated to the family of his murshid, whose successor he became.

### § 3. THE SPLIT IN THE ZĀHIDĪ FAMILY

Even the hagiographical sources cannot conceal the split which ensued in Zāhid’s family. The *Silsila*, 100, says that in the days of his father Jamāl al-dīn

<sup>1</sup> On the semi-legendary life of this ascetic, who was born in Balkh, lived in Syria and died some time between 160 and 166/776–81, see R. A. Nicholson in *E.I.*

<sup>2</sup> From *Ṣafvat*, 73, one may understand that Alivān was Barzand (half-way between Ardabil and the Araxes). Otherwise Alivān is only known in the ancient Armenian Geography as a canton of P’aytakaran, see *BSOAS*, xv/3, 1953, p. 513. *Dār-i būm*, which occurs in a *qaṣīda* of Qatrān (see below p. 524), may be another name of *Dār-i marzīn*, which is mentioned in the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 82, as one of the dependencies of Ardabil. The confusion of *būm* and *marz* may be due to the common hendiadys *marz-u būm*. Generally speaking *Dār-i marz* is Gilan, and *Dār-i marzīn* must have lain in its neighbourhood.

<sup>3</sup> The story of the Sanjān may be some remote echo of the Rawādī Kurds who ruled in Tabriz (circa 373–463/956–1070), see Minorsky, ‘Studies in Caucasian History’, 128, 167–9. On their expedition to Ardabil see below, p. 524. The *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 76 (tr. 79), mentions in Tabriz a gate and a quarter called Sanjān.

<sup>4</sup> Might not the story be connected with the well-known saying *al-akrād ṭā’ifatun min al-ajinna*, ‘the Kurds are a tribe of *jinn*s’?

<sup>5</sup> Shihāb al-dīn’s mausoleum in Ahar is an imposing building. In 1905 I was told in Ahar that its (?) date was 731/1330. He himself must have died considerably earlier. The author of the *Tārīkh-i Shaykh Uways* (circa A.D. 1360), ed. J. B. van Loon, The Hague 1954, p. 2, called Abū Bakr (a Sunni!) al-Quṭbī al-Ahrī, must have belonged to Shihāb’s family.

<sup>6</sup> Who may have received his *laqab* in honour of his father’s murshid Jamāl al-dīn, see above.

reached a mature age (*shaykhkhūka*) and had a white beard, so that 'some short-sighted people assumed that Shaykh Zāhid should appoint him as his successor; they were ignorant of the fact that in these matters blood relationship (*pidar-farzandī*) has no importance.' The division came to a head when Zāhid felt the approach of death. At that time the shaykh was in the north, at Sūr-m.rda, situated at one day's distance beyond Old Maḥmūd-ābād<sup>1</sup> and at eight days from Ardabil, *Ṣafvat*, 73. [*Sūr-māhī*, a kind of fish in the Kur.]

The people of Gushtāsfī<sup>2</sup> wanted his resting-place to be in their territory; Jamāl al-dīn 'Alī wanted him to be buried 'in Chomaq-ābād in Mūqān and Dashtāvand, for the reason that (this place) had many possibilities for settlements (*'imārat*) and agriculture'. The Shaykh himself was supposed to prefer his native Siyāv-rūd. To this end he sent a messenger to Kalkhorān (immediately north of Ardabil) where Ṣafī al-dīn was at that time, and the rider covered the distance of eight days in one day, and on the following day brought Ṣafī al-dīn with him. Many people were watching the roads in arms, apparently unwilling to see Zāhid leave them, but Ṣafī al-dīn, 'without anybody's knowledge,' seated the Shaykh in a boat and took him to Lankoran, and thence in a litter (*miḥaffa*) carried him to Siyāv-rūd. Apart from Ṣafī al-dīn there was no one in the room in which Zāhid died and he gathered his master's last instructions (*Ṣafvat*, 74). Thus, according to the Ṣafavid sources, he became the successor of his murshid, whereas the eldest son of the Shaykh went to live near his father's mausoleum, 'where his children remain to this day' (*Silsila*, 101).

Of Jamāl al-dīn's children none is mentioned in the hagiographical sources, except in a story of Shaykh Zāhid's grandson called *Jamālān* ('Jamālīd'), whom Ṣafī al-dīn once seated above Dimishq-khwāja when he came to see him in the latter's house (tent) in Qarabagh, *Silsila*, p. 96. This Jamālīd is said to have been travelling to the royal camp in order to 'promote an affair' (*tam-shīyat-i muḥimmī*). He may have been the Badr al-dīn mentioned in Abu-Ṣa'īd's decree.

#### § 4. *DRAMATIS PERSONAE* IN ABŪ-SA'ĪD'S DECREE

There is no doubt that our Mongol document, dated 720/1320, refers to the change of leadership on the *sajjāda* of Shaykh Zāhid, rightly referred to by his real name *\*Ibrāhīm*.<sup>3</sup> 'Čamaldin' is Shaykh Zāhid's eldest son Jamāl al-dīn. The Mongols, more respectful of the rights of bodily parentage,<sup>4</sup> than of the

<sup>1</sup> This Maḥmūd-ābād was later submerged by water. Consequently it is different from the present-day Maḥmūd-ābād (*M.-āvár*) lying some 20 km. N.W. of Lankoran.

<sup>2</sup> *The Nuzhat al-qulūb*, p. 92 (tr. 94), mentions Gushtāsfī as a *district* of Arrān, near the estuaries of the Araxes and the Kur, *ibid.*, pp. 212, 218. This definitely points to the neighbourhood of the present-day Sāliyān. See Khanykoff in *JA*, 1862, xx, 62, on the ruins called 'Gershasip' (*\*Gushtasip*) 7 km. north of Sāliyān. On a mound called 'Koursengua' Khanykoff found a tomb-stone dated 732/1331; cf. also P. Semenov, *Slovar Rossiyskoy Imperii*, 1873, iv, 379.

<sup>3</sup> It is strange that in the Mongol decree Zāhid is called *ṣaḥīd*, i.e. *\*shahīd* 'a martyr'. This term may stand here in the general meaning of 'the late'.

<sup>4</sup> cf. the story of an Armenian princess in Minorsky, 'Studies', 156.



claims of mystical affinity, restored the rights of Jamāl al-dīn's son \*Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd,<sup>1</sup> whose elderly father must have died in the interval.

Who was then Shams al-dīn Maqmad (i.e. *Muḥammad*, in popular pronunciation *Mahmad*)? In the document (p. 29) Badr al-dīn calls him *aqā minū* 'my elder brother'. This looks wrong for we know that *Shams al-dīn Muḥammad* was the name of Shaykh Zāhid's younger son borne to him by his young wife, after she had given birth to Bibi-Fāṭima, the future spouse of Ṣafī al-dīn. Our document does not distinctly say that Shams al-dīn intended to occupy the *sajjāda*, but only that he detained the documents of the waqfs and that he usurped the fruits of the estates. It is highly improbable that in the same family the nephew could have borne the exact name and *laqab* of his uncle, especially as the latter was hardly on good terms with his eldest brother. All things considered, I believe that: (1) Shams al-dīn was the *uncle* of Badr al-dīn and (2) that his action may have been concerted with his brother-in-law, Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the misunderstanding could be attributed to the mistake of the scribe who wrote *aqā*, instead of *abaqā*, 'a paternal uncle'.

Our document seems to underline and complete the picture of the struggles for Shaykh Zāhid's *sajjāda*. It shows that the rise of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn, the ancestor of the famous dynasty of Persia, was a complicated affair and provoked the opposition and intervention of the Mongol rulers.

#### § 5. GEOGRAPHY

The geography of Abū-Sa'īd's decree presents considerable difficulties and it must be studied in conjunction with the hagiographical sources containing a prodigious mass of details but still very insufficiently explored.<sup>3</sup>

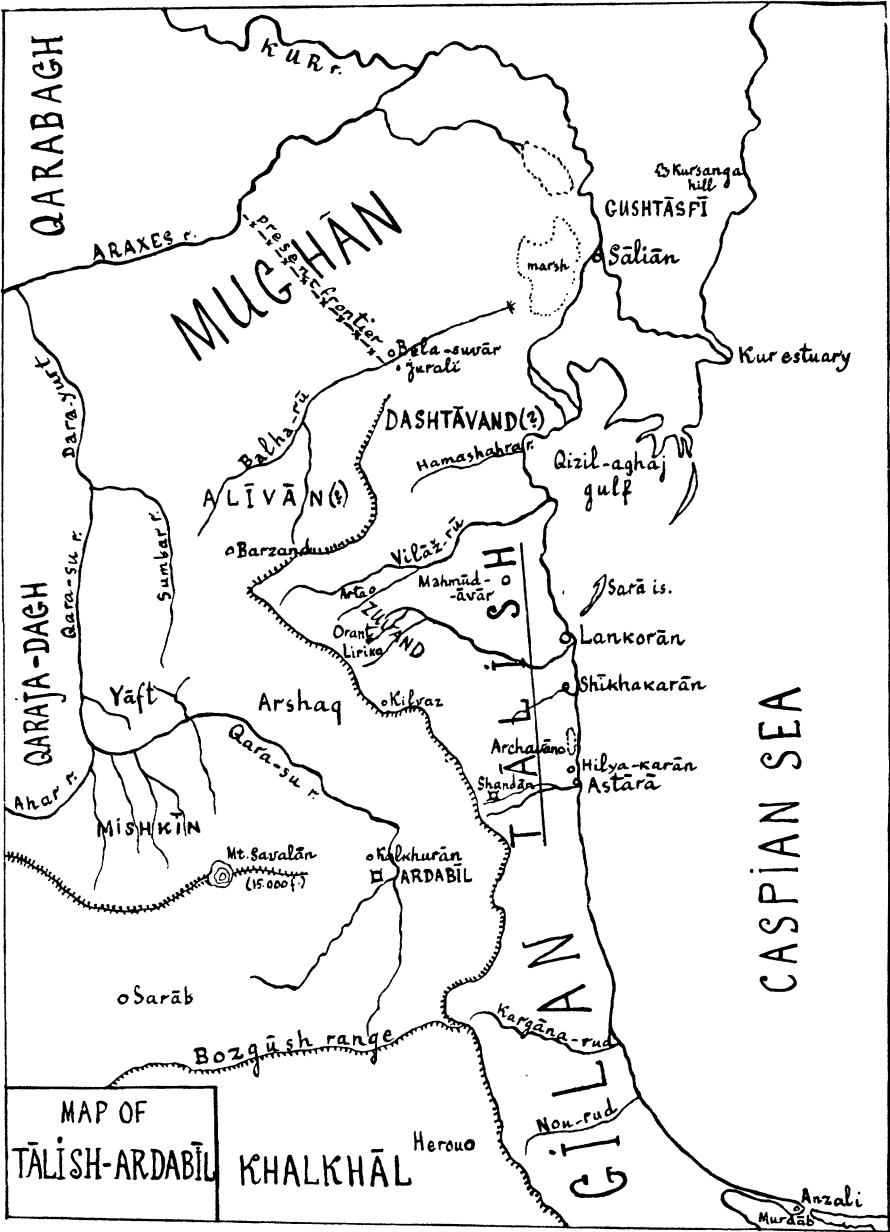
*Hilya-karān and Siyāv-rūd*. It is reported in the biographies of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn Ishāq that, in search of a religious guide (*murshid*, Indian *guru*), he went to Fars, and there it was suggested to him that the most appropriate man of saintly life was Shaykh Zāhid living in the 'Gilan of Sipahbad', in a house facing the sunrise and standing on the very shore of the Caspian sea, see *Safvat*, 22, *Silsila*, p. 20. For four years Ṣafī al-dīn tried to locate this residence, until one of his friends found Shaykh Zāhid in the village Hilya-Karān (*Silsila*, 20: \*Hilya-garān 'makers of embellishments') in the district Khān-B.ī, in Gilan. In an article published in 1930<sup>4</sup> B. V. Miller has suggested the identification

<sup>1</sup> His *kunya* 'Abul-Maqmad' is a puzzle. It cannot be 'Abul-Muhammad' for the name *Muhammad* takes no article. The mistake may be of the ignorant Mongol scribe who disfigured many Arabic terms, but as on pp. 29 and 30 the same *kunya* is spelt *Abul-Mqd*, it is likely that some different name was originally meant (Abul-Mu'īn?).

<sup>2</sup> Despite the respect he (previously?) showed to the Jamālīd (see above, p. 519). The story of the *Silsila*, 98, about the visit of Abū-Sa'īd to Ardabil (?) suggests that Shaykh Ṣafī was on rather cool terms with the *ilkhān*. He did not hurry to meet the latter and only sent him some roasted meat by his servant.

<sup>3</sup> What precious material the *Safvat* contains is shown by the mention of a Georgian raid on Ardabil (after 600/1203), which is confirmed by the Georgian sources, see Khanykoff, 'Le sac d'Ardabil vers l'année 1209', in *Mélanges Asiatiques*, I, 580-3.

<sup>4</sup> Ученые записки Инст. народов С.С.С.Р., I, 199-228 (now reprinted in an abridged form in B. V. Miller, *Талышский язык*, 1953, 254-62).



of Hilya-karān with the village called on the Russian map Gilakeran (Гилякеран with the usual substitution of Russian *r* for the foreign *h*) and lying some 30 km. to the south of Lenkoran and some 5 km. to the north of Astārā. The *Ṣafvat*, p. 23, and the *Silsila*, p. 22, mention also another residence of Shaykh Zāhid, Siyāv-rūd, where he was born and buried.<sup>1</sup> In fact his mausoleum is shown in the village Shikhakaon (\*Shikh-karān) lying some 8 km. to the south of Lankoran and some 5 km. from the Caspian. This location is also supported by the story (ibid., 89) of how Zāhid was evacuated from Sūr-m.rda (see above, p. 519). But despite the assurances of the sources, *Ṣafvat*, 23, *Silsila*, 74, that this was the place hinted at by Ṣafi al-dīn's interlocutor in Fars, the position of Hilya-karān on the coast seems to be truer to the description. Some confusion in the sources is not excluded.

*Khān-B.lī*. The *Ṣafvat*, p. 23 (followed by the *Silsila*, 93–9), affirms that this region (between Lankoran and Astārā) belonged to the district called Khān-B.lī. This ancient name<sup>2</sup> is also attested in the *Hudūd al-Ālam* (written in 372/982), as that of one of the parts of Gilan (in the broad sense of the term, *Hudūd*, § 32, 25). In my commentary, ibid., 391, I thought that it corresponded to Mūghakān mentioned in its place in Muqaddasī, pp. 372–3, and identified it with Bila-suvār,<sup>3</sup> on the Perso-Russian frontier in Mūghān. In the light of the *Ṣafvat* (though written four hundred years later), this location seems to be wrong. We might perhaps assume that Khān-B.lī was the name of the whole territory between Astārā (in the south) and Mūqān (in the north), but the existence of the intermediary territory Dashtāvand, mentioned both in Abū-Ṣaʿīd's decree and in the *Ṣafvat* stands in the way of such a surmise (see below, p. 523).

*Ūranqād*. Furthermore, the later *Silsila*, pp. 98–9, after the name Khān-B.lī adds twice: 'which has now become known as Ūranqād.' It is not clear to which period this 'now' belongs. The name sounds Mongol and reminds one of the Uryanqat tribe which figures in Rashīd al-dīn's list, ed. Berezin, *Trudi V.O.*, vii, 114, 186. The great general Sübedey-bahādur, who together with Jebe-noyon raided Persia, wintered in the Mūqān steppe and marched round the Caspian sea (A.D. 1220–3), was an Uryanqat. It is unlikely that a Mongol tribe could have settled on the hot and humid coast of Lankoran<sup>4</sup> and, should we have in view this particular region, we can think only of some chiefs who may have been connected with it.

<sup>1</sup> *Ṣafvat*, p. 74 (*Silsila*, 89): the dying Zāhid was carried to Siyāv-rūd 'to the place where now stands the blessed mausoleum of the shaykh'. cf. B. V. Miller, loc. cit., 1930, p. 21 (with references to I. N. Berezin and I. Azimbekov).

<sup>2</sup> 'The house of B.lī'. بلي was a Daylamite name; see, for example, the name of Marzubān's father-in-law, Miskawayh, ii, 133.

<sup>3</sup> Bela-suvār is now an important frontier settlement. According to the *Nuzhat*, 90 (tr. 92), 'it was built by a Būyid amir whose name was *Pīla-suvār*, i.e. "a great horseman"'. In fact *pīla* in Gilakī means 'great'. Several Daylamite amirs whose names are spelt in Arabic بلسوار \*Bila-suwār (?) are mentioned in Miskawayh, i, 402, ii, 12.

<sup>4</sup> A branch of the Uryanqat was called 'the woodsmen Uryanqat' and lived to the east of Lake Baykal. Even for them the conditions of the Lankoran jungle would have been unbearable.

On the other hand, Ūranqād is definitely associated with a more northerly region on the outskirts of the steppe of Mūqān, superbly suited to the nomad life. In the testimonial signed by the Ṣafavid Shaykh Ḥaydar (dated 888/1483) it is declared that ‘Jūra and Mājūra (of ? and ?) the community (*jamāʿat*) of Mājūra, and Ūranqād and the community of Ūranqād, from the days of old until now, have belonged to (the family of) Quṭb al-dīn Abū Saʿīd, son of Shaykh Rafīʿ al-dīn, son of Shaykh Ḥāmid, son of Shaykh Shams al-dīn Zāhidī (i.e. Shaykh Zāhid’s son) and on the day of partition fell to his lot,’ see *Silsila*, 103. In the decree of Shāh Tahmāsp (dated 966/1559), ‘the arable lands (*mazraʿa*) of Jūra, Mājūra and Ūranqād in the territory (*ulkā*) of Mūqanāt’ are again recognized as the perpetual *soyūrghāl* of the Zāhidī family, see *Silsila*, 105. In these documents the distinction is made between the areas and settlers, but Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād are mentioned as *one* group of territories and communities.

In a story relating to the time of Shaykh Ṣafī (*Silsila*, 94) it is further reported how the Shaykh once came ‘to the neighbourhood (*ḥavālī*) of Mūqān’, where he sensed ‘the odour of Shaykh Zāhid’ (*būy-i Shaykh Zāhid miyāyad*)<sup>1</sup> and said: ‘Perhaps it is Ḥājji Shams al-dīn’. His acolyte galloped to ‘the village Jūraq and Mājūraq [*sic*] belonging to Ḥājji Shams al-dīn’ and actually found him there.

In a still earlier story already quoted (v.s., p. 519) Jamāl al-dīn suggested for the burial place of his father ‘Chomaq-ābād in Mūqān and Dashtāvand’. It is possible that even جوماق, which we have derived from \**chomaq* ‘a cudgel’, is only a mutilation of جوراق \**Jūraq*. In any case these two stories do not pretend to enumerate all the possessions of the Zāhidī family but only refer to some definite places in the region of Mūqān. The references cannot be taken as a hint at Ūranqād being isolated from Jūra-Mājūra.<sup>2</sup>

*Dashtāvand*. The combination in the last story of Mūqān and Dashtāvand is interesting, for this is the only parallel to the passage in Abū-Saʿīd’s document, in which (p. 27) orders to protect the rights of Badr al-dīn are addressed to the Mongol authorities in ‘Gilan, Dashtavand, Gushtasbi, Aran and Muqan’. In this enumeration Dashtāvand stands between Gilan (in the broader sense) and Gushtāsfī (Sāliyān, see above, p. 519). As the name indicates (*dasht* ‘a plain’), Dashtāvand most probably designated the lowlands of Northern Tālish, between, say, the basin of the Vilāž and the river of Bila-suvār (Balhā-rūd, or Bājarvān, see *Nuzhat*, 91). The enumeration of the authorities suggests that the estates (*vaqfs* ‘religious endowments’) of the Zāhidī family were scattered over a large area. On the other hand one is tempted to admit that the unexpected use of the Mongol language in our document had something to do with the

<sup>1</sup> Meaning by that, of course, the presence of his spirit or emanation.

<sup>2</sup> The village Jurali, immediately south of Bila-suvār, must owe its name to the tribe Jūra.

region where there were purely Mongol elements and representatives, most probably on the outskirts of the Mūqān steppe.<sup>1</sup>

Judging by the names, the group of Jūra, Mājūra, and Ūranqād seems to be separate from the villages Kenleče (Ganlaja ?), Sidil (Šitil ?) and Aradi (Anadi, Nanadi ?) which were given to the Zāhidīs by Malik Aḥmad, whose identity we now propose to explain.

## § 6. THE ISPAHBADS OF GILAN

No detailed record seems to be extant of a principality which for a long time existed on the territory between Gilan and Mūqān (Mūghān) and whose rulers had the title of *ispahbad*, or *sipahbad*.

According to Ibn Khurdādhbih (who wrote not later than in 272/885), p. 119, Mūqān belonged to a certain Sh.kla. Towards 326/936, the *isfahbadh* of Mūqān, Ibn-Dalūla, sided with a rebel chief of Gilan, Lashkarī b. Mardī, and opposed the Kurdish ruler of Azarbayjan, Daysam ibn-Ibrāhīm (or *ibn-Shādhilūya*), see Miskawayh, *Eclipse*, I, 399–401. His headquarters seem to have been on the northern bank of the Araxes and we cannot say whether he was of the same family as the later sipahbads 'of Gilan', whose activities centred more to the south, in Tālīsh (the southernmost district of the Soviet republic of Azarbayjan).

The late A. Kasravi discovered in the *divān* of the poet Qaṭrān a curious ode on an expedition which the Rawādī ruler of Tabriz, Vahsūdān (*circa* 416/1025–59) sent to Ardabil, under the leadership of his son Mamlān. As a result, a fortress was built in Ardabil and the sipahbad of Mūqān had to submit to the conqueror.<sup>2</sup> The Rawādīs, though originally of Arab descent, were at that time characterized as Kurds,<sup>3</sup> and as already suggested (p. 518), the episode may have been the source of the later stories about the invasion of the *Sanjānī* Kurds led by descendants of Ibrāhīm Adham.

In later Seljuk times we hear of a Nuṣrat al-dīn Abul-Muzaffar Ispahbad Kiyā Livāshīr, to whom Khāqānī dedicated several poems,<sup>4</sup> in which he praised his liberality and mourned his untimely demise. In a threnody written after his death (p. 181) he says farewell to Shandān and Archavān, of which the former is an ancient fortress (north of the Astara river)<sup>5</sup> and the latter a village lying

<sup>1</sup> One can place on record a passage in *Ṣafvat*, 17, according to which, when the young Ṣafī went on pilgrimage to Mount Savalān, a *Turk* shouted to him 'in the Mongol [*sic*] language'. The *Nuzhat*, 83, mentions the winter-quarters of some Mongols in Darāvurd, on the lower course of the Ardabil river, near the Mūghān steppe.

<sup>2</sup> Kasravi, *Pādshāhān-i gum-nām*, II, 1308–1929, pp. 94–5. The poet says: '(Mamlān) had not yet started on the campaign (*ghazā*), when misfortune fell on the heads of the defeated, from S.mnān'. Kasravi restored *\*suniyān* 'people of Siunik' (in which case we have to understand that the north-western neighbours of Mūqān contributed to the defeat of the rebels to whom the 'amir of Mūqān' had given protection). See Minorsky, 'Studies', Index, under Siunik.

<sup>3</sup> See Minorsky, 'Studies in Caucasian history', p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> See *Divān*, ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Rasūlī, Tehran 1316/1937, pp. 140, 308 (*marthiya*), 574, 634, 781.

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned in Ḥamdullāh's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 81 (tr. 84) as having been one of the strongholds of Bābak. In the author's time its district paid a considerable sum of revenues (85,000 dinars) to Ardabil. [I have heard it suggested in Persia (1954) that the author's name should be read *\*Ḥumadallāh*.]

some 7–8 km. to the N.W. of Astārā. This may have been only a splinter of the ancient territory of the sipahbads, but the fact is that in it they survived even in the days of the Mongol ilkhans.

The *History of Uljāytū* (Bib. Nat., sup. persan 1419, fol. 39b), quoting the description of Gilan by one Aṣīl al-dīn Muḥammad Zauzanī (at the time of the arrival of Hulagu, *circa* 654/1256), also names Shandān as the capital of the sipahbads (*mustaqarr-i sarīr-i mamlakat-i sipahbad*).

According to the *Safvat*, 22, when Ṣafī al-dīn was inquiring in Fars about the whereabouts of Shaykh Zāhid, he was told that the latter lived in the part of Gilan belonging to the Ispahbad (*Gīlān-i Ispahbad*). It further tells (p. 38) how Shaykh Zāhid interceded in favour of Malik Aḥmad Isbahbad of Gilan, when Ghazan fell foul of him and arrested him, and (p. 45) how Malik Aḥmad entertained the shaykh.

According to Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, ed. Khān-Bābā Bayānī, Tehran 1317/1938, p. 12, at the time of Uljāytū's campaign in Gilan (706/1307), the Sipahbad's name was Rukn al-dīn Aḥmad (probably the same Malik Aḥmad) and he served as a guide to the troops of Amir Chohan. Consequently it becomes probable that the Malik Aḥmad mentioned in Abu-Ṣa'īd's decree (p. 32: *Melig Aqmad*) as having given the three villages (Kenleče, Sidil, and Aradi) to Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd was the same local ruler.<sup>1</sup>

W. B. Henning seeks the three villages granted to Badr al-dīn Maḥmūd in the basin of the Vilāž-rūd in the northern part of Tālīsh, and in fact the name Aradi sounds very much like the present-day Arat (in Mongol 'people').<sup>2</sup> Such a hypothesis would lead us to admit that the sipahbad's writ went so far north as the Vilāž-rūd, which, at present, forms the northern frontier of the Tālīshī-speaking population with their prevailing neighbours, the Azarbayjan Turks. The local toponymy suggests that the Iranian Tālīshī dialect originally spread considerably further north and, if the sipahbad was actually the ruler of the Tālīsh people, nothing stands in the way of his making assignments of lands on the Vilāž-rūd and the outskirts of the Mūqān steppe. But, generally speaking, the centre of the sipahbad's purview is to be sought much more in the south near Shandān and Archavān, i.e. exactly near the home of Shaykh Zāhid. In view of this consideration I should, also quite tentatively, compare *Aradi* with *Orand* (\*Ārand ?) on one of the headwaters of the river of Lankoran.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Qāsim al-anvār, who lived in 757–837/1356–1433 and was closely connected with the Safavid family, tells in one of his poems (Bib. Nat., suppl. persan 707, f. 208b) a story about the sipahbad of Gilan Jalāl al-dīn Ḥusayn who was issued from a sayyid family and whose throne (*takht*) was in Astārā.

بود در کیلان سید زاده      نیک مردی مقبل آزاده

مملکت را کرده پاک از سیر (؟) و شین      با لقب نامش جلال الدین حسین

<sup>2</sup> The tentative identification of the two other names by Henning Kenleče > Xalijali and Sidil > Issi seems far-fetched, and it is even possible that the three villages did not form one territorial group. [I see that the original Russian map gives ARTA].

<sup>3</sup> Orand belongs to the mountainous district Zuvand which seems to have known better days. In 1927 a treasure-trove consisting of 500 Byzantine coins was found at Veri in the same region.



We do not know whether the later governors of Astara still continued the line of the ispahbads. Tālīsh is several times mentioned in Safavid times as a centre of dissidence. Under 946/1539 the *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. Seddon, p. 293, mentions the revolt of Amīra Qubād, ruler of Astārā. The government troops moved to Arjavān, and, in a battle, 800 of Qubād's men were killed. His successor, Bayundur-khan Tālīsh, in 975/1567 took part in the government operations against the ruler of Gilan, Khān-Aḥmad, *ibid.*, 438. According to the 'Ālam-ārā, 196, during the final conquest of Gilan (in 988/1588) Bayundur-khān, with other rulers, waited on the government commander at Rasht, but 'internally they were discontented with the intervention of the Qizil-bash amirs in Gilan'. From this one might infer that, despite his Turkish name, Bayundur-khan belonged to the (ancient?) local family.

Even after the conquest of Northern Tālīsh by the Russians (1813) the family of the Tālīsh-khans<sup>1</sup> maintained some special rights but the degree of its connexion with the ancient sipahbads would require painstaking investigation.

The identification of the beneficiaries of Abū-Sa'īd's decree is important for seeing this document against a proper background, and in the meantime it throws an additional light on the struggle which accompanied the rise of Shaykh Ṣafī al-dīn. Geographically too, the comparative study of the local toponymy has elucidated some points previously obscure, or even unknown.<sup>2</sup>

#### ANNEX

##### *The form of the document*

The terminology of Document III which is called in Mongol *jarligh* (Turkish : *yarlıq*) is saturated with Islamic elements, but its style is direct and devoid of the usual Persian redundancy.

1. The initial formula *ūge manu* 'our word', which follows the name of Abū Sa'īd, corresponds to the Turkish *sözümüz* which was used even in Persian documents and survived in Persia down to Shah Tahmāsp.<sup>3</sup> It is possible (though Prof. Cleaves, p. 15, doubts it) that before this formula there stood the invocation to God, similar to that of Document I, in which—in a most unorthodox way—'the might of the Everlasting Heaven' is combined with reliance in the Prophet Muhammad and 'the Great Fortune Flame' (*sīc*).

2. The governors of certain marches, to whom the decree is addressed, are enumerated.

3. A brief statement of the submission made by the plaintiff is quoted (in his own words).

They were *all* struck at the time of Michael VII Ducas (1067–78) and Nicephore III (1078–81). As suggested by V. M. Sisoyev, Baku 1929, the coins may have been obtained by some local chief serving in Asia Minor. [Earlier, in 1910, another very rich treasure-trove was found in Belabur, west of Lankoran. It contained Byzantine gold coins of Alexis Comnenus (1081–1118), etc.]

<sup>1</sup> Affiliated, I suppose, to the noble families in Persian Tālīsh.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Minorsky, *Lankorān, Mūqān*, and the supplement on *Mūqān* in *E.I.*

<sup>3</sup> See Minorsky, *Soyūrghāl, BSOS*, IX/4, 943; Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 199.

4. Without reference to any investigation or any decision of a court, the sovereign asks rhetorically : ‘ if it be true, how of his own volition (the usurper) has thus acted illegally ? ’, and orders the plaintiff to be restored in his rights as successor to the *sajjāda* of Shaykh Ibrāhīm, in accordance with the conditions of the *vaqf* (*shart-i vaqf*).

5. There follows the enumeration of immunities and privileges of the *vaqf*.

6. Then the names are enumerated of certain persons called to protect the interests of the grantee, and of a special envoy sent to that effect. Those who would oppose the decree are threatened with punishment.

7. Finally comes the date (720/1320) and the place (Sultāniya) of the completion of the document.

8. The endorsement (*verso*) contains the names of four high dignitaries whose counter-signs or seals are, however, absent.<sup>1</sup> At the bottom of the page there is a very short summary of the contents of the decree certified by the signature of the scribe called Birus (\*Fīrūz ?).

Of the four dignitaries the first \*Ukečīn could not be identified and the second, as suggested by Prof. Cleaves, may be the amir Daulat-shah who died in 1330. The third name is that of Dimishq-khwāja (son of Amir Choban whose position in the early part of Abū-Sa‘īd’s reign was paramount). In 725–6 Dimishq is said to have assumed the duties of the vazir but in 727/24 August 1327 he was executed, and his death was followed by the extermination of the Choban family, see *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 708. Our document shows that even in 720/1320 Dimishq’s name stood alongside that of the vazir ‘Alī-shāh. If the ‘Jamālīd’ mentioned in the story of the *Silsila*, 96 (see above, p. 519) is identical with the beneficiary of our *jarligh*, Dimishq must have known him personally. The fourth signatory is the well-known vazir Tāj al-dīn (Abul-Ḥasan) ‘Alī-shāh (Tabrizī), who was the cause of the execution of his famous colleague Rashīd al-dīn in 718/1318, see *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 603. He himself died a natural death in 724/1324.<sup>2</sup>

20 October, 1954.

27, BATEMAN ST., CAMBRIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> In his article, ‘ A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols ’, *Harvard JAS*, Dec. 1951, 493–526, Prof. Cleaves has discussed the methods of validating official documents by the Mongols, but I have had some difficulty in following the intricacies of the system. Was our Document III unfinished, or was the scribe responsible for having acquainted the four dignitaries with the content ? The meaning of the term *ūjig* discussed by Prof. Cleaves in another article, *HJAS*, Dec. 1952, pp. 478–9, also seems to need some further elucidation.

<sup>2</sup> On his mosque in Tabriz see V. Tiesenhausen’s interesting quotation from al-‘Aynī’s *‘Iqd al-jumān*, see *Zapiski V.O.*, 1886, I, 115–8.



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Addenda to the Ḥudūd al-'Ālam

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (1955), pp. 250-270

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/610422>

Accessed: 22/03/2013 18:37

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# ADDENDA TO THE ḤUDŪD AL-‘ĀLAM

By V. MINORSKY

WHEN my translation of the *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* was published in 1937, it was found impossible to swell the book <sup>1</sup> by further remarks on the language of the Persian original, and I promised (p. xii) to deal with this problem at a later date.

On the other hand, the quarter of a century which has elapsed since I began my work on the *Ḥudūd* has brought a considerable number of new facts bearing on the interpretation of the data which I was trying to explain. In various ways my work has been continued, both in the articles which can be considered as a by-product of the *Ḥudūd*,<sup>2</sup> and in contributions on fresh but cognate texts.<sup>3</sup> The object of my present article is to bring the book up to date by integrating my own research and by completing it with references to the studies of other scholars.

## PART I

In my translation of the *Ḥudūd*, the actual Persian expressions (either in transcription, or in the original) have been profusely quoted throughout the text. This enables me in the following to refer only to the more typical cases. I wish to mention here the valuable work on the evolution of Persian style by the late poet-laureate Bahār (*Sabk-shināsī*, 3 vols. undated, from 1331/1942 on) ; as a specimen of the *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* he quotes only its Introduction (II, 17–18), but in his careful analysis of the peculiarities of older Persian (I, 300–436) he often gives examples from our text (I, 367, 368, 376, 378, 384, 387, 403, 425).

### I. SPELLINGS

A desire to distinguish between the *ma‘rūf* (ī, ū) and *majhūl* (ē, ō) sounds can be traced in the MS. *Kūhsaym* seems to indicate *-sēm* (instead of the usual *šim*), 24a. Some local *ē/ā* are indicated by the forms *Anbār* (\**Anbēr*), 21a, as against *Ist.*, 270, *Anbār*, and *shahr-salār* (\**salēr* for *salār* ?). *Īmadh* (for *Āmid*), 10b, is a strange combination of the Arabic *imāla* with the Persian *dh* after a vowel. The vocalization *Raudhān* corresponds to \**Rōdhān* and *Kaumīs* to \**Kōmīs*, 7a and 17a. One cannot attach importance to *Sauk-jū* for *Sūk-chou*, 14a, etc.

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, a Persian geography of 372/982, translated and explained by V. Minorsky, Gibb Memorial Series, N.S., XI, 1937, 20 + 554 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Such as ‘Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au X<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, April, 1937, pp. 305–312 ; ‘A Persian Geographer of A.D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia’, in *GJ*, September, 1937, pp. 259–264.

<sup>3</sup> Such as ‘Marvazi on China, the Turks, and India’, Arabic text (*circa* A.D. 1120) with an English translation and commentary. J. G. Forlong Fund, XXII, The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942, 170 + 53 pp. ; ‘Tamīm ibn Bahr’s journey to the Uyghurs’, *BSOAS*, 1948, XII/2, pp. 275–305 ; ‘Gardizi on India’, *BSOAS*, 1948, XII/3, pp. 625–640 ; my series of ‘Caucasica’ (I–IV) in *BSOAS*, supplemented by *Studies in Caucasian History* (I), 1953, and finally my recent research on Abū Dulaf Mis‘ar ibn Muḥalhil’s travels in Iran (to appear in Cairo in 1955, ان شاء الله).

*Khuwar*, 19b, suggests that *w* after *kh* was still pronounced before a short vowel. [The names of the two neighbouring boroughs: *Khvar* and *Khusp* (whatever their origin) suggest a pun: ‘eat and sleep’.]

The *idāfat* after *ā* and *ū* is usually expressed by a *hamza* 7a, 7a, *درآزاء او* 13b, or even omitted 32b. Of the word *tarsā* the plural is spelt 32a, 32a (a spelling which has survived only in some place-names like 32a in Isfahan).

*Ki* ‘which’ standing alone is regularly spelt 32a; otherwise it is usually joined with the words that follow: 2a, 2a, *بو قتی کشان بیاید*; ‘at the time wanted by them’.

*Dh*, intervocalic and final (after vowels), is regularly marked but the initial 32a in *dhadhagān*, 17a, *Dhakhkhas*, 24a, and *Dharnūkh* looks strange. By the side of *zimistān*, 19a, we have 18a clearly *dimistān* and 16b *dhimistān* (?). (On the form *dimistān* see H. W. Bailey, *JRAS*, 1931, i33 (on the Kumzari dialect, Oman).)

The letter 32a (with three dots)—typical for Eastern Iranian usage (for *w/β*)—occurs in 10b, 27b; 32a, 27b; *یا فا* for Jaffa, 9a, 9a, *ثجاخ/فجاخ* (?), 20b, and apparently in 10b, 38a, but it is difficult to decide what reasons underlie this erratic practice. In 1258, when our text was copied, it may have been but a survival of a sign no more understood.

*Sad* ‘one hundred’ is spelt with 32a but *shast* ‘sixty’ with a 32a. Geographical names are given in a Persian garb: *Būshang* (for Arabicized *Būshanj*); *Khūna* and *Kara* (for *Khūnaj* and *Karaj*), *Adharbādthagān*, \**Harē* (Herat), etc.

## 2. GRAMMAR

The style of the *Ḥudūd* is matter-of-fact. The sentences are short and purely descriptive, which naturally reduces the field of observations on grammar and syntax.

### (a) Nouns

Quite often nouns without any addition stand for locatives: *Bukhārā nishīnadh*, 19a; *in nāhiyat kharān-i nīk uftadh* ‘good asses are found in the region’, 34b.

Diminutives are very common: *shahrak*; *shākhak* ‘a small branch’, 7a; *biyābānak*, 12, *daryāyak* ‘a lake’, 37a; *nāhiyatak*, 38b.

The plural ending *-ān/-agān* is still general for animate beings: *jānāvarān*, 2a; \**dadthagān*, 17a; *gabrāgān* (a plural of *gabra* and not of a diminutive *gabrak*, cf. *Fārs-nāma*, Nicholson’s Introduction, xxix); and even *hamdūnagān*, 34a.

The suffix *-īna* is used for groups and kinds of beings and things: *gīlīmīna* ‘various kinds of *gīlīms*’, 22b; *rūdīhīna* perhaps ‘madder’ (?), 32b (though, f. 33a: *rūnās*).

The suffix *-nā* appears in *dirāznā* ‘length’, 2a (but 7a: *dirāzā*); cf. *tangnā* ‘narrowness’, *Aḥsan al-tawārīkh*, 431.

Compounds of every kind are very frequent: *badh-dil*, *badh-rag* (see vocabulary), *giyā-khwār*, *tang-'alaf* 'wanting in grass', *javānmard-pīsha* 'professional stalwart', 25b; *yak-izār bāshand* 'they are people wearing only the *izār*', 15a; *tan-durust* 'healthy', referring both to men and to the climate, 27a. *Bisyār* is often used with nouns as an adjective expressing abundance: *shahrīst bisyār-mardum* 'a populous town', 18a; *bisyār-pādshāy* 'with many kings (or *pādshā'i* kingdoms?)', 14a; *mardumānī bisyār-zar* 'wealthy (moneyed) men', 39b. Such compound adjectives are then used as comparatives: *bisyār-khwāsta-tar*, 19a, or superlatives: *bisyār-nī'mat-tarīn*, 32b.

The pronouns *ū*, *vay*, and *ān* indiscriminately refer to single or several objects, both animate and inanimate: *si andar vay* 'three out of (seven)', 4a; *shish jazīra az vay . . . ān-ra khāliya khwānand*, 5a; *du jazīra . . . ū-ra s.qytrā khwānand*, 4b; *daryāyak-hā yakī az ū*, 4a. This curious usage seems to be connected with the use of singular and plural in the verb, see below under (d) 2.

The use of *ān-i* (with an *idafat*), both as '(someone's) own' and as a substitute for the noun already mentioned ('and that of') is frequent, see correction *ad* p. 87. In § 23, 6, *īn* seems to stand in the latter function *بارکده کرکانست و این کومس و نسابورست* 'J. is the store-place of G. and that of K. and N.', in which case the reading *īn-i Kūmis* should be presumed.

#### (b) Verbs

The present particle *mī/hamī* occurs rarely, e.g. in *kūhī az gird-i īn jazīra bar-āyadh* one would expect *mī-*; when used, it usually stresses the meaning as 'continually, ever': *va hamī-ravadh tā hama(-i) nāhiyat-i Nūba bi-burradh*, 11b.

Particle *bi-*, as attested by the spelling *به برز* 5b, seems to have sounded *ba-*. When added to the past it seems to give it the sense of what in Slavonic languages is called 'perfective aspect': *va bīshatar-i āb-i īn shahr-hā az chashma-hā-st ki andar zamīn biyāvarda-and* 'have brought underground' (in Russian: *провели*), 19a; *rūdh-kadha-hā-yi ū bi-kanda-and*.

A considerable number of verbs, now chiefly transitive, are used intransitively: *bar-dāradh*, *bar-gīradh* 'begins, starts', 2b; *bāz-dāradh* 'adjoins', etc., see Vocabulary; *bikashadh* 'stretches', 2b; *bi-kushāyadh* 'branches off', 3b; *andar ū namak bandadh* 'salt is formed'; *tā ānjā ki bi-burradh* 'down to where it ends', 5b.

\**Gudhārdan* is used as a causative of *gudhashtan*: *kūhīst . . . bārkhā kī bar pusht basta bāshand bad-ān kūh bighudhārānd* 'they carry over', 15b.

The verb *dāshtan* serves almost as an auxiliary in such expressions as: *bar sar bar-nihādha dārand* 'wear on their heads', 37b; (*shalvār*) *bar sar-i zānū gird-karda dārand*, 37b. cf. Gardīzī (Barthold), 92: *va chīz-i ki ishān-rā ba-kār āyad ān āvīkhta dārand*.

After *tavān* and *bāyad* usually the full form of the infinitive is found: *va ān . . . na-tavān kushādan*, 7a; *du-tāh tavān kardan*, 38a; *bi-bāyadh burīdhan*, 34a. But: *ba hama jīhān na-tavān dānist* 'it is impossible to know it even for a whole world', or perhaps 'unknown throughout the whole world', 27b.

The composite future is very rare: *bīdānist ki tūfān hamī khwāhad būd* 'he knew that the flood would happen'. *Hāmī khwāhad* seems to indicate the stage at which *khwāhad* had not yet become a mere auxiliary.

The past participle used with *-ast* has a passive meaning by itself, whereas

at present one would expect the auxiliary verbs (*shudan*, *gardīdan*): *bar ān kūh . . . šūrat-i har maliki nigāshā-ast va sar-gudhasht-hā-yi īshān bar ān jay nibishā-ast* ‘are represented . . . are written’ (27b); *andar miyān-i kūh-u daryā nihādha-ast* ‘is situated’, 29b [cf. Juvaynī, III, 235: *gūrī nihāda-ast*].

This helps us to explain the difficult passage: *mar ū-rā andar kitāb-hā(-i) akhbār yādh kardā-ast* (see below, p. 258), where *kardā-ast* corresponds to the present-day *karda shuda-ast*.

### (c) Prepositions and Particles

*Az* stresses the use of *ān-i* (see above): *pādhā’ī az ān-i Balharāy-ast* ‘kingship belongs to B.’, 14b, 15a.

*Bā/bāz* indicates direction: *bāz mashriq rasad*, 2a; *bā daryā-yi Khwārazm uftadh* ‘(the Jaxartes) flows to (into) the Aral sea’.

*Bi* with *shudhan*: *bi daryā-yi a’zam shavadh* ‘turns into a great sea’ (in Russian становится морем).

The use of prepositions combined with postposition (as frequent in the *Shāh-nama*) is not attested in the *Hudūd*: in the sentence *bar sar bar-nihādha dārand*, 37b, the second *bar* is only a pre-verb belonging to *nihādhan*.

*Chand* with the following *yā-yi vahdat* stands for ‘the size of . . .’: *chand gūsfandī*, 35b; *har yakī chand kabkī* ‘as big as a quail’, 38a. cf. *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 261: *chand māda-pīlī*.

Particle *-rā* is sometimes attached to the subject: *dihqān-i īn nahiyat-rā az mulūk-i atrāf budandī*, 24a; *īn du kūh-rā dar kutub-hā-i Baṭlamīyūs madhkūr-ast*, 4a.<sup>1</sup> cf. Zhukovsky, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, Introduction, Nicholson, *Tadhkirat al-auliya*, II, Introduction, 9. Sometimes, as a postposition, *-rā* completes a preposition: *az bahr-i tavālud-rā*, 5a. Sometimes it is omitted: *mardānīshān (rā ?) hīch kār nīst*, 30b. *Mar* as announcing *-rā* is rare: *mar nigāh dāshtan-i nāhiyat-rā* ‘for keeping the province (safe)’, 37a.

### (d) Syntax

#### 1. Phrases

The order of words in a phrase is free and expressive: *va paydhā kardīm hama-i jazīrahā-ī ki-buzurg-ast, az ābādhān-i vay va vīrān* (2a); *va ammā rūdh-i ṭabī’ī ān-ast kī ābhā’ī buvadh buzurg kī az gudhāz-i barf . . . bikushāyadh* (8b). Adjectives often stand separated from the nouns to which they refer, at the end of the sentence: *shākh-ī az sūy-i maghrīb bāz kashadh khurd* (8a); *rūdhkhā kī andar jīhān-ast buzurg* (2a).

The asyndeton construction and anacolutha are very frequent: *nuhum jazīra’īst . . . Hiranj khwānand* ‘[which] they call H.’, 4b; *yakī az ān kūh-i Kūfj khwānand andar miyān-i biyābān-ast* ‘[which] lies in a desert’, 7a; *nāhiyat-hā-i junūb mardumānīsh siyāh-and*, 39a; *nāhiyat-īst mashriq-i vay rūdh-i Ātil . . . va mardumānī-and kīsh-i Ghūziyān dārand* ‘to the east of [which] is the Ātil . . . and they are people (who) have the religion of the Ghūz’; *har yakī az-īn kūh ū-rā nām-hā-i bisyār-ast*, 6a; *nām-i qaumī-st bar kūh-i Bulgharī nishīnad*, 37a. In some of such cases the *yā-yi ishārat* seems to be the link with what follows.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The meaning seems to be: ‘and as regards the two mountains they are mentioned’.

<sup>2</sup> A similar construction is known in Kurdish.

## 2. *Singular and Plural*

The complicated problem of the use of plural and singular in Persian verbs was treated by M. Minovi in *JRAS*, 1942/I, 41–7. He admits that ‘more often than not’, he had to depend on his ears and that the rules cannot be formulated in a way ‘that those to whom Persian is not natal could exercise their own judgment’. On the whole, he thinks that after inanimate and abstract nouns verbs should not be used in the plural. To this rule he adds a rider that this use seems to be subject to the ‘spirit of the verb’. If the action it expresses is ‘the peculiarity of human beings’ plural might be used.

In grammar the only safe method is induction, and the ‘rules’ of the grammarians can be taken only as generalizations from the facts observed. Outsiders cannot tamper with the facts provided by the speakers, but in the formulation of the conclusions foreigners have often rendered help to the building up of national grammars. Two points are certain :—

(1) The subject must be treated historically<sup>1</sup>: what is accepted at one period may be rejected as ‘incorrect’ at a later date.

(2) Poetical quotations are less reliable than prose in view of the temptations to which poets are exposed.

On the whole, one might suggest as a ‘working hypothesis’ the view that the choice of singular or plural in Persian is often dictated by the character of the subject in the sentence. Should the plural elements composing the subject represent a kind of collective total, the verb is used in the singular; should they, on the contrary, have individual characteristics, or be meant to be personified, the plural is admissible. Therefore, using Minovi’s examples: *birinj-hā rīkht* requires the singular because not the individual grains but their collective mass is in view; *panj sarbāz rasīd* also singular, because the five soldiers are treated as a group; but in *dar an vaqt panj shā’ir-e buzurg būdand* ‘at that time there were five great poets’, I should venture a plural because the poets cannot be de-personalized as grains, or even as soldiers; *sang-hā az ham mī-tarakīdand* ‘the stones (began) to burst’, requires a plural not because their action is a ‘peculiarity of human beings’, but because they went off one after the other, and not like in the case when ‘five ton of stones’ was exploded.

Here are some illustrations from the *Hudūd*: *daryāyak-hā-i khurd bisyār-ast chūn daryāyak-hā-i kī yakī az-ū* (sic) *andar kūh-hā-i Gūzgānān-ast . . . va chinānk(i) andar kūh-hā-i Tūs-ast va kūh-hā-i Tabaristān-ast va l(ā)kin na-ma’rūf-and* (sic) *va yā vaqt buvadh ki khushk shavadh* (sic), 4b. In this passage the lakes are treated first indefinitely in singular; then plural is introduced, as it seems with reference to the lakes enumerated by name; then a singular is used to show that some particular group dries up at times. *Har qaumī k-andar nāhiyat-hā(i) mukhtalif-and*, 1b. Here the plural is used *ad sensum*, whether with regard to the collective *qaum* ‘people’, or to the numerous cases. Other examples: *hama-biyābān-hā ki ma’rūf-ast*, meaning the totality, 2a. هفتم دریاژه . . . کی از چهار رود پیوندد کی از بتمان کشاید ‘from the four rivers which (jointly) come out of Buttamān’, 4a.

A special use of plural is for recurring seasons: *ba-vaqt-i bahārān* ‘in the spring’, 9a (in Russian вёснами) (see below, p. 270).

<sup>1</sup> On the lines of M. T. Bahār’s *Sabk-shināsī*.



## 3. VOCABULARY

The following selection concentrates on the uses of words and shades of meaning more than on technical terms, the equivalents of which are given in the text and in the Indexes: D. on the products and E. of special terms, *Hudūd*, pp. 520–4.

- ābādihān* ‘prosperous, inhabited’, 3a, 3b, 17b, 18a; *ābādihānī* ‘cultivated lands, a settlement’, 4a.
- abānk* (*abānak*?) -i *surkh*, meaning unknown (a textile?), 26a.
- ābkāma* ‘a sauce or condiment of milk, buttermilk, seeds of wild rue, yeast, and vinegar’, Zhukovsky, *Razvalini Merva*, 1894, p. 22 (quoting the *Hudūd*).
- āb-khiz* ‘floods’, 20a.
- afvāh* ‘aromas’, 5b.
- ‘akka* ‘magpie’, 9a.
- ālāt* ‘objects’, 17a; ‘accessories, utensils’, 21b.
- āmila* ‘embilica officinalis’, 15b (Laufer, 581).
- āmizanda* ‘sociable, good mixer’, 17b.
- ‘amūd-i rūdh* ‘the main stream of the river’, 8b.
- andakī* ‘a small quantity’, 5b; *rūdh-i Nīl andakī buvadh* ‘dwindles’, 3b.
- andar parāgandan* ‘to scatter’, 6a.
- anguzad* ‘asafetida’.
- arzan* ‘millet’, 37b (cf. *jāvars*).
- arziz* ‘lead’, 23a (see *surb*); ‘tin’, 4b.
- turkān-i āshī* ‘trucial Turks’, 24b.
- bādhbizan* ‘a fan’, 23a.
- badh-dīl* ‘cowards’ (Vullers, I, 201: *timidus*), 38b, but *badh-rag* ‘malicious’ (see Vullers, I, 203: *malae stirpis, malae naturae, malignus*), 18b.
- az bahr-i ān* ‘therefore’, 4a; *nuh bahr* and *nuh-yak* ‘one-ninth’, 2a.
- bār* ‘plenty’ (*bār-and* ‘are numerous’), 17a.
- bar-dāradh* ‘begins’, 2b; ‘separates’, 6b; *bar-girādh* ‘begins’, 2b, 5b; ‘shoots off’, 6a; (*raftan*) *bar* ‘to skirt’, 11b; *bar hudūd* . . . *bigudharadh* ‘marches with’, 12b; *ba bar-i Ghūz* ‘towards the Ghuz, to the Ghuz side’, 18b.
- barākūh* ‘the slope of a mountain, uplands’, 17b, cf. *barākūh va bar sar-i ān-kūh* ‘on the slope and on the top’, 28b. cf. *Barākūh*, a mountain in Osh, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 156; and the *nisba Barākūhī* in *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 153.
- bastan*: *ghalaba bastan* ‘to vanquish’, 38a.
- bāz* ‘toll’, 25b, but *bāzhgāh* ‘toll-house’, 33a.
- bāzargānī* (*bāzurgānī*?) ‘current money’, 34a; ‘profit, transaction’, 36a.
- bāz dāradh bi* . . . ‘adjoins’, 3b; *bāz gardadh* ‘turns off, separates’, 6a; *bāz kashadh* ‘separates, shoots off’, 8a.
- bāz-khwāndan* . . . *ba* ‘to call something after something’, 29b.
- bijashk* (\**pijashk*) ‘a doctor’, 29a.
- bīrūn az* ‘apart from, except’, 4a.
- burīdhan* ‘to end, to cease’, 5b.
- chādar* (now *chadur*) ‘a kind of light shawl’, 34a.
- dāngū-hā(-i) khurdanī* ‘edible cereals’, 32b.
- dāradh* ‘there is’, *har kūhī-rā mihtarī dāradh*, 7a; *dāradh az* . . . *ba* . . . ‘stretches from . . . to’, 9a; *dāradh* . . . *ba* ‘is contiguous’, 19a.
- darāzā* ‘length’, 7a; *darāznā*, 2a.
- dīda-bān*, 24a, corresponds to Ist. 333: *al-jabal allādhī ‘alayhi marqab al-ahrās ‘alā al-Turk* ‘the mountain on which is the observation post of the guards (watching) the Turks’. Consequently *dīda-bān*, in the idea of the author, is connected with the verb *dīdan*. In the same sense the word is used in Arabic (plur. *diyādiba* ‘watchers’, see Ṭabarī, III, 1229).
- dīgar* ‘for the rest, moreover’, 38a.
- falāta* ‘sweet dish made of ewe’s milk’, V. A. Zhukovsky, *Razvalini Merva*, 1894, p. 21 (quoting the *Hudūd*), 20a.
- fanak* ‘weasel’ (?), 17a. [French dictionaries give *fennec*, petit renard des régions sahariennes’. Is this the original meaning?]
- furūdh āyadh ba* . . . ‘follows, takes (a direction)’, 6a, 7a.
- fuzūdhan* ‘to grow, to increase’, 3a.
- ganda* ‘bad-smelling’, 10b.
- gardanda bar havā* ‘(nomads) wandering in accordance with the seasons’, 22b.

- gāvars* 'millet, vetch', 26b. In the corresponding passages of Istakhri, 166-7: *dhurra* 'sorghum', but *Ya'qūbī*, *BGA*, VII, 295: *wa laysa bi-Turk-astān zar' illā al-dukhān, wa huwa al-jāwars* (i.e. *gāvars*). cf. also I. Faḍlān, Mashhad MS., 203b.
- gazīt*: *sar-gazīt* 'poll-tax', 16b (Arabic *jizya*), for the form, cf. *mazgīt*.
- ghizhgāw* 'yak, bos grunniens', 17a.
- gird andar āyadh* 'forms a circle', 6b; *az gird-i Kavar andar āyadh or gardadh* 'makes a sweep round', 10a.
- giyā-khwār* 'a prairie', 8b.
- gū* 'a sphere, a globe', 2a.
- bi-gudārānd* (\**bi-gudhārānd*) 'they carry over', 15a; *gudhashtan* (?) 'to cross (a river)', 16a.
- gudhāzanda* 'fusible', 22b.
- hadd* 'extent, length' (as opposed to *karāna* 'limit'), 2b; *hudūd* (1) 'confines (i.e. the area within certain limits)', 6a, 10a (cf. Preface, pp. i and xv); (2) 'marches, outlying territories', §§ 24, 26.
- ḥamdūna* 'a baboon', 34a.
- ḥavāṣīl* 'a pelican', 5b.
- illā-kī* (after negation) 'but', 7b.
- jauz [gōz]-i buwā* 'a nutmeg', 5b.
- jāwars*, see *gāvars*.
- jiḥāz* 'merchandise, commodities', 15a, 16b, 34a.
- jūr.b* 'bags (stockings?)', 37a (the form possibly reflects the Arabic original).
- ba-zar kanda* 'inlaid with gold', 15b.
- kapī* 'monkey', 34a.
- karāna* 'confines, limits', 2b.
- kārdār* 'deputy governor', 13b, 20b; *kārkard* 'works', 21a; *bi-kār dārānd* 'they use', 12b, 30a; *bi kār shavadh* 'is used, used up (?)', 10b, 11b, 29b.
- \**karg* (*k.rk*) 'rhinoceros', 14.
- k.rk.rī* 'some Indian bird', 14a. H. W. Bailey compares this name with Skt. *kukkuṭī* 'domestic fowl', which survives in many Indian dialects. [In *IF*, 13<sub>13</sub>: *juwānk.rk* 'a fantastic bird (?)'.]
- kashāvarz* [sic] *kunand* 'they till', 17b.
- kāz* 'a hut', 37b.
- kazdum* (for *kazhdum*) 'a scorpion', 32a.
- khar-i waḥshī* 'wild ass' (Persice: *gōr*), 8b.
- khargāh* 'felt hut', 6b.
- khāukhūr-i chinī* 'some kind of (silk) textile', 13b, 30a (see below, note ad p. 84).
- khayzurān* 'bamboo', 5b.
- khing-but* 'the White Idol', 21b.
- khunb* (now *khum*) 'earthen vessel', 37b.
- khutū* 'rhinoceros horn', 13b; but see *surū*. cf. Manīnī-'Utbī, II, 31, and Minorsky, *Marvazi*, p. 82.
- khwār*, e.g. *giyā-khwār*, 17b, 'grazing-ground'; *mardum-khwāra* 'man-eater', 4b.
- khwāsta* 'wealth, belongings', 2a.
- kīmukhta* 'shagreen', 30a.
- khushk* 'dry land, mainland', 5a; *Jāba-yi khushk*, 6b, 'Jāba of the mainland'; *khushk-rūdh* 'dry bed', 22b.
- jāma-yi k.nīs*, some kind of textile, 30a.
- kushūdhan* 'to conquer', 7a; *az gudhāz-i barf bi-kushāyadh* 'is formed from the thawing of snow', 8b.
- mardum* 'a man', 6a; *mardumān* 'men', 6a; *mardumānī-and barmardum nazdīk* 'they are men near to humanity', 17b; *dūrtar az tab-i mardī* 'more remote from humanity', 36b.
- maḥfūrī* 'stamped velvet', 33b; cf. *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr*, 512; *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, 101; Dozy, Supp. I, 303.
- Mānavī* 'Manichæan', 23a.
- jāy-i manzil* 'port of call', 4b.
- mār-i shikanj* 'deadly snake', 28b.
- ma'rūfgar* 'a pious man, a conformist', 31a.
- mazgīt-i ādhīna* 'a Friday mosque', 14b, 27a.
- māhmān-dār* 'hospitable', 29b.
- ba-miyāna* 'in the centre', 4b; *bar-miyāna* 'on the middle (course?)', perhaps 'a middling (town)', 16a.
- murtafī* 'excellent', 4b.
- musalmānī* 'Islamic world', 17b; 'Islamic behaviour', 16a.
- mūy* 'furs', 17b, cf. Gardīzī, 100.
- nāḥiyat* 'direction', 6a; *hama-nāḥiyat* 'every direction'; also 'a region'.
- nakhchīr-zan* 'a hunter', 17a.
- na-ma'rūf* 'unknown', 4a; *nē-badh* 'not bad, so-so', 20a; *na-mahdūd* 'indefinite, unlimited', 8a.
- namāz-burda* 'to venerate', 18b.
- namūdhan*: *musalmānī namāyadh* 'he makes show of Islam', 16a.
- nighūshāk* 'Manichæan auditors', 23a.
- nihād* 'the lie (of a country)', 2a.



*nīk-akhtari* ‘auspiciousness’, 1b.  
*ni‘mat*, for the meaning see Translation, pp. 126, 162; *kam-ni‘mat va bisyār-mardum*, 4b; *bisyār ni‘mat va kam-khwāsta*, 37a. This special use differs from *Gulistān*, ch. II, story 18, where *ni‘mat* stands for ‘goods, wares’.  
*nishast* ‘residence’, 17b, 28b; *andar nishastan* ‘to embark’, 13b; *bar nishastan* ‘to mount, to take the field’ (on an expedition), 15b, 19a.  
*padhīdh kardan* ‘to elicit’, 13b (see *paydhā*).  
*pādshā* ‘king’, 14, 16a; *pādshāh*, 16a; *padshā‘i* (often spelt *padshāy*) ‘kingdom’, 14b.  
*pānīdh* ‘sugar, candy’, 21a.  
*paydhā kardan* ‘bring to light, elucidate’, 1b, 2a.  
*pāy kūftan* ‘to dance’, 30b.  
*pāy-zahr* ‘an antidote’, 23b.  
*ghāzi-pīsha* ‘a professional ghazi’.  
*pīshinagān* ‘the earlier generations’, 2a.  
*pull* for *pul* ‘a bridge’, 31a.  
*rāy* ‘an Indian raja’, 6a.  
*rūdh* ‘copper (red), brass’, 24b.  
*rūdh-kadha* ‘river-bed, river’, 5b, 8b.  
*rūdh zadan* ‘to play on a stringed instrument’, 30b.  
*rūspī-khāna* ‘a brothel’, 15a.  
*rūnās* ‘madder’ (in Barda‘), 33a; *rūdhīna* in Mūqān, 32b, supported by I.Ḥ., 249, who refers to madder (*fuwwa*) in Varthān on the Araxes; *rūyan* [*sic*] on an island of the Caspian, 5b, cf. I.Ḥ., *ibid*.  
*rūyīn* ‘made of brass’, 15a.  
*ṣābiyān*, as applied ‘to (Turkish) heathens’, 17a.  
*s.bīja*, some animal (?), 17a.  
*sakht* ‘hardy’, 17a; *sakht azīm* ‘very great’, 8a.  
*samūr* ‘sable-marten’, 6a.  
*sanjāb* ‘grey squirrel, petit gris’, 6a.  
*sang-i fasān* ‘whetstone’, 19b.  
*sāra* ‘Indian turban’, 15a.  
*ṣifat kardan* ‘to describe’, 7a.  
*shikanj*: *mār-i shikanj* ‘a deadly snake, viper’, 28b.

*siṭabr* ‘thick’, 5b.  
*sar-gazūt*, see *gazūt*.  
*shahr-i Jibāl* ‘the J. province’, 10a; cf. *az īn shahr 70,000 jangī bīrūn āyadh*, 16b.  
*shamani* ‘Buddhist’ (?), 13b.  
*shikastagī* ‘hills, broken country’, 21b.  
*shūr-khisht* (in Herat) ‘manna’, 20b (cf. *tarangabīn*).  
*sūdh-u ziyān* ‘profit-cum-loss, i.e. trade’, 28b.  
*sunbādha* ‘emery’, 5b.  
*sunbul* ‘spikenard’, 5b.  
*sundus* ‘a silk stuff?’, 37a.  
*surb* ‘lead’, 6a.  
*surū* ‘horn’; *surū-yi karg* ‘rhinoceros horn’, 13b (mentioned separately from *khutū*).  
*tākhtan baranda* ‘a raider’, 17b.  
*ṭanfisa* ‘carpets?’ (from Rūm), 37a.  
*tarangabīn* (in Kish) ‘manna’, 23a (cf. *shūr-khisht*).  
*ṭayfūrī* ‘a deep plate’, 30a; cf. Dozy, *JA*, 1848, XI, 101: *ṭayfūr* ‘plat creux et profond’. Muqaddasi, 23, calls the river of Gurgān ‘Ṭayfūrī’.  
*tāzī* ‘Arabic’, 7a.  
*tūtak* ‘parrot’, 14a.  
*tūdh-i sabīl* ‘mulberries offered for God’s sake’, 33a.  
*tuwāngar* (*tūngar*?), thus spelt throughout, ‘mighty, rich’, as opposed to *darvīsh* ‘poor’, 16b.  
*uftadh ba-* ‘gets into, is brought to’, 15a; *uftadh az-* ‘comes from’.  
*yādhkard* (*yādhgard*?) ‘memory, memorandum, notice’, 2a, 33b.  
*ḥayvān-i zabād* ‘civet cat’, 5b.  
*zabarjad* ‘chrysolite’.  
*zafān dāshtan* ‘to know a language’.  
*zīrāk* ‘because’.  
*zīra* ‘cumin’, 26b, mis-spelt *zīrā*, 26b. *Zarīra* would be ‘sweet flag’, cf. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica*, 583, but Kerman is famous for cumin, cf. *Ist.*, 167, and Juvaynī, I, 16; *kasī-ki badhīn mauḍī qumāshī āvarad zīra-st ki ba-Kirmān tuḥfa mi-āvarad*.

## PART II

A list of the reviews of my translation of the *Hudūd*, known to me, will be found in my bibliography, *BSOAS*, 1952, xiv/3, p. 676. I am obliged to Prof. I. I. Umnyakov (Samarqand), who drew my attention to a line which is

missing from my translation, whereby the orientation of § 16 (Chigil) is disfigured, and to Prof. A. Eghbal (Tehran) who in a conversation (Paris, 2nd October, 1937) corrected some of my readings of the difficult script of the original. I am sorry that the text of the *Hudūd*, printed in Tehran by Sayyid Jalāl al-dīn Tehrani, in appendix to his calendar (*gāh-nāma*) for the year 1314/1935, reached me too late to make use of some of his readings.<sup>1</sup>

Here are my additional and fresh remarks on the text.

P. vii. More exactly the *H.*-*Ā.* was begun (not completed) in 372/982–3.

P. viii. Instead of *Ustādh* '*Ajab al-zamān bul-Ustādh-Khorāsān*, read : '*Ajab al-zamān, bal* ('nay even') *Ustādh-i Khorāsān*. (A. E.)

P. xiv. *Ba akhbār-hā shanīdīm* may refer to such special collections of stories as *Akhbār al-Šin*, etc., see Marvazī, Index, and below under p. 172. The meaning of 4a : *مر او را اندر کتبها اخبار یاد کرده است* is probably 'concerning them mention is made in the books of *akhbār*'.

P. 15. On Ahmad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sarakhsī see now F. Rosenthal, 'Ahmad b. al-Ṭayyib as-Sarakhsī', in *American Oriental series*, vol. 16, 1943 (on geography pp. 58–81), with additions (from Ibn al-ʿAdīm) in *JAOS*, April, 1951, pp. 135–142. Sarakhsī lived apparently between 218/833 and 286/899.

P. 16. Yāqūt, *Irshād al-arīb*, I, 142 : *wa kāna . . . lil-Jayhānī . . . jawārīn yudirruhā 'alayya*. Barthold's interpretation of *jawārī* as 'female slaves' is wrong. See A. Muller in *Fihrist*, II, 56, who explains *jawārī* as a plural of *جارية* 'grants, pensions'.

P. 17. Balkhī's monthly salary was 500 (later 1,000) *dirhams*, not *dinars*. The mistake is not Barthold's but the translator's.

P. 24. Instead of *Tawāḍu' al-dunyā* A.E. suggests \**nawāḥī*. Perhaps \**mawāḍi'*?

P. 37. *Bā-ni'mat* can be paralleled with the Greek *εὐδαίμων*, see Strabo, xi, 14, 4, 'prosperous, opulent'. In Russian 'благодатный'. But see Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, II, No. 18 : *kārvānī-rā bizadand va ni'mat-i bī-qiyās burdand*, which suggests 'goods'.

P. 49. Read *yādhkard* (A.E.) as in § 23, 67, *kārkard*.

P. 50. *Nihād* 'the lie of the Earth'. Penultimate : 'animals and fishes', read : 'which is the habitat (*ma'wā*) of the animals' (S.J.).

P. 51. 'Khūzistān and Ṣaymara', read : 'Khūzistān and \*Baṣra' (A.E. and S.J.).

Pp. 61 and 194. The mysterious name of the range Mānisā (مانسا) may be connected with the Min-shan mountain on the frontier of Szechuan with Eastern Tibet, see Nevsky, 'On the name of the Tangut state', *Zapiski Inst. Vost.*, II/3, 1933, p. 145. But more appropriately *Mānisā* might stand for Nan-shan ? (نانشان\*)

P. 71 read : *Khūkand-ghūn* 9a (*k* being clear).

P. 83–86. On China see now my commentary in 'Marvazī' and my article

<sup>1</sup> The corrections derived from these sources are acknowledged with the initials I.U., A.E., and J.T. The criticisms formulated in A. Z. V. Togan's article 'Die Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches im neunten Jahrhundert', published during the war in *Kōrōsi Csoma Archivum*, 1940, III/1, pp. 40–75, seem to be based mostly on misunderstandings.

*Tamīm ibn Baḥr*, see above, p. 250. The word *khāvkīr* occurs in the text twice. Under China (13b), *khāvkīr-i \*chīnī* (hardly *khavjīr* as in S.J.) comes after *ḥarīr va parand* and seems to refer to some special variety of this textile; under Sārī (30a) it stands without any qualification. One might recall here that in Persian *khāv* means ‘pile (of a textile)’. Under China, some confusion is not excluded with *kīmkhāu* (or *kīnkhā*?) which I. Khurdādhbih, 70, mentions under China, after *al-ḥarīr wal-firand*! *Kīmkhā* (perhaps *kīnkhā*) is ‘silk worked with gold and silver flowers, brocaded silk’, in English *kincob*, from Chinese *kin-hua*, see Quatremère, *Notices et extraits*, XIV/1, 214, 304, and Blochet, *Introduction*, 245.

Pp. 86–92. On India see now ‘Marvazi’ and my article ‘Gardīzī on India’, see above, p. 250. See below *ad* p. 235. P. 87 (§ 10, 12). Better: *pādshā’ī* (*pādshāhī*?) *az ān-i zanī buvadh Rāniya khwānand* ‘and the kingship belongs to a woman (whom they call) Rānī’.

Pp. 92–4. On Tibet see below, under p. 254.

Pp. 94–5 and 97–8. On Toghuḡghuz and Khallukh, see ‘Tamīm ibn Baḥr’.

P. 98. Several words are missing from the translation, which is misleading (I.U.). Read: ‘East and South of the Chigil country are the limits of the *Khallukh*; west of it are the limits of the Tukhs’. The commentary p. 227 should also be altered accordingly.

P. 100 (§ 18, 2): instead of *Q.rq.rkhān* A. Z. Validi Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān*, p. 328, suggests *\*Qirqiz-khan*, which would suit the indication that the customs which the inhabitants follow are those of the Khirkhīz.

P. 102. § 23, 2: ‘*\*Sabzavār*, a small borough on the road to Rayy and the chief place of the district *Byh*’ (S.J. and A.E.). The author definitely wishes to say that *Sabzavār* is the centre of the district which in the Arabicized form is called *Bayhaq*. The older Persian form must have been *\*Bēhak*, later *\*Bēha*. In fact, this latter form is attested in the ‘History of Bayhaq’ (563/1164), Tehran 1317/1938, p. 33, where various etymologies are suggested. See also Ḥāfiz-i Abrū, *Geography*, Brit. Mus., Or. 1577, fol. 185b, which explains that *Bēha* means *bihtar* ‘better’. It is possible that in our text *به* is a mis-spelling for *بیه* attested in the other sources and supported by the Arabic *بهق*.

P. 112. § 25, 1. For the title of the Samanids, Malik-i Mashriq, cf. Rūdakī in *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, 323: Amīr-i Mashriq.

P. 113. § 25, 14. Now *\*Panjikand*, where recently remarkable discoveries have been made of ancient (Soghdian?) frescoes, see A. Yakubovsky, ‘The paintings of the ancient Panjikant’, *Izv. Akad. Nauk SSSR* (historical series), 1950, vii, No. 5, pp. 472–491, and A. Yakubovsky in *Po sledam drevnikh kultur*, 1951, 211–270. More recently ‘Zhivopis drevnego Pyanjikenta’, Moscow, 1954, 200 pp., 41 plates. In fact *varagh* means ‘a weir’.

P. 119. § 25, 93. A Turkish document gives the reading *\*Y.kānknt* (Henning), but in Muqaddasi, 48, *\*Takābkath* and *\*Yakānkath* figure side by side, under Ishījāb. cf. *BSOAS*, ix/3, 552.

P. 122. § 26, 25: the division of Gurgānj into two parts, inner and outer (*bīrūnī*), is interesting as accounting for the *nīsba* of Abū-Rayḥān Bīrūnī.

P. 133. § 32, 2 (and p. 385): read *\*Alī ibn al-Layth al-Ṣaffārī*, as in Ist., 246 (the source of this report).

P. 144. On Sunbatmān see Minorsky, ‘Caucasica, IV’, in *BSOAS*, 1953, xv/3, p. 506: the fief of Sahl b. Sunbat, west of Shakkī.

P. 152. On the talisman against the crocodiles in Egypt (Fustāt) see Bīrūnī, *al-Āthār*, p. 259, who does not quote his source but in parallel passages refers to *al-Qibṭ* ('Egyptians'?).

P. 159, l. 15 (on the Rūs) instead of بزرک read : بزرک 'of large frames'.  
cf. I. Rusta, 149 : *wa lahum juthath*.

P. 161, § 49, 2. See below *ad* p. 447.

P. 162, § 50.: the Khazar king 'is one of the descendants of Ansā'. A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn-Faḍlān*, 1939, p. 270, has restored the name as 'sicher Asena, das heisst *a-se-na* oder *a-če-na*', a well-known name of an ancient Turkman clan or family. I strongly doubt this hypothesis. I treat the sources comparatively. In this part the *Hudūd* runs entirely parallel to I. Rusta and Gardīzī and there is no doubt possible that all the three are based on the same report.<sup>1</sup> The most important fact about the Khazars is that they had two rulers, the one personifying the idea of 'kingship' and the other acting as the real ruler.<sup>2</sup> This striking arrangement was known already to Sir J. G. Frazer, see his article 'The killing of the Khazar king', *Folk-lore*, xxvii, 1917, pp. 382–407, and *The Golden Bough*, iv, 120.

Ibn Rusta, 139–140, at the given place says<sup>3</sup>: 'They have a king who is called Īshā (Ayshā). The supreme king is Khazar Khāqān. He does not enjoy the obedience of the Khazars but has the name only. The power to command belongs to the Īshā, since in regard to control and the armies he is so placed that he does not have to care for anyone above him. Their supreme ruler is a Jew, and likewise the Īshā and those of the generals and the chief men who follow his way of thinking. The rest of them have a religion like the religion of the Turks'.

The corresponding passage in Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, p. 95 (and checked by me on the Cambridge MS., f. 190a) is as follows: 'And they have a king whose name is Abshād-malik the great (?) and they call the great king Khazar-Khāqān and the Khazar-Khāqān is only a bearer of the name, whereas the direction (*madār*) of every office (*shughl*) in the country and at the court (*hasham*) is incumbent on Abshād and no one is greater than Abshād. The greater chief and Abshād are Jews (by religion), as well as those who are inclined thereto (or friendly to him? to them?) as well as (some) commanders and noblemen (*buzurgān*). The others are holding a religion which resembles that of the Ghuz Turks ...'

The passage in the *Hudūd* (f. 38b) is as follows:—

آتل شہرست کی روز آتل بر میان وی بکدرد و قصبة خزرانست و مستقر پادشاہ  
است و اورا طرحان خاقان خوانند و از فرندان آنسا است و اندر نیمه مغربی نشیند  
ازین شہر باہمہ لشکر و این نیمہ بارہ دارد و اندرین (کذا) نیمہ دیگر مسلمانان و بت  
پرستان اند و این پادشاہرا ہفت حاکمست اندرین شہر از ہفت دین مختلف بہر ساعتی  
چون داوری بزرکتر افتد از پادشاہ دستوری خواہند یا اکہ کنند بحکم آن داوری.

<sup>1</sup> Marvazi, p. 33, also uses the same report but at his time the Khazars' power had been destroyed and he omits the part concerning the kings.

<sup>2</sup> cf. p. 333 on the division of power in Ghūr (§ 23, 48).

<sup>3</sup> I quote D. M. Dunlop's translation, 'The History of the Jewish Khazars', 1954, 104.

We cannot, evidently, restore *A-se-na* in I. Rusta and Gardizī, and thus the name in the *Ḥudūd* (based on the same source) would be an *exception*. It is clear that the epitomizer has drastically compressed the original, and should we read *A-se-na* (which no other source knows) the last trace of dyarchy would disappear from the text. Misunderstandings in Persian sources while translating from the Arabic<sup>1</sup> are not uncommon and I have a strong suspicion that the author of the *Ḥudūd* in the passage *ولهم الملك يقال له ايشا* (see I. Rusta) has somehow misread an indistinctly written *ولد* as *له* and translated it accordingly *az farzandān*. In conjunction with the *two other parallel* sources this is likely, but if we treat each source separately, we run the risk of reading into it what we wish.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, ch. 42, the first king was called *ὁ χακῶς* and the second only *ὁ περὶ* (*bek*). Therefore in Muslim sources one can suspect some minor title, like *shad*. Could we then restore the whole title tentatively *Ay-shad* ‘the Moon-shad’? See the names of Oghuz-khan’s sons Gün-khan, Ay-khan, etc.

P. 168. Several oversights in the dates. Ya‘qūbī’s history *ends* in 278/872. Qudāma wrote after 316/928 and died in 337/948. Bīrūnī’s ‘India’ *circa* 421/1030, but according to A. Z. V. Togan *circa* 1025. *Tafhīm* 420/1029 (also p. 170).

P. 172. Sulaymān, *Silsilat al-tawārīkh*, see now an excellent new edition of this text by the late J. Sauvaget, under the more appropriate title: *Akhbār al-Šīn wal-Hind*, 1948. Sulaymān-the-Merchant is now considered only as one of the sources of the book. cf. my ‘Marvazī’, 143.

P. 177. Another scion of the Gūzgānān house may have been the author of the *Jawāmi‘ al-‘ulūm*, ‘ibn Farīghūn’, see F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim Historiography*, 1952, p. 32. As he is said to have been a pupil of Abū Zayd Balkhī (d. 322/934) he must have lived in the earlier part of the 10th century.

P. 183. § 3, 12. *سباطى* occurs in Sarakhsi, see above, under p. 15.

P. 187. § 4, 9 : delete *Kra* after *Keda* !

P. 193. Read : *kasaka hya kapautaka* (H. W. Bailey).

P. 195. § 5, 6. Could not *Turfan* itself refer to the *T’u-fan* ‘Tibetans’ who occupied the region of ‘the four garrisons’ (Kashghar, Khotan, Kucha, and Qarashahr) between 790 and 860, see H. Hoffmann, ‘Tibets Eintritt in die Universalgeschichte’, in *Saeculum*, II, München, 1950, p. 270. A parasitic *r* appears in *Kucha-r* and some other names of this region (see in Marco Polo forms like *Succuir* for \**Suk-chou*).

Pp. 196–200. The fact that the ‘Belt of the Earth’ was called *Mintāqat al-Ard* points to an Arabic source. Apart from I. Hauqal, 109–111 (ed. Kramers, p. 249) : *jabal ‘ala zahr al-ard*, see Bīrūnī, *India*, 96 (tr. I, 197), on ‘the range of towering mountains like the vertebrae of a pine stretching through the middle latitude of the earth from China to Galicia (Jalāliqa) in Spain’. A similar idea was known even in antiquity. The late E. Honigsmann drew my attention (8th January, 1952) to Orosius, *adv. paganos*, I/2, 17–18, and H. Berger in *Wissen. Erdkunde*, 2nd ed., p. 418.<sup>2</sup> A different idea is found in the *Bundahishn*,

<sup>1</sup> I presume that the original source was Jayhānī and that the latter’s work was in Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> The exact reference is to H. Berger, *Geschichte der wissenschaftlichen Erdkunde der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 418. The Macedonian writers gave the name of Caucasus to the (theoretical) range continuing the Taurus of Asia Minor throughout Asia. See Eratosthenes in Arrian’s *Anabasis*, v, 3, 1, and Strabo, xv, C689. The range formed the wall (*διαφράγμα*) between the northern and the southern zones of the Earth.



ch. VIII and XII ('the other mountains have grown out of Alburz, in number 2244 mountains'). I. Faqih, 295, transfers the centre to *jabal al-Qafq* (the Caucasus), which he traces down to Mecca. cf. also *Jihān-nāma* (circa A.D. 1200), quoted in Barthold's *Turkestan*, I, 81, on the orography of Central Asia and al-'Omari in Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes*, 1932, pp. 302-8, who speaks of *Jabal-Qāf* as *Umm al-jibāl* but purely theoretically and following Ptolemy. In any case, the passage of the *Hudūd* remains the most remarkable and realistic synthesis of little-known facts—nine centuries in advance of modern exploration! See my articles: 'A Persian Geographer of A.D. 982 on the Orography of Central Asia', in *Geogr. Jour.*, September, 1937, pp. 259-264, and 'Géographes et voyageurs musulmans', in *Bull. de la Soc. R. de Géographie d'Égypte*, Cairo, November, 1951, pp. 19-46.

P. 199. In the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, Tehran, p. 19, the following countries are enumerated: 45. Ṭukhāristān, 46. Bilūr, 47. Qashmīr, 48. *Bilād al-thalj* ('country of the snow') and 49. Soghd.

P. 211. As Juvaynī, I, 47, spells فناکت, the original name must have been Panākat.

P. 212. The river Khwābdān is mentioned between Shiraz and Naubandagān, see Miskawaih, *The Eclipse*, ed. Margoliouth, III, 183.

P. 214. *Dahana-yi shīr* must correspond to the whirlpool which Abū-Dulaf strangely calls فم البواب, see my 'Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar ibn Muhahil's travels in Iran', Cairo, 1955, p. 60. cf. also the name of a whirlpool in the Caspian in I. Faqih, 290: *maudī' yuqālu lahu dahān-shīr wa fīhi durdūr*.

P. 218. § 6, 49. Add: Le Strange, 'Al-Abrik, the capital of the Paulicians', *JRAS*, 1896, p. 74.

P. 223. On China see in more detail my 'Marvazī' and the analysis of Abū-Dulaf's travels in the work quoted above *ad* p. 214.

Pp. 227 and 256. The most original part of the *Hudūd* is that concerning Central Asia and the eastern Turkish tribes. The source which our anonymous author used is probably Jayhānī's lost work, but even Jayhānī could have combined various reports (see my 'Marvazī', p. 7). *Prima facie*, the basic itineraries utilized for the northern and southern parts of the present-day territories of Sin-kiang (Chinese Turkestan) may seem to form one block, but it is quite possible that the original inquiries were carried out by different persons and at different times. The shifting scenes of the 9th century, when the Tibetan-Chinese struggles were still going on and the Uyghur and other Turkish tribes were advancing westwards, greatly complicated the unification of the heterogeneous reports.

In my commentary I assumed that the date of the occupation of Kan-chou by the Uyghurs was A.D. 843-4, and that—as only Tibetans and Chinese are mentioned in our paragraph on Kan-chou (§ 9, 7)—the description of the latter must be previous to that date. In my 'Tamīm', p. 278, following the advice of the late Prof. G. Haloun, I amended the dates of the Uyghur occupation—of Kan-su as 'after 847', and of the region of Turfan as 'after 866'—adding that both the principalities 'came into their full rights only at the beginning of the tenth century'. As according to the *Hudūd* Kuchā (§ 9, 10) was exposed to the attacks of the Toghuzghuz, I had admitted the possibility of the Toghuzghuz being, in this case, some remnants of the pre-Uyghur 'Western T'u-chüeh'. This hypothesis has been doubted by J. R. Hamilton in his carefully written

book *Les Ouïghours à l'époque des cinq dynasties* [907–960], Paris, 1955, p. 13, in which he says: ‘on doit dater cette mention de *H.-‘Ā.* (§ 9, 7: Kan-chou) des années après 848, et on remarque alors que les renseignements de la géographie persane sur Kan-tcheou et sur Koutcha sont pratiquement contemporains’.

If, however, we consider the chapter on the Toghuzghuz (§ 12), we see that the author represents the region of the Eastern T’ien-shan as solidly occupied by the Toghuzghuz, and in this case the term refers apparently to the Uyghurs. Gardīzī, whose sources are close to those of the *Hudūd*, adds that the religion of the Toghuzghuz settled in Panjikant (i.e. Bish-baliq) is Manichæan (*Dīnāvarī*), and this was a typical feature of the Uyghurs.

Consequently, in consideration of § 12, we might assign to the report on Kuchā even a considerably later date than 847 (or even 866)—for example ‘circa 900’—which would bring it nearer to the time of Jayhānī. Should the report on Eastern T’ien-shan (§ 12) be connected with that on Kuchā (§ 9, 7), it would be tempting to assume that the report on Kan-chou (§ 9, 7) also belongs to the same original source. However, in view of the possible multiplicity of reports such a conclusion is not indispensable: our § 9, 7, may still have in view the situation *circa* or before 847 (848?).

I am afraid that for the time being we cannot fix any closer the exact period to which the *Hudūd* refers. All we can say is that the reports on the distribution of the Turkish tribes are so remarkably circumstantial that they must be based on very careful intelligence. More precision may yet come from Saka, Soghdian, Tibetan, or Chinese documents.

P. 229. The late G. Haloun derived the name of Khumdān from Chinese, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/3, p. 408.

P. 235. On India see now my ‘Marvazī’ and ‘Gardīzī on India’, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/3, pp. 625–640. The king *Dahum* has been identified as Dharma-pāla of Bengal.

P. 251. *K.r.mān* in I. Athīr, xi, 108, is not Farmul but Kurram, as in Juvaynī, ii, 139.

P. 254. On Tibet see my ‘Marvazī’, pp. 89–91, and L. Petech’s remarks in *Oriente Moderno*, October, 1947, pp. 245–7. Also Petech, ‘Il Tibet nella geografia Musulmana’, in *Acc. dei Lincei, Rendiconti, scienze morali*, 1947, viii/2. More likely Tūsmat is to be looked for in the eastern part of Tibet.

P. 268. My analysis of the data of Tamīm is accompanied by an additional note, p. 431, which was further developed in my article ‘Tamīm ibn Baḥr’, *BSOAS*, 1948, xii/2, pp. 275–305, in which I arrived at the conclusion that this traveller visited the old Uyghur capital on the Orkhon. The reference to Qudāma should be 262, l. 5.

P. 271. *Misti kamtha* refers not to Panjikant (Bish-baliq) but to the preceding *Sēcu* (H. W. B.).

P. 272. *Bārlugh* mentioned between Panjikat (Bish-baligh) and Jāmghar is possibly identical with بَرْلِغ (read \*برليغ) which Juvaynī, ii, 225, mentions as the birthplace of Kurkūz, at a distance of 4 farsakhs from Bish-baligh.

P. 273. Instead of our *Stkath* (§ 12, 4) read \**Sīkath*, i.e. Yar-khoto, see Chavannes, *Documents*, p. 7.

P. 274. Instead of Baluchi *gwād* read: *gwāt* (H. W. B.).

P. 277. The ruins of Qayaliq lie on the right bank of the Ili near Chingildi

(Dungene), in the district of Qara-tal, see *Kratkive soobshch. inst. mater. kulturī*, 1940, iv, pp. 43–5.

P. 280. In support of the Yaghma origin of the Qara-khanids see also *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 20 : *padshāh-i yaghmā-rā Bughrā-khān khwānand*.

P. 287. Instead of *H.skī* Marvazi gives بعسكليه which A. Z. V. Togan reads *Haytīliya* (?) and O. Pritsak (1951) : *Baġa-ġigil*.<sup>1</sup>

P. 288. Instead of *Chūnpān* O. Pritsak suggests \**Jabbūy-khān*.

P. 295. In Birūnī, *Canon*, No. 597 (A. Z. V. Togan, 'Birunī's Picture of the World', p. 52) read : *Ajmā qasabat al-Khotan*. Now Achma, where some Saka MSS. were found. See Sir A. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, I, 468, and II, Map : east of the Qara-tash-Chira river. Ūch and Bārmān (spelt *Fārmān*) are mentioned in *Zafar-nāma*, I, 485, in the course of 'Omar-shaykh's campaign.

P. 297. § 16. See correction *ad* p. 98.

P. 298. In Mīr Ḥaydar Tilpe's *Makhzan al-asrār*, Iskandar pādshāh is called the ruler of the Barlas, Qiyat, and M.qliq (?).

P. 303. A. N. Bernstam locates Sū-yāb differently on the Great Kemin, above its junction with the Chu, see *Trudi Semirech. ekspeditsii* (the Chu valley), 1950, map I.

P. 305, l. 1. *Ajlād* (اجلاد) stands probably for *Ighrāq* (اغراق), cf. p. 275, and Juvaynī, II, 138–9.

P. 309. Instead of Juvaynī, I, 101, read : II, 102.

P. 316. According to Nāsawī, *Sirat Jalāl al-dīn*, 25 (trans. 44), Tārkan-khatun, mother of Jalāl al-dīn, was of the tribe Bayāwut, one of the subdivisions of Yimāk. On the other hand, Juvaynī, II, 198, says that she was a Qanqli. In the Russian Lavrentievsky chronicle (year 1184) the term половцы Емякове reflects the name *Yimāk*.

P. 319. On the Dominican Julian, see now D. Sinor, *BSOAS*, 1953, xiv/3, p. 598.

P. 326. § 23, 13. On Tabas-i Gilakī see A. Eghbal 'Amīr Dād Ḥabashī and Amīr Ismā'il Gilakī', in *Yādegār*, III, No. 9, 49–63.

P. 327. § 23, 31. Ganj-rustāq was the fief of the well-known Rāfi' b. Harthama (rather : Rāfi' b. Naumard, Harthama being the name of his step-father), see I. Khallikān, IV, 326.

P. 328. § 23, 40. *S.ng* should be read \*Shing, see *Akhbār al-daulat al-Saljūqiya* (M. Iqbāl), p. 10. Dandānaqān has been identified with Tash-rabat and described by B. Zakhoder in *Istor. zhurnal*, 1943, No. 3, pp. 74–7, and S. A. Yershov, in *Krat. soobshch. inst. mater. kult.*, 1947, xv, 126–136.

P. 330. The *Shāh-nāma* (Tehran), v, 1199, insists on the appurtenance of Gūzgān to Iran : 'and also Gōzgānān, the "blessed place", as it has been called by the ruler of the world (Manūchihr or Kay-Khusrau ?)'.<sup>1</sup>

P. 331. In *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, 360 (Raverty's transl. 1054), فيوار قادس is mentioned at 10 fars. from Kālbūn (?). cf. Ṭabari, II, 79, Balādhuri, 4–9, on the appointment (in 41/661) of Nāfi' b. Khālīd as governor of قادس من ابواران

<sup>1</sup> 'Von den Karluk zu den Karachaniden', *ZDMG*, Band 101, 1951, 271. In this article O. I. Pritsak has discussed several of the names appearing in the *Hudūd*, Gardīzī, Marvazī, etc. See also his other article, 'Die Karachaniden', in *Der Islam*, Band 31/1, 1953, 18–68.



\**Ēvār-ān* possibly corresponds to *Fēvār* (should the latter be read with a ف: *βēvār*?). cf. Marquart, *Wehrōt*, 42.

P. 334. § 23, 49. On an expedition against نمرون (?), the king of Gharchistān, in 107/725, see Balādhuri, 428, Ṭabari, II, 1488, I. Athīr, v, 102. The name of the peak \*Ishk means ‘a tusk’, see Minorsky, ‘Gardīzī on India’, *BSOAS*, 1948, XII/3, 635 (cf. *yishk* in *Vis-u-Rāmīn*).

P. 335. For the titles composed with *-banda*, cf. Ṭabari, III, 815–16: *Oṭrār-banda*.

It is tempting to identify Gurzivān (Qurzumān) with the kingdom of the petty king Waručān-sāh, mentioned in a Manichæan fragment. W. B. Henning, in *Jour. of the Greater India Soc.*, XI, No. 2, p. 88, came very near to this identification: ‘it would thus appear probable that the country Waruč lay in or close to, Gözgānān and Gharčistān, or at any rate to the S.W. of Balkh’. Our Gurzuvān satisfies this condition, and seems to represent a regular phonetic development *V.rč > Gurz*.<sup>1</sup> The position of Jurzuvān ‘between two mountains’ reminded I. Hauqal, 66, of the situation of Audaghusht in Morocco. cf. also Henning, *BSOAS*, 1947, XII/1, 49.

P. 336. § 23, 62. In 120/738 a famous battle was fought at Sān between Asad and the khaqan. It was called *waq’a Sān* or *waq’a Kh.rystān* (?), Ṭabari, II, 1608–1613. cf. Juvaynī, II, 219: *J.rīstān* (?).

P. 338. § 23, 70. On the antiquities on the Khulm river see also Dr. Vyacheslov, in the collectanea *Afghanistan*, Moscow, 1924, pp. 147–155: *takht-i Rustam*. cf. *Zafar-nāma*, II, 15.

P. 347. On the Khalaj see my ‘The Language of the Khalaj’, in *BSOAS*, 1940, x/2, pp. 417–437.

P. 349. It would be worth while to trace the origin of the name of the *Afghān* (not of the Afghan *nation*) to some Far Eastern tribe which at some time may have given its *rulers* to the Pathans. There is a Mongol tribe called Aokhan in Manchuria. O. Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 1935, pp. 264–5, tries to connect the name either with *aoga* ‘strength, might’, or with *aogan* ‘elder, senior’. It is curious that the epics of Keser-khan are known in the Burushaski language, which might indicate an early passage of some Mongol tribe through Pamir, or Western Sin-kiang to India. However, D. L. R. Lorimer, ‘An Oral Version of the Kesar saga from Hunza’, *Folk-lore*, XVII, No. 2, June, 1931, pp. 105–140, points out that the local version is derived from the Tibetan version of Ladakh. [See below, p. 270.]

P. 353. The historical sources on the present-day Tajikistan have been analysed by A. M. Belenitsky (on Khuttal) and N. Negmatov (Ushrūshana) in *Tajikskaya arkeol. ekspeditsiya*, I (1950), pp. 109–127, and II (1953), pp. 231–252.

Under §§ 25, 26, read: *Rēg-ar*, *lang-ar*, *band-ar*, though W. Henning (letter 3rd Nov., 1953) thinks that they may be of different formation. On Chaghāniyān see the ode of Farrukhī, *Divān*, 332, in which hints are made at the local mines of gold and silver.

P. 355, § 25, 60. Pāp, now Minchak-tepe, on the right bank of the Sir-darya, see Masson, in *Krat. soobshch. inst. mater. kul'turi*, 1940, IV, 53.

<sup>1</sup> It remains to be seen whether this name appearing in the neighbourhood of the Hephthalite nest in Khorasan (Marquart, *Wehrōt*, 40–5, and recently R. Girshman, *Les Chionites-Hephthalites*, 1948, p. 98) has any further links with the Hephthalite *Gurjara* in India.

P. 357, § 25, 78. I. Hauqal, 510, lists mints in Bukhara, Samarqand, and Īlāq.

P. 360. The famous 'Treasure of Oxus', now in the British Museum, is said to have been found near Fayḍābād.

P. 367. On the hot spring on the Lutkuh river see Morgenstierne, 'Iranian Pamir languages', p. 485: the hot geyser in the Garm-Chashma valley in Shughnan is called *shund* 'hot'.

P. 370. On Khwārazm see Sachau, 'Zur Geschichte und Chronologie von Khwārazm', in *SBWAW*, Phil.Hist.Kl., 1873, LXXIII, 471–506, and LXXIV, 285–330. Very important is the passage in Muqaddasi, 260, in which 'al-Ma'mūn' (apparently the ruler of Khwārazm) is said to have captured Ātil (the former Khazar capital on the Volga). The numerous expeditions to Khwārazm headed by S. P. Tolstov have totally changed the archæological picture of the oasis. See S. P. Tolstov's *Ancient Khorezm* (in Russian), 1948, and the numerous later publications. On the Khwārazmian language, see the publications of W. Henning and A. A. Freiman (*Khorezmsky yazik*, I, 1951).

P. 378, § 29, 16. Correct: according to Yāqūt, I, 193: Arrajān (which al-Mutanabbī calls *Arjān*) 'is called *Arghān* by the Persians' (thence probably the vulgar form *Arghūn* in the *Zafar-nāma*, I, 600).

P. 384, § 31, 21. The author of the *Ta'rīkh Mayyāfāriqīn*, B.M. Or. 5803, fol. 180a, who travelled to the court of the 'king of Jibāl' (Fakhr al-daula), also mentions the tombs of Kisā'i, of Muḥammad b. Hasan sāhib of Abū Ḥanīfa, etc. In fact I. Faqīh, 253, refers to the *aṭbāq al-mudahhana* 'glazed dishes' of Rayy.

P. 391. On the region between Gīlān and Mūqān see Minorsky, 'A Mongol Decree', in *BSOAS*, 1954, xv/3, 515–527.

P. 392. The proverb: *laysa warā' 'Abbadān qaryatun* is quoted in Juvaynī, III, 20, and in Nizāmī's *Haft Paykār*, ed. Rypka, 146.

P. 395. On I. Hauqal's passage, p. 254, concerning the local rulers of Ādharbāyjān, see now Minorsky, 'The Caucasian Vassals of Marzubān', in *BSOAS*, 1953, xv/3, 514–529.

P. 397. *Sangān/Sanjān* is possibly the original home of the Rawwādids. See Minorsky, 'A Mongol Decree', *BSOAS*, 1954, xvi/13, p. 518.

P. 398. On Arrān, see new geographical data in Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History*, 1953, and 'The Caucasian Vassals', *BSOAS*, xvi/3.

P. 341. In addition to the important list of Caucasian highlanders in the *Armenian Geography*, see also the list in the Armenian historian Eḷishe (Russ. transl., p. 157) and the report on the journey of the bishop Israel in Moses Kalankatvats'i, II, ch. 39. See also the analysis of data on Daghestan in Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (II)—ready for publication.

Pp. 405–411. The form attested in the sources before the 16th century is شروان \*Sharvān, but already in the *Hudud* the form *Shīrvān* makes its appearance on f. 33b. The term 'Mazyadids' is misleading for it coincides with the designation of an entirely different Mesopotamian dynasty. The dynasty of Sharvān, as attested in Khāqānī's *Divān*, 50, 474, 686, called themselves *Yazīdiyyān*, 'Yazidids'. The later 'Kisrānids' also considered themselves as Yazidids. The tree on p. 405 has been revised in my *Studies* (II). [On the original form of the name see the quotations collected by Š. Nafisi in his article *Sharvān-va-Shīrvān*, in *Armaghān*, 1327/1948, No. 1 (Farvardīn), pp. 23–32.]

P. 411, § 37. Ibn al-Mujāwir's work is called *Ta'rikh al-Mustabṣir*, see now 'Descriptio Arabiae Meridionalis', I-II, edidit O. Löfgren, Leiden, 1951-4.

P. 418, § 42. Arabic descriptions of the Byzantine Empire are exhaustively quoted in A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, Bruxelles, I (1935), II (1950)—now entirely revised by M. Canard. cf. Minorsky, 'Marvazi on the Byzantines', in *Mélanges H. Grégoire*, II, 455-469. See also a short list of Byzantine titles in *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, Tehran, 1318/1939, pp. 424-5.

P. 419. Read: 'the neighbouring kingdoms of the Burjān, Abar, Burghar, Saqāliba, Khazar, and others (*wa ghayri-him*)'. (Here *Abar* may refer to the Avars of *Daghestan*.)

P. 420, l. 2: the use of the term 'the Khazar sea' for the Black Sea is attested even in the history of the Seljuqs of Rum by Ibn Bībī, ed. Houtsma, IV, 129: *dhikr-i guzashtan-i lashkar-i sultān az daryā-yi Khazar*. The most probable explanation is that the author of the *Ḥudūd* misread خزر into جرزر

*Jurz*, which he then reproduced in the Persian form کزر *Gurz*. P. 422. The 'islands' of the Black Sea refer to the Taman peninsula, which, in point of fact, consisted of islands divided by branches of the Kuban, see V. I. Moshinskaya in *Vestn. drev. istorii*, vol. 3 (17), 1946, pp. 203-8. P. 425. An example of the strange deformations of the Northern Spanish names is found in the *Ākām al-marjān*, ed. A. Codazzi, p. 412: *والثغر الاعلى فيما يجاور بلاد الشماكسة ومن* (for people of Jacá (?), Huesca, Aragon).

P. 427, § 43. In his *Ibn Faḍlān*, A. Z. V. Togan has obscured the situation by playing down the rôle of the Slavs, while trying to give a new explanation of the term Saqāliba, p. 305: 'Anfangs, als man die Bulgaren, Burtasen und andere Völker der mittleren Wolga noch Saqāliba nannte, hat man das ganze System der Wolga als "Nahr al-Şaqāliba" bezeichnet, später aber, als das Wort "Şaqāliba" in Bezug auf Ost- und Nordeuropa mehr für die germanischen und finnischen Völker, und speziell (*sic*—V.M.) für die Germanen und baltischen Völker verwendet wurde, bedeutete "Nahr al-Şaqāliba" offenbar nur die Obere Wolga'. For the situation in 10th-century Europe—which had changed since the times of Ptolemy and Tacitus—see the independent contemporary reports on the Saqāliba by Mas'ūdi (A.D. 943) in Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 95-160; and by Ibrāhīm ibn Ya'qūb (A.D. 355/965) in Th. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahīm b. Ja'kūb de itinere slavico*, Kraków, 1946. [See below, p. 270.]

B. N. Zakhoder, in his review of my 'Marvazi', *Izv. geogr. obshch.*, 1943, 75/6, pp. 25-43, has objected to my identification of the Saqāliba kings with the Moravian princes. The fact is that the Arabs often fused their information on various kinds of Saqāliba in the same rubric. Thus Moravia could be placed under the same roof as the town وانتبث (This latter (*Ḥudūd*, 431, note 4), has still considerable chances to reflect the name of the *Vīetic*, *Vyatichi*, as first suggested by Westberg, 'Beiträge', 1899, p. 213, despite Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 200.)

P. 432, § 44. In Soviet literature the origin of the Rūs (or rather of their name) is still debated with great animation—although the events of the 9th-10th centuries have no more bearing on the situation obtaining in the 20th century than the origin of the names *France* or *Prussia* on contemporary politics. Some arguments seem to miss the point and tone down such facts as

the terminology used by Const. Porphyrogenitus and the *Initial Russian Chronicle*, new edition, 1950, I, 24. To the literature quoted at the beginning of § 44 (p. 432) should be added V. Barthold's 'Arabskiye izvestiya o russkikh', written in 1918 but published posthumously in 1940, in *Soviet. Vostokovedeniye*, I, 15-50. See also the unexpected new facts on the expeditions of the Rūs on the Caspian, in Minorsky, 'Rus' v Zakavkazye', in *Izv. na instituta za bŭlgar. istoriya*, Sofia, 1954, v, 377-380. Pp. 432-3: the term *Warank* first emerging in Birūnī was probably heard by the latter from the Bulghar ambassador to Sultan Maḥmūd, see Minorsky, 'On some of Biruni's informants', in *Al-Birūnī Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta, 1951, pp. 233-6. P. 436, note 2: the identity of *Arthā* with the Finnish Erzya is far from conclusive. By no means would the Arabs have confused the appearance of a Finnish people with the Rūs of Kŭyāba (Kiev) and Novgorod. The character ث in *Arṯā* is highly

problematic and, having regard to the variant ابارقه and to the fact that among the goods coming from *Arthā* (Iṣṭakhri, 226) was *riṣās* 'lead or tin', one should not discard Chwolson's tentative identification of this territory with Biarmia, though not with *Perm* but with the old region of the Sagas near the White Sea and Lake Ladoga, visited by Norsemen from Norway, cf. M. A. Tallgren, 'Biarmia', in *Eurasia septentrionalis*, 1931, vi, 100-120.

P. 438, § 45. A. Z. V. Togan, *Ibn Fadlan*, 317, writes of the Inner Bulghar: 'hier die Donau Bulgaren, sonst die Kaukasischen Bulgar-Balqaren'. Some confusion in the use of this rare term is not excluded, but D. M. Dunlop, *The history of the Jewish Khazars*, 1954, 218, retains the interpretation of I. Hauqal's reference (p. 279, second edition, 291) to Inner Bulgaria as having in view the Danube Bulgaria.

P. 442. On the Arab occupation of Apulia and Bari and their expeditions against Ragusa, see Babinger, *Raguse* in *EI*.

P. 444, § 48. On the Alans a mass of information has been systematized in V. I. Abayev's articles collected in *Osetinsky yazık*, I, 1949. See also Minorsky, 'The Alan capital Magas', in *BSOAS*, 1952, xiv/2, 221-238: Mas'ūdi's *Maḡhaṣ*, interpreted in the manuscripts as ديانة, should be restored as ذبابة 'a fly'! P. 446: Marquart's interpretation of *Cherkes* as *Chār-Kas* 'the four Kas' finds support in the name of one of Saladin's generals: جهاركس, Abul-Fidā, iv, 245.

P. 447. On the Sarīr, see Nizāmī's poem *Iskandar-nāma* (*Sharaf-nāma*), ch. XL, ed. Ali-zade and Bertels, Baku, 1947, p. 300. P. 448: خندان must certainly be restored as \* خيداق; in Khaqani, *Divān*, p. 240, غيداق. *Barshaliya* (*Barashliya*?) most probably corresponds to *Varač'an* (in Armenian) and the present-day *Bashlī* (\**Barash-lī*) 'borough'. As a parallel to our رنجس (or rather دنجس) one can quote ديكس in the *History of Bāb al-abwāb*. The place probably corresponds to the present-day Dilgasha.

P. 450, § 50. See now D. M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton, 1954. cf. also S. T. Eremian, 'Moses of Kalankatuk' on the embassy of the Albanian prince Varaz-Trdat to the Khazar khakan Alp-Ilitver', in *Zap. Instit. Vostokoved.*, 1939, vii, 129-155. A. Z. V. Togan's article 'Die Völkerschaften des Chazarenreiches', see above, p. 258, is vitiated by his polemical

tone and contradictions. On the one hand he admits the compilatory character of the Islamic sources (p. 40) and their tendency to fuse heterogeneous materials (pp. 45, 49 : ‘zusammengeworfen’; p. 61 : ‘verworren’). On the other hand, he accepts the data of the *Ḥudūd* on Eastern Europe literally and reconstructs them into a rather fantastic scheme (pp. 43–4) which he then tries to identify with the area over which ran the writ of the Khazar khaqans (p. 45). My own contention was to analyse the composition of § 50, which is almost definitely an *amalgam* of the sources partly known to us (I. Khurdādhbih, Iṣṭakhri) and partly capable of being reconstructed from the combination of such parallel sources as I. Rusta, the *Ḥudūd*, and Gardizī.

P. 453. The later *Saq̄sīn/Sakhsīn* is definitely a haplology of I. Khurdādhbih’s *Sārigh-shīn* (or better \**sīn* ‘tomb, monument’, as the form *Saq̄sīn* seems to suggest). This assumption of mine has an importance for the mutual fixation of the position of either of them. \**Khamlīkh* cannot be *Khan-balīkh*, as already stated by Marquart. The position of Sarkel/Sharkel/Bela-veza has been fixed near Trekh-Ostrovnyaya, above the place where the Sakarka (whose name seems to reflect *Sarkel*) joins the Don (on the left bank), see K. V. Kudryashov in *Izv. Ak. Nauk.* (historical section), 1947, iv/6, pp. 536–568. P. 459, para. (7), the quotation from the *‘Zafar-nama* should be omitted, because طانوس should be restored as \*طانوس Tanus, as the plateau above Khunzakh (Avaria) is called.

P. 460. The mistake in the title of § 51, which in our MS. is *Burtās*, was already noticed by Barthold in an additional note (Russian text, p. 32, note 3) : ‘(Our source) erroneously refers the report on the Bulgars (*BGA*, vii, 141) to the Burtās, see the title of the king (*Alm.š*), the Islamic religion and the three tribes (*aṣṇāf*). The confusion of the Bulghar with the Burtās is also found in Yāqūt, i, 567’. In full agreement with these remarks, and in conformity with I. Rusta, 141, I have restored the title of § 51 as : ‘[Bulkār]’. A. Z. V. Togan, who disapproves of this indispensable improvement (‘Völkerschaften’, p. 44) must have neglected to read either Barthold’s or my own explanations. In addition to the excellent old book by Shpilevsky, *Ancient towns and other Bulghar-Tatar remains in the government of Kazan* (in Russian), Kazan, 1875, see now B. D. Grekov, ‘The Volga Bulgars in the 9th–10th cent.’, in *Istor. Zapiski*, 1945, vol. 14, pp. 3–37, and A. P. Smirnov, *The Volga Bulgars* (in Russian), Moscow, 1951, 275 pp.

P. 462, § 52. See now Rikov, *Sketches of the history of Mordva according to archeol. data*, Moscow, 1933, 122 pp., and E. I. Goryunova, ‘Selische Polyanki’, in *Krat. soobshch. inst. mater. kulturī*, xv, 1947, 106–110 (the author knows the *Ḥudūd* and identifies the Burtās with the Moksha Mordvans). I must again stress the fact that the *Ḥudūd* locates the Burādhās (Burtās) to the west of the Volga. To the older Iranian elements in the Volga languages I wish to add the name of the ‘old man of the woods (леший)’ in Chuvash : *arzurri* (*BSOAS*, xii/1, p. 81) which may be *arzur-āri*. The second element is Turkish, *ār* ‘a man’, but the first strikingly resembles the Avestan and Pahlavī *arzur* ‘wood’, which (according to Marquart) underlies also the name of Shahrāzūr (in Iraq).

P. 465, § 53. See H. Grégoire, ‘L’habitat primitif des Magyars et les Σαβάρτοι ἀσφαλοι’, *Byzantion*, 1938, xiii, 19–30, where he wishes to identify the *V.n.nd.r* with the settlers from Adrianople established on the Danube between 813 and 836. The fact is that the *V.n.nd.r* seem to be connected with the *Eastern* Bulgarian tribes (see pp. 466–7).



P. 468. I wrote: ‘The qualification of the *V.n.nd.r* in our sources as cowards (*badh-dil*)<sup>1</sup> may be due to a wrong interpretation of the word *tarsā* (which means both “Christian” and “coward”). In Gardīzī the *N.nd.r* are definitely called Christians (*tarsā*) and Rūmī, i.e. “Byzantines”, very possibly with reference to their religion’. This is slightly different from how A. Z. V. Togan puts it (*ibid.*, 41): ‘(Minorsky) bezichtigt den Verfasser [*scil.* of the *Ḥudūd*] erneut der willkürlich [?V.M.] veränderten Wiedergabe des Wortlautes seiner Quelle, so habe er das richtige Wort *tarsā* “Christ” bei Gardīzī einfach in *bad-dil* “Poltron” abgeändert’. My entirely objective purpose was to account for the discrepancy of the two parallel sources. I have yet to hear of a different explanation.

P. 473, § 56, 2. *Kalāh-bar* is not Kra but Kedah, which lies south-east of the northern corner of the Kra peninsula in Malaya.

LONDON-CAMBRIDGE, 1937–1955.

<sup>1</sup> Different from *badh-rag*, see Vocabulary.

---

#### CORRECTIONS

P. 254, last line. For *bahār-ān*, see other similar words referring to festivals and periods of time: *bāmdād-ān*, *khatna-sūr-ān* and even *khāch-shūr-ān* (for the Armenian Twelfth-tide).

P. 265. G. N. Roerich, ‘The epic of King Kesar of Ling’, in *JRAS. Bengal*, 1942, VIII/2, p. 311, is also definite about the birth of the epic in north-eastern Tibet. My second reference to Mongols should be omitted.

P. 267. After Kowalewski add: and A. Z. V. Togan’s own quotation of Khuwārizmī, No. 1593 (indicating the *changes* which had taken place in the area of Ptolemy’s *Germania*).

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

The Qara-qoyunlu and the Qutb-shāhs (Turkmenica, 10)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1955), pp. 50-73

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609229>

Accessed: 29/09/2013 21:49

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# THE QARA-QOYUNLU AND THE QUṬB-SHĀHS

(TURKMENICA, 10)

By V. MINORSKY

THE historians<sup>1</sup> who take the death of Jihān-shāh's son Ḥasan 'Alī in 873/1468 as the end of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty disregard the fact that for some time the descendants of Qara-Yūsuf survived in Hamadan and in the beginning of the 16th century rose to new honours as the Quṭb-shāhs of Golconda. Under Indian skies they kept up their family traditions, and their court historians summed up afresh the history of the Qara-qoyunlu and restored the missing links in the genealogy of the kings of Golconda.

These links form the special subject of the present article.

During the collapse of the Bahmanid dynasty which ruled over the Deccan for 178 years (748–932/1347–1525), their kingdom split into several principalities and Golconda fell to the lot of the Quṭb-shāhs whose domination lasted 175 years (918–1098/1512–1687). The founder of the dynasty Sulṭān-qulī had arrived at the Bahmanid court towards the end of the reign of Muḥammad III (867–87/1463–82). Under his successor (in 909/1495 ?) he was appointed governor of Tilingāna. He proclaimed his independence in Golconda in 918/1512 and was assassinated in 950/1543.<sup>2</sup>

## § 1. SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE QUṬB-SHĀHS

The following are the contemporary histories of the Quṭb-shāhs.

A. *Marghūb al-qulūb* by Sayyid Ṣadr-i jihān, which is known only in quotations, seems to have been composed under the founder of the dynasty (see below, p. 71, note 2).

B. In his general history known as *Tārīkh-i elchī-yi Nizām-shāh* (down to 970/1562) Khurshāh ibn Qubād did not include the history of the Quṭb-shāhs, but he promised to publish a special record of the dynasties of the Deccan (see Rieu, *Catalogue*, 111a). In fact, Firishta (*Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī*, ed. 1832, II, 328) writes: 'It is known that under Ibrāhīm Quṭb-shāh (957–88/1550–80) a man from (Persian) 'Irāq, called Shāh Khurshāh, wrote a historical work in which with utmost care (*ba-naqīr va qaṭmīr*) he mentioned the events (of the Quṭb-shāhs). As, however, during the composition of the present book, Khurshāh's work was not before (my) eyes, I have not exposed the events of the days (of the Quṭb-shāhs) but shall mention (only) the names (and) some of the events of the period of that exalted dynasty'.

Khurshāh ibn Qubād was in the employ of the Nizām-shāhs of Aḥmad-nagar. In 952–1545 he was sent as an envoy to the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp and remained in Persia down to 971/1563, but he is said to have died in Golconda on the

<sup>1</sup> cf. Ghaffāri, *BSOAS.*, xvi, 1954, 297.

<sup>2</sup> cf. Firishta, II, 320. Sir W. Haig's article in the *E.I.* is very brief and in the *Cambridge History of India*, III, he only occasionally refers to the dynasty.



25th Dhul-qa'da 972/24 June, 1565, see Rieu, 107b–108a. Thus it looks as if at the very end of his life he had transferred his allegiance to the Qutb-shāhs, and it may be that in preparation for that event he had collected the material on the ancestors of the dynasty. In fact a short record of the Qara-qoyunlu was already included in the *Tārīkh-i elchī* (B.M., Add. 23.513, ff. 431a–436b).

C. The *Nasab-nāma* ('Genealogy') composed by Fursī is a poem of 20,000 verses that goes down to the beginning of Muḥammad-qulī's reign (989–1020/1581–1611), see Storey, *Persian Literature*, 746.

D. The anonymous history *Tārīkh-i guzīda-yi Sulṭān-Muḥammad Qutb-shāhī* (quoted *TQ*). The author says that he wrote at the behest of Sulṭān Muḥammad Qutb-shāh (1020–35/1612–26)<sup>1</sup> and completed his work at the end of Sha'bān 1026/end of August, 1617, when, as he adds (Cambridge, Christ's College, MS. Dd. 4.10, f. 219b), the king was in the sixth year of his reign and in the twenty-seventh year of his life.

Of this history I have used the Paris MS. (Bib. Nat., Supp. persan 174, Blochet, *Catalogue*, 337) which I have collated with the Cambridge MS.

E. *Ma'āthir-i Qutb-shāhī-yi Maḥmūdī* by Maḥmūd b. 'Abdullāh Nishāpūrī, who entered the service of Muḥammad-qulī Qutb-shāh in 995/1587 and wrote in 1033/1624 (the date 1038/1629 also occurs in his work). The work, originally written in 3 volumes, was 'several times altered and enriched especially after the author's long journey through Persia' (Ethé). Only a portion of the *Ma'āthir* has survived (India Office, Ethé 463), devoted to the time of Sulṭān Muḥammad Qutb-shāh.

F. The author of the *Tārīkh-i Turkmānīya* (India Office, Ethé 573) calls himself ambiguously *عبدالله الودود ابن عبدالله محمود نیشاپوری* which apparently means 'slave of the loving God, son of 'Abdullāh, Maḥmūd of Nishapur' and Storey, 299, has rightly guessed that he must be identical with the author of the *Ma'āthir* (E). It begins like the history of the Qara-qoyunlu kings but abruptly (f. 161a), after the story of the Timurid Rustam's taking refuge with Qara-Yūsuf (in 813/1410),<sup>2</sup> switches over to the events in Tilingāna (India) which took place only at the beginning of the 10th/16th century. The name of the dedicatee is masked by a profusion of epithets, but the fact that he is referred to (f. 10a) as 'Muḥammad by name' and described as being young (*javān-bakht*) suggests that it was presented to Sulṭān Muḥammad-qulī's son and successor, Sulṭān-Muḥammad. This is confirmed by the fact that the founder of the dynasty (Sulṭān-qulī) is designated as *jadd-i a'lā* ('great-grandfather') of the ruling king (f. 4b). I have carefully examined the *Tārīkh-i Turkmānīya* and I now think that it must be either a preliminary draft, or a lost part of the *Ma'āthir*, which, as we know, went through several redactions. The book is a rather dreary and wordy compilation.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Who should not be confused with his father Sultan Muḥammad-qulī (989–1020/1581–1612).

<sup>2</sup> *Maṭla'*, 197, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III/3, 179.

<sup>3</sup> I found in it only three or four dates and at times the author writes: 'In Sha'bān of the year so-and-so (*fulān*)'.

G. *Ḥadīqat al-salāṭīn* by Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad b. ‘Abdullāh al-Shirāzī al-Ṣā‘idī (Storey, 747) is a special story of Sulṭān ‘Abdullāh from his birth in 1023/1614 to the sixteenth year of his reign (1050/1640).

The other histories of the Quṭb-shāh enumerated by Storey (Nos. 1025–1027, cf. also 1004) seem to be later works without definite relation to our limited task, which is to elucidate the links between the Qara-qoyunlu and the Quṭb-shāhs.<sup>1</sup> In this regard the *TQ* seems to have preserved the family tradition of the Quṭb-shāhs.<sup>2</sup>

## § 2. SOURCES OF THE TĀRĪKH-I QUṬB-SHĀHĪ

An interesting point is to ascertain the source used by the anonymous author, for he admits that Sulṭān Muḥammad ‘commissioned him to abridge (*ijāz-va-ikhtiṣār*) the history of the ancestors of this exalted (king), in which formerly (*sābiqan*) one of the servants (*chākarān*) of the court had recorded (*dabt*) their circumstances but which displayed a prolixity having no great relation to history’.<sup>3</sup> As early a writer as Sir John Briggs in his *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India till 1612* (London, 1829), III, 337, hinted at the possibility of that earlier work being identical with the work of Khurshāh b. Qubād (see above, B), and Rieu, 321a, supported this view. The qualification, ‘a servant of the court’, might suit Khurshāh, for he is reported to have died in Golconda (in 1565). It is possible that the author, despite his discreet claim to having only (?) abridged the work of one of his predecessors, has added to it half-a-century of later events, and possibly utilized some other sources. On the other hand, the accusation of prolixity levelled against Khurshāh would be in contradiction with the sober style of his larger work (*Tārīkh-i elchī*).<sup>4</sup>

Still less would the term ‘abridgment’ apply to the *Marghūb al-qulūb* (see above, A), for this seems to have been a much earlier work.

Was, then, the *TQ* an improved version of the *Ma‘āthir* (see above, E) of which only a fragment has survived? Its author was a servant of the court, his work was several times altered and, if we take the *Tārīkh-i Turkmānīya* as a sample of it, it certainly needed revision. However, in this case<sup>5</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> An article (inaccessible to me) may be connected with this problem: Dr. Sayyid Azhar ‘Alī, *Qara-qoyunlu Turkmān* (in Urdu) in the Indian periodical *Rūyād-i idāra-yi ma‘ārif-i islāmīya*, Ijlās I, 1353/1933, pp. 369–402.

<sup>2</sup> Firishta, II, 328–42, who himself acknowledges the incompleteness of his sources, says that Sulṭān-qulī was a Bahārlu Turk from the people (*qaum*) of Mir (\*Pir) ‘Alī Shakar, and although, according to some of his family, he was one of the grandchildren (*ahfād*) of the late (*maqtūl*) Mirzā Jihānshāh, ‘the first version is nearer to the truth’. On Pir ‘Alī Shakar see below, § 20. In any case it is claimed by the *TQ* that Sulṭān-qulī was descended *not* from Jihānshāh but from his elder brother Iskandar. Another tendency of Firishta (a Persian of Astarabad) is to underline the somewhat dependent character of the Quṭb-shāhs with regard to the Ṣafavids (see below, p. 72).

<sup>3</sup> *Ba‘dī tatvīl dāst ki ān-ra ba-tārīkh chandān nisbatī nabūd.*

<sup>4</sup> See the samples quoted by Ch. Schefer in his *Chrestomathie persane*, II, 55–104.

<sup>5</sup> Apart from some general likeness in expressions (see below, p. 59, note 1), the characteristic story of Qāḍī ‘Imād’s rule in Alinjaq (see below, § 7) has a striking resemblance both in the *Tārīkh-i Turkmānīya* and the ‘History of the Quṭb-shāhs’. See also p. 54, note 1.

anonymous author must have consulted the original sources (*Matla' al-sa'dayn*, *Rauḍat al-ṣafā*) to restore some of the dates missing in the original.

Thus the uncertainty about the amount of independent work done by the author of the *TQ* still persists, but as it is, it is a useful summary of the Qara-qoyunlu epoch and its data on the links between the Qara-qoyunlu and the Qutb-shāhs seem dependable.<sup>1</sup>

In his work already quoted, Sir John Briggs translated (or rather summed up and re-told) the *Gulshan-i Ibrāhīmī* which Firishta completed in 1015/1606. As already mentioned, Firishta knew of Khurshāh's history only by hearsay. In Briggs' résumé of Firishta's work, the chapter on the Qutb-shāhs occupies fourteen pages (III, 321–35), and is followed by a much longer résumé of the *TQ* (III, 339–484), which by that time had been found by the translator. Writing as he did 125 years ago, Briggs concentrated on the events in India and, having little interest in the Turkmans as such,<sup>2</sup> drastically abridged the introductory chapter<sup>3</sup> which I study in the present article.

In my translation I have also simplified the inevitable redundancy of Persian style, but I have carefully preserved all the historical and geographical facts, trying to explain them in the light of our present-day knowledge. The summary of the basic Qara-qoyunlu history<sup>3a</sup> could have been omitted, but it seemed to me that it might form a useful addition and parallel to the version of Ghaffārī appended to my article on Jihān-shāh (*BSOAS.*, xvi, 1954). The stormy and eventful period of Turkman domination, with all its repercussions in Khorasan, the Caucasus, Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, and India, is still to be built up from manifold and scattered evidence, and the story told by the anonymous historian of the Qutb-shāhs is one of the most complete general accounts of the Qara-qoyunlu dynasty.

### § 3. TĀRĪKH-I QUTB-SHĀHĪ: ON THE QARA-QOYUNLU<sup>4</sup> (abridged translation from the Persian)

§ 1. According to the author (f. 2v), Qara-Yūsuf's genealogy goes back to Oghuz-khan,<sup>5</sup> son of Qara-khan, who was descended from Japhet.<sup>6</sup> In the sixth generation Qara-Yūsuf's ancestor was Tūra-beg. When in 599/1202 Chingiz-khan appeared, Tūra-beg came to Transoxiana, namely to the plains (*ṣaḥārī*) of Samarqand and Bukhārā. During Chingiz-khan's conflict with the Khwārazm-shāh, Tūra-beg with his tribe moved to the plains of Diyārbakr and

<sup>1</sup> The main body of its information on the fortunes of the Qutb-shāhs in Deccan lies outside our purview.

<sup>2</sup> See his reference to Uzun Ḥasan 'sometimes styled Oozun Hussun, or Hussun the Red', III, 339.

<sup>3</sup> Long since Rieu, 225b, rightly stressed the general insufficiency and arbitrariness of his renderings.

<sup>3a</sup> See F. Sümer in *Islam Ansiklopedisi*.

<sup>4</sup> The paragraphs are mine.—V. M.

<sup>5</sup> For his story the author refers to *Tārīkh-i jihān-gushāy*, whereas in fact he depends (directly or indirectly) on Rashīd al-dīn's *Jāmi' al-tavārīkh*, see Berezin's edition, II, 15–20 (*Trudi Vost. Otd.*, v, 1858), cf. new Russian translation, 1952, I/1, 81.

<sup>6</sup> See also below, § 22.

Erzerum and carried on a sacred war against the Georgian and Tatar infidels. He opposed Chingiz-khan, and his children followed the same line of independence, down to the time of Abū-Saʿīd-khan. This latter liked noblemen of old stock and towards the end of his reign (716–36/1316–35) wished to fortify his kingdom by the strength of BAYRĀM-KHWĀJA. During the troubles after Abū-Saʿīd's death Amīr Bayrām-khwāja collected his tribe and strengthened his power by leaning on his brother's son [*sic*] Qara-Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup> When Shaykh Ḥasan (Jalāyir), ruler of the Arabian Iraq, was succeeded by his son SULTĀN UVAYS,<sup>2</sup> the sardars of Mosul, Sinjār, and Arjīsh disobeyed this new ruler. The latter's amirs insisted upon his sending an envoy to Amīr Qara-Muḥammad and his esteemed uncle [*sic*] Bayrām-khwāja and making a treaty with them to the effect that, when they had wrested the aforementioned provinces from the rebels, the Sultān would not interfere in their affairs, provided that Qara-Muḥammad should come to the Sultān's aid whenever someone attacked him. Qara-Muḥammad cleared the province of rebels. At that time Khwāja Marjān, the governor of Baghdad on behalf of the Sultān, revolted and was punished with Qara-Muḥammad's help.<sup>3</sup> After eleven months spent in Baghdad Uvays marched in the direction of Diyārbakr and peacefully took Tekrīt (spelt *Tkrt*) from the hands of Dywl-Timur (?). Then, at the instigation of some intriguers, strife began between the Sultān and Bayrām-khwāja and Qara-Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> The two latter attacked the Sultān, who was obliged to sue for peace. Having left to (them) Mosul, Sinjār, \*Mayyāfāriqīn, Arjīsh, and Wāsīt,<sup>5</sup> he went home and for the rest of his days did not quarrel with Qara-Muḥammad. When he was succeeded by SULTĀN ḤUSAYN (776/1374), the latter, at the instigation of some intriguers (f. 3v), left for Arjīsh to attack Qara-Muḥammad. Bayrām-khwāja moved from Mosul to Qara-Muḥammad's help.<sup>6</sup> The two armies clashed and suffered some losses. In the morning Sultān Ḥusayn showed kindness to his prisoners and set them free. Thus peace was restored and the Sultān left for Tabriz. He sent Shaykh-ʿAlī and ʿAlī Bārik to Baghdad and ʿĀdil-aqa to Sultāniya and gave leave to the amirs and the noblemen to disperse. While he was feasting in Tabriz, his brother SULTĀN AḤMAD moved to Ardabil and was joined by a large army under the command of Ḥamza, son of Farrukh-Yasār (the Sharvānshāh). Aḥmad moved to Tabriz and went straight to the *ḍawlat-khāna* of Ḥusayn,<sup>7</sup> put the latter to death, and sat on the throne. When the

<sup>1</sup> cf. also *Tārīkh-i Turkmāniya*, fol. 24b, but it is usually taken that Bayrām-khwāja was Qara-Muḥammad's father. F. Sümer, in his article 'Kara-Koyunlu', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, thinks that Q.-Muḥammad's second name was Töremish. <sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, 'Uwais' in *E.I.* (1932).

<sup>3</sup> Khwāja Marjān Uljāytū'i (a eunuch from Rūm) revolted in Baghdad in 765/1364 and read the *khuṭba* for the ruler of Egypt. Despite this defection, in 769 Sultān Uvays reappointed him governor of Baghdad where he died in 774/1372, see 'A. 'Azzāwī, *Ta'rikh al-ʿIrāq*, II (1936), pp. 110, 117.

<sup>4</sup> In 766/1364 Sultān Uvays captured Baghdad from Murād, brother of Bayrām-khwāja Qara-qoyunlu, and fought the latter in Mūsh, 'Azzāwī, loc. cit., II, 114, 127.

<sup>5</sup> Possibly: \*Vostan in the S.E. corner of Lake Van.

<sup>6</sup> This indicates the distribution of territories between the two chiefs.

<sup>7</sup> Possibly the palace which Clavijo calls *Tolbatgana*, ed. Sreznevsky, St. Petersburg 1871, p. 170.

news reached 'Ādil-aqa<sup>1</sup> and the amirs of the army, they sent someone to Baghdad and summoned Prince Shaykh-'Alī and Pīr 'Alī Bārīk to Tabriz. Sultān Aḥmad fled to Qara-Muḥammad and with his help fought prince Shaykh-'Alī and Pīr 'Alī Bārīk.<sup>2</sup> The young amir Qara Yūsuf (Qara-qoyunlu) defeated the army of Tabriz and Shaykh 'Alī and Pīr 'Alī Bārīk lost their lives. Aḥmad entered Tabriz and Qara-Muḥammad went home. When, in view of certain affairs,<sup>3</sup> Aḥmad visited Baghdad, he invited Qara-Muḥammad and gave him one of the Īlkānī princesses while he himself married a (daughter) of Qara-Muḥammad. Their relations remained good but towards the end of his reign Aḥmad took to opium-eating and adopted corrupt fancies (*khiyālāt-i fāsīd*). Under some pretexts he executed several amirs and wished to imprison (*qayd*) \*Qara-Muḥammad. He ordered him to move the Qara-qoyunlu tribe (*ulūs*) to Baghdad, but, having got wind of his intentions, Qara-Muḥammad collected his men and moved to Tabriz. There he learnt that the Georgians were oppressing the Islamic countries and marched against the kāfirs (f. 4r). In his absence Sultān Aḥmad went to Tabriz and massacred and plundered the Qara-qoyunlu. Qara-Muḥammad, seeking vengeance, returned to Arjish and prepared for struggle, when TIMUR appeared on the scene.

In (?)<sup>4</sup> Timur arrived in Dāmghān where Sultān Aḥmad's amirs and nobles appealed to him urging him to come. Aḥmad fled from Tabriz to Baghdad, whereas Timur struck over for Barda'. Most of the rulers of the outlying provinces (*salātīn-i atrāf*) submitted to him. Contrary to the expectations Qara-Muḥammad and his son did not wait on the conqueror but made ready for resistance. As Timur's messages produced no effect he sent his son Mīrān-shāh to Arjish. After some murder and destruction the first expedition returned without any definite result.

Timur became angry and sent Mīrān-shāh with Muḥammad Mīrak Barlas and a large auxiliary force (*hashar*). Qara-Muḥammad met the 'Moghul' army<sup>5</sup> and did much killing. Timur dispatched the troops of Transoxiana, Khorasan, etc., divided in three corps (*fauj*). On a mountain (-pass) the amīr-zāda Qara-Yūsuf met this third expedition and defeated it. One of the great amirs, Lāla-khwāja, was killed, and the survivors retreated to the *ordū*. For the fourth time Timur himself took the field and by forced marches invaded

<sup>1</sup> Sariq ('yellow') 'Ādil of Sultāniya.

<sup>2</sup> Sultān 'Alī, brother of Sultān Aḥmad. He was killed in 785/1383. See al-'Azzāwī, II, 171, who instead of *Bārīk* spells: Pīr 'Alī *Bāv.k* (Bāwuk? would sound Kurdish).

<sup>3</sup> Shaykh 'Alī lost his life in 784/1382. In the following year the people of Baghdad asked 'Ādil-āgha of Sultāniya to send them a governor. The latter sent his cousin Tursun. Then Sultān Aḥmad moved to Baghdad and killed Tursun and his vazir Qavām Alinjaqī, see *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, III, 84.

<sup>4</sup> The date in the MSS. (Paris—750, Cambridge—795) is mistaken. It should be \*789/1387. In the previous year Timur himself occupied Tabriz, see *Zafar-nāma*, I, 396. In the spring of 789/1387 he arrived in Barda' and heard of Tokhtamish's advance through Darband, loc. cit., I, 410. On the campaign against Qara-Muḥammad, loc. cit., I, 417–20. In the beginning of 790/Jan., 1388, Timur returned to Samarqand to fight Tokhtamish (790–794), loc. cit., I, 447–557.

<sup>5</sup> The inexact *Moghul* alternates in the text with the more correct *Chaghatay*.



Qara-Muḥammad's *ulūs*. After some fighting Qara-Muḥammad with his men and tribe (*il-va-ulūs*) retired into the mountains where he felt safe. Timur was about to attack him again, when he heard that the king of Dasht-i Qipchaq Toqtamish had invaded Transoxiana. After a campaign which lasted three years, Timur returned to Iran. (For the fifth time) Qara-Muḥammad prepared for resistance. He fortified the castles and with all his tribe pitched his camp on the Euphrates, but soon after died in 789/1387.<sup>1</sup>

§ 2. QARA-YUSUF ascended the throne and Timur on reaching Azarbayjan sent the fifth expedition against him under the Chingizid prince Ay-takh ('Moonlike')-oghlan, Jahānshāh-bahādur, and other sardārs. He himself marched on the Avnik castle<sup>2</sup> which was held by Yūsuf's brother Mişr. Qara-Yūsuf rushed forward and the two armies fought till the afternoon, when the Chaghatay army was defeated and retreated.<sup>3</sup> Meanwhile Timur, after a nine months' siege and some fighting with Mişr, obtained the surrender of this young prince by guile and sent him with his family and baggage (*bā kūch-va-buna*) to Samarqand.

In view of some difficulties (*futūr*)<sup>4</sup> Sultān Aḥmad appealed to Q.-Yūsuf for assistance and Q.-Yūsuf with a large army re-conquered Baghdad for the Sultān. Both banqueted for a few days, when suddenly the news came that Timur's army was approaching. The amir and the Sultān with their people crossed the Euphrates and took the road for Egypt and Syria.

§ 3. On approaching Aleppo they sent a letter to Sultān Faraj (1399–1405 and 1406–1412). Before the answer was received, the governor of Aleppo Timur-tash, apprehensive of some ruse, rushed out to meet them with his troops. Despite the small number of their followers the exiles defeated the attackers and proceeded to Rūm. On the way their relations deteriorated. Sultān Aḥmad was the first to be received by Bāyazīd Yıldırım (1389–1402). Yūsuf was received only a few days later and the Sultān assigned for his keep the revenue of the great town Aq-shahr (*shehir*). When Timur completed the conquest of Iran and Azarbayjan he wrote to Yıldırım requesting him to extradite the exiles, and Yıldırım decided to send them in fetters to Timur. Hearing this Q.-Yūsuf (f. 5v) plundered the whole town (Aq-shehir?) and hurriedly marched away. He re-crossed the Euphrates and pitched his camp in the plain of Hit. Sultān Aḥmad also returned to Baghdad. A quarrel having broken out between him and his son Sultān Ṭāhir, he applied for help to Yūsuf who delivered the Sultān from this danger.<sup>5</sup> The Sultān soon forgot his promises, and when he shut the gates of Baghdad before Yūsuf the latter began a siege and occupied the city in a short time. At night Aḥmad escaped with two men

<sup>1</sup> F. Sümer : killed in 1389 (Ibn-Ḥajar).

<sup>2</sup> *Zafar-nāma*, I, 691–702 (summer of 796/1394). Avnik was situated half-way between Erzerum and Lake Van and was held by Mişr even in 789/1387, when Timur had to content himself with plundering the neighbouring Qara-qoyunlu, *Zafar-nāma*, I, 418.

<sup>3</sup> These details favourable to the Qara-qoyunlu are not in the *Zafar-nāma*.

<sup>4</sup> 'Which are described in larger histories.'

<sup>5</sup> *Zafar-nāma*, II, 519.

to Tekrīt and the local governor sent him on to Syria. For two years Q.-Yūsuf enjoyed peace in Baghdad.

Then the news came that Mirza Abū-Manṣūr and Mir-zāda Rustam with 30,000 horse had crossed the Euphrates making for Baghdad. At that moment Yūsuf had only 1,000 horsemen, but he fought for a day and a night and in this battle his brother Yār 'Alī lost his life.<sup>1</sup> Yūsuf was obliged to proceed to Ḥilla, there to disperse his tribe (*il-va-ulūs*) and 'Joseph-like directed his steps to Egypt'. When he was within two farsakhs of the capital (?) of Egypt (*balda-yi Miṣr*) Malik Faraj sent his dignitaries and noblemen to meet him and put him up in suitable quarters. As, some time before, Sulṭān Aḥmad had also taken asylum<sup>2</sup> in the dominions of the ruler of Egypt their enmity was now changed into friendliness. Hearing that both of them were in Egypt, Timur addressed a reproachful letter<sup>3</sup> to king Faraj (f. 6a). The latter imprisoned Aḥmad and Yūsuf in the fortress, in two towers facing each other, and the two prisoners exchanged visits. During this period a son was born to Yūsuf, and Sulṭān Aḥmad adopted him, made him his heir apparent (*walī-'ahd*), and named him Pīr Budāq.<sup>4</sup> He agreed with Yūsuf that whenever they recovered freedom they would march together and never quarrel; equally that Tabriz and Azarbayjan should belong (*ta'alluq*) to Yūsuf, and Baghdad and the Arabian Iraq to the Sulṭān. As a singular occurrence it is reported that one night Yūsuf had a dream as if (*dar vāqi'a dīd*) someone looking like Timur took him in his arms, removed his ring, and put it on Yūsuf's finger. When he awoke he told the story to Sulṭān Aḥmad, who interpreted the dream in the sense that Yūsuf would become ruler of some of Timur's dominions. Some time later the news of Timur's death (807/1405) was received, and the king of Egypt set the prisoners free and allowed each of them to keep 1,000 horsemen. In a month Yūsuf collected this number of Turkman youths from his own tribes (*oymāqāt*) and presented them to the king of Egypt, who increased his favours to him. Other amirs were alarmed and sought to discredit Yūsuf. In fact, on the day when the king was playing polo he told Yūsuf that the latter's men should dismount and collect small pebbles off the polo ground. Sensing some resentment on the part of the king and his amirs, Yūsuf, remaining on horseback, took leave of the king saying: 'We were forced to come to this country and with your agreement spent a few days in this city.'<sup>5</sup> Now with your permission we are leaving for our

<sup>1</sup> loc. cit., II, 552: in 806/1403 the princes Rustam and Abū-Bakr with 3,000 men put to flight 10–15,000 Qara-qoyunlu.

<sup>2</sup> Fleeing from Qara-Yūsuf, *Ẓafar-nāma*, II, 554.

<sup>3</sup> 'The terms of which are quoted in *Matla' al-sa'dayn*.' This part of the book has not yet been published.

<sup>4</sup> This unusual name occurs in the book of Dede Qorqud, ed. E. Rossi, 1952: Qara Budaq, p. 112, etc.

<sup>5</sup> It is nowhere said that the town was Cairo. By quotations from Ibn-Iyās, Ibn-Hajar, and Maqrīzī, Huart, *La fin de la dynastie des Ilékaniens*, *JA.*, Oct., 1876, 352, has shown that the place of imprisonment was Damascus. It is possible that by 'the king of Egypt' we have to understand the governor of Damascus, called Amīr Shaykh. Sulṭān Aḥmad left Damascus on 16 Dhul-Ḥijja 807/15 May 1405 (Maqrīzī).

home'. He spurred his horse and with his men rode to his quarters, and having collected his family and his belongings (*kūch-va-buna*) left for Diyār-bakr.

§ 4. (f. 6v). At the instigation of his amirs the king of Egypt sent a large army after Yūsuf. After a day and night's fight the Turkmans defeated the pursuers. A second and a third army were also put to flight. It is reported <sup>1</sup> that on the way from Egypt to the Euphrates Yūsuf fought victoriously 180 battles with the amirs of Egypt and Syria and the frontier guards. In Diyārbakr amirs and noblemen came to (greet) him and soon 10,000 men joined his banners. In 809/1406 he captured the Avnik castle from the 'Mughal' (i.e. Timurid) commanders and set off to conquer Azarbayjan.

§ 5. In 810/1407 Prince (Abā-Bakr) sallied forth from Tabriz, and in the battle which ensued Yūsuf occupied the centre, his right wing being commanded by his son Iskandar and his left wing by his son Shāh-Muḥammad. The fighting lasted three days and on the third day Yūsuf rode forward alone and called to Abā-Bakr to decide the issue in single combat, but Abā-Bakr would not listen to him. Put to flight, he went to Tabriz and then to Sulṭāniya. Yūsuf entrusted Tabriz to the Shaykh's son Sidī Aḥmad, while he himself wintered in the neighbourhood of Marand (spelt: *Marānd*). From Sulṭāniya Abā Bakr sent summonses to Hamadan, Dargazīn,<sup>2</sup> Isfahan, Qazvīn, etc., collected his scattered troops and brought over to his side the Jānī-Qurbānī<sup>3</sup> amirs who for some reason had come to Damghān.

In the spring Abā-Bakr returned together with his father Mīrān-shah, but this time again the Chaghatay were beaten and Mīrān-shāh killed by a *ghulām* of Amir Mūsā. Yūsuf prevented his warriors from pursuing (*takāmishī*) the unhappy prince and went to Tabriz.

§ 6. Thence he wrote a letter to Sulṭān Aḥmad announcing his victories and reminding him of his own interpretation of the dream and of his adoption of Pīr Budāq (f. 7a). The sultan rewarded the messenger and replied:

'Verse. We are still faithful to the covenant with the friend and now we are sending to our most-beloved child the royal umbrella and other regalia of sovereignty (*ṣāḥib-kulāhī*).'

Consequently in 812/1409 Yūsuf put on the throne his son Pīr Budāq. He also appointed the much-esteemed amir Bistām to be governor of the Persian Iraq, and he wrested the Sulṭāniya castle from Abā-Bakr's men. Then he took possession of the Shahriyār stronghold<sup>4</sup> of Qazvīn, Dargazīn, and Hamadān and conquered the Arabian Iraq.

§ 7. Qādī 'Imād al-dīn was governor of Alinjaq<sup>5</sup> on behalf of Sulṭān Aḥmad and when the latter<sup>6</sup> left Tabriz for Baghdad, he ruled autonomously (*anā wa*

<sup>1</sup> 'In *Maḥla' al-sa'dayn* and in *Rauḍat al-ṣafā*.'

<sup>2</sup> Dargazīn, to the south of the Hamadān-Qazvīn road was long known for its warlike population (*darakāzīna*) attached to the Sunna.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a Persian form for Mongolian *dzaun-ghurbān* 'the three of the left wing', a tribe settled near Rādkān, see Minorsky, 'Tūs', in *E.I.*

<sup>4</sup> Apparently in the Shahriyār canton (S.W. of the present day Tehran).

<sup>5</sup> S.E. of Nakhchevan, see Minorsky, 'Transcaucasica', *JA.*, July, 1930, pp. 91-8.

<sup>6</sup> 'For the reasons explained in the detailed histories.'



*lā ghayrī*). Meanwhile Yūsuf occupied most of those parts and granted some of the territories in the neighbourhood of Alinjaq to his son Mirzā Iskandar. 'The plaintiff of Fate caught the qādi by the collar' and he, with the approval of his brother, let some Turks into the castle to be his helpers in time of hardship. After a time the chiefs of these Turks, Shahriyār-beg and Ḥājji Qorchi, realized that all men of consequence<sup>1</sup> with the qādi were Tājiks and they did not allow (the Turks) any part in matters of importance (*bar adā-yi . . . muhimmāt madkhal namādihand*). Their nationalism was aroused (*'irq-i ḥamīyat-i ān qarum dar ḥarakat āmad*), they rushed to the qādi's house and killed him and his brothers.<sup>2</sup> As it was impossible for them to be without a ruler, Shahriyār-beg invited the youthful Iskandar. The latter came to Alinjaq and his accession was confirmed by Yūsuf.

§ 8. In those days Mirzā Rustam b. Shaykh 'Omar b. Timur was defeated in Isfahan by his brother Mirzā Iskandar and sought asylum with Qara-Yūsuf.<sup>3</sup> The latter sent his troops with Rustam. The inhabitants surrendered the town to Rustam and the Turkman amirs returned home. As the prince executed Khwāja Nizām al-dīn Riḍā 'Adanī, the people of Isfahan forced him to leave the town. He went to Khorasan and his brother Mirzā Iskandar reoccupied the Persian Iraq.

§ 9. In 812/1409 'Alā al-daula, son of Sulṭān Aḥmad, whom Timur kept prisoner in Samarqand (escaped and) waited on Qara-Yūsuf in Ganja. Yūsuf sent the prince on to his father in Baghdad, telling him not to enter Tabriz. 'Alā al-daula disregarded this request and provoked some troubles. Arrested by the governor of Tabriz, Ḥājji Kūchik, he was sent to Qara-Yūsuf who imprisoned him in 'Ādil-jauz.<sup>4</sup> In the meantime envoys arrived from Sulṭān Aḥmad saying that he could not stand the heat of Baghdad and next spring intended to take up his summer quarters in Hamadan. Qara-Yūsuf was annoyed by the incident of 'Alā al-daula and was unfavourably impressed by Sulṭān Aḥmad's message. He replied that by mutual agreement they had decided not to interfere with their respective dominions: 'I do not break the agreement and if the Sultan does, it is *his* will'. The envoys were dismissed without much honour and Yūsuf journeyed to Arjish and 'Ādil-jauz to put affairs in order. Notwithstanding this, the Sulṭān spent the summer in Hamadan and, with 45,000 men perfectly armed, marched thence to Sulṭāniya, where for eighteen days he unsuccessfully besieged Ma'sūm, brother of Amir Biṣṭām. Then the news reached him that in Baghdad a man called Uvays had collected a following with the intention of becoming the sulṭān. Aḥmad returned to Baghdad and executed Uvays. Meanwhile Yūsuf, sure of the order reigning in his provinces, returned to Tabriz. At this moment the governor of Erzinjān reported that the Aq-qoyunlu Qara-'Othmān was interfering (*muta'ārid*) with

<sup>1</sup> *Ahl-i dakhil*. In *Tārīkh-i Turkmanīya* the king of Egypt consults his *arbāb-i dakhil*.

<sup>2</sup> The same story of the qādi is found in more detail in *Tārīkh-i Turkmanīya*, ff. 156b–159a.

<sup>3</sup> See *Maṭla'*, I, 198 (on 26 Jam. II 813/26 October, 1410).

<sup>4</sup> East of Akhlāt on the northern shore of Lake Van.

that province. Yūsuf left in the capital (Tabriz) his son Mīrzā Shāh-Muḥammad and himself went to Erzinjān. On hearing this Sultān Aḥmad with a large army marched to Hamadan and thence to Tabriz. Shāh-Muḥammad left for Khoy, while on 1 Rabi' 813/4 July, 1410 Sultān Aḥmad solemnly entered Tabriz.

As Yūsuf reached Erzinjān at the invitation of the inhabitants, the latter, in fear and confusion [*sic*] surrendered the town and struck coins and read the *khutba* in the name of Pīr-Budāq-khan. Two days after the news came of the occupation of Azarbayjan by Sultān Aḥmad. Yūsuf rushed back but halted on the plain near Shām-i Ghāzān.<sup>1</sup> The sultān prepared for battle but the day was won by Yūsuf.<sup>2</sup> The Sultān, thinking no more of his throne and his crown, fled, and some Turkman, who did not recognize him, brought him down with two strokes of his sword and carried away his arms, his horse, and the royal clothes. In utter consternation the Sultān hid in a water-conduit (*surākḥ*)<sup>3</sup> leading out of a garden. A cobbler who was watching the fight from a tree recognized him and the Sultān was brought into Yūsuf's presence. Yūsuf stood up, seated the Sultān by his side and said: 'In praise for my victory I shall do nothing but kindness to thee'. On hearing this, Bistām-aqa<sup>4</sup> and the amirs of (Persian) Iraq unbelted their swords and threw them before Yūsuf saying: 'If the amir has promised to save the life of this person, who spilt so much innocent blood and caused a thousand disturbances and troubles, behold, here are the claimants for his blood (*khūn-dārān*)'. Finally Yūsuf agreed to surrender the Sultān to Khwāja Ja'far, whose brother had been executed by his orders, and Ja'far put him to death. Yūsuf sent his son Shāh-Muḥammad together with the amirs of Iraq to Baghdad and the city was taken after a year's siege. After that Shāh-Muḥammad occupied Hit and Kurdistan. As a reward (*jaldū*) Baghdad with its dependencies was given to Shāh-Muḥammad and he ruled there for 20 years.<sup>5</sup>

§ 9. When Sultān Aḥmad marched against Qara-Yūsuf, he had sought the help of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Sharvānī and the latter sent him his son Kayūmarth with a large army. Kayūmarth pitched his camp near Tabriz and intended to rest for some time. Some Turkmans who were looking for booty saw them sitting at ease with their horses let loose to graze. The Turkmans looted the camp and brought Kayūmarth before Yūsuf. The Sharvān-shāh sent presents to Yūsuf asking him to release the prince. Yūsuf sent Kayūmarth home and bestowed on him royal gifts.

At this moment the scout reported that the governor of \*Mārdīn (spelt: *Nardīn*) had revolted and that urgent action was needed. When Yūsuf reached Bitlis the governor of \*Mārdīn assured him of his loyalty. Yūsuf left a detachment for the siege of the Sārū castle<sup>6</sup> and proceeded to Mārdīn, where he appointed as commander (*kūtval*) Qara-bahādūr. He himself captured Charmūk

<sup>1</sup> The northern part of Tabriz.

<sup>2</sup> On 28 Rabi' II 813/30 Aug., 1410, *Maṭla'*, I, 195.

<sup>3</sup> Probably a *karīz*.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 59, on the siege of Sultāniya by the Sultān.

<sup>5</sup> See *BSOAS*, xvi, 1954, p. 274.

<sup>6</sup> Possibly Savur, i.e. the present day qaḍā 'Auniya, *Maṭla'*, I, 241, under 815/1412.

where many people were killed. Then he proceeded to Arghan (Arghana), defeated its governor, and plundered the countryside, after which he returned to Tabriz.

There a report reached him that Timur's grandson Mīrzā Iskandar intended to march on Azarbayjan. Yūsuf moved to Sulṭānīya and after devastating (*ātash-i nahb-u ghārat*) its districts went to Hamadan, where he spent a few days sight-seeing and hunting. Iskandar, knowing that he could not stand up to Yūsuf, returned to Isfahan. Yūsuf advanced up to the frontier of that city and did not stop looting for a minute.

In view of some indisposition (*‘ārīḍa*) he returned to Tabriz but soon his health was restored. He heard then that the governor (*vālī*) of Sharvān had put to death his son Kayūmarth on the false suspicion of his attachment to Yūsuf. Then, having brought to his side the sons of Sayyid ‘Alī of Shakkī<sup>1</sup> and the king of Georgia Kustandil,<sup>2</sup> he advanced with hostile intentions. Yūsuf moved (f. 10a) in the direction of Sharvān<sup>3</sup> and reached the river Kur where the enemies' camp stood. Without hesitation he crossed the river and defeated the enemy. Most of the Georgian infidels lost their lives and their king was captured.<sup>4</sup> The ruler of Sharvān in his flight fell off his horse and broke his arm. Some Turkmans who did not recognize him brought him to Yūsuf. All his sons and dignitaries were captured. The princes and the nobles were arrested (*qayd*) and the others pardoned. After some time Yūsuf graciously released Ibrāhīm and restored him in his government.

§ 10. In Sha'bān 816/Nov., 1413, prince Pīr-Budāq-khan died and a month later Yūsuf himself ascended the throne. Coins were struck and the *khutba* read in his name. Then the news came that the Aq-qoyunlu Qara-‘Othmān had seized Diyārbakr. In a bloody battle Yūsuf defeated Qara-‘Othmān, put the affairs in order, and returned to Tabriz.

After a time he went on a sacred war against the Georgian infidels, looted most of their territories, and captured fifteen famous castles. He imposed on the Georgians a tribute and the *kharāj*<sup>5</sup> and went on to Arjish.

§ 11. During his absence Qara-‘Othmān again trespassed on Diyārbakr and took one of its castles. Yūsuf went to punish him but, when he reached Diyārbakr, Qara-‘Othmān sent him many gifts with assurances of his obedience and Yūsuf overlooked his offences and appointed him governor. Thence he went to Syria and Aleppo. The deputy governor (*mutaṣaddī*) of Behesnī, the *ghulām* Qara-qash, offered resistance but Yūsuf captured the castle. The governor of Aleppo, with the Syrian and Egyptian troops which came to his help, fought Yūsuf for three days, but was defeated and sought refuge behind the walls of the

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, 'Shakki' in *E.I.*

<sup>2</sup> Konstantinē I, brother of Giorgi VII and son of Bagrat V.

<sup>3</sup> *Maṭla'*, I, 242, on 12 Sha'bān 1415/25 November, 1412.

<sup>4</sup> According to the *Maṭla'*, I, 242, Q.Yūsuf set out on 12 Sha'bān 1415/25 November, 1412. He put to death Kustandil, his brothers, and 300 of his noblemen. The Georgian sources call the place of the encounter Chalachan and give the date 1411. [Perhaps \**Chaghan-naur*.]

<sup>5</sup> More probably the poll-tax.

fortress. He asked for pardon and struck coins and read the *khutba* in the name of Yūsuf. Being informed that Shāhrukh was marching on Azarbayjan, Yūsuf accepted the offer of the amirs of Syria and Aleppo and went back to Tabriz.

§ 12. He sent the prince Jihānshāh to reoccupy Sultāniya and Qazvīn which during his absence had been occupied by the Chaghatay amirs. This task was accomplished by the prince who was told to take up residence in Sultāniya. Shāhrukh appointed the *Hājib* Amir Ṣadiq as an envoy to Yūsuf and claimed the return of Qazvīn and Sultāniya. Yūsuf replied that innumerable levies (*hashar*) and troops were gathered at his court and suggested that it would not be inappropriate (*ba'īd nabāshad*) if, instead, the king granted him Isfahan, Kāshān, and Qum. Shāhrukh with 200,000 men continued his march and Yūsuf went out to meet him with 120,000 men.

§ 13. (f. 11a). When Yūsuf reached Ūjān his health deteriorated and he died on 8 Dhul-qa'da 832/14 November, 1420.<sup>1</sup> None of the princes happened to be with him and the huge camp got into confusion. As the Chaghatays were nearing, all the amirs dispersed in various directions. Amīr-Qara and Qadam-pādshā<sup>2</sup> with some ghāzīs hurriedly took the road of Alinjaq and, following Yūsuf's will, on the 1 Rajab 824/2 July, 1421, put on the throne the amīrzāda ISKANDAR.<sup>3</sup> Soon all the amirs and brothers rallied to him and made ready for fighting in order to recapture the hereditary capital (*dār al-saltāna*) Tabriz.

For his part Shāhrukh, when he heard of Yūsuf's demise, sent his eldest son Bāysunqur-mīrzā with the amir Shāh-Malik and numerous troops to Tabriz, while he himself proceeded to Qarabāgh where some of the commanders of the \*two Iraqs and the notables of Ganja, Barda', etc., waited on him and were honoured with royal favours. Then, following Bāysunqur, Shāhrukh moved to Tabriz and on reaching Naushahr heard of the advance of Iskandar.<sup>4</sup> In order to prepare for the battle Iskandar went back [*sic*] (as far) as Arjish. The battle lasted three days and nights and on the fourth day signs of weariness became manifest among the Chaghatays, but Shāhrukh turned to Amīr Shāh-Malik, who in craftiness was equal to 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ,<sup>5</sup> and requested him to devise some stratagem. The amir had the heads of two of the slain separated from their bodies and threw one of them under the feet of Mīrzā Aspand saying: 'behold

<sup>1</sup> *Maṭla'*, I, 410: 7 Dhul-qa'da 823. To the passages on the Qara-qoyunlu heresy quoted in *BSOAS.*, xvi, 1954, p. 284, one can add the judgment passed on Qara-Yūsuf by the *Maṭla'*, I, 395 (after Hāfiz-i Abrū): it was reported to Shāhrukh that Q.-Yūsuf was fortifying various castles and that he 'interfered (*mukhtall*) with the established rules of the Shari'a, suspended and abused the pious institutions, and spent days and nights in impiety and licentiousness (*fisq-va-fujūr*)'. These accusations, however, do not hint at any special heresy.

<sup>2</sup> Here the title is on the way to taking the later meaning of *pāshā*.

<sup>3</sup> The contemporary Armenian historian Thomas of Metsop' is an important source on this epoch. My analysis of his data will appear in the presentation volume to Prof. Muhammad Shafi', now being printed in Lahore.

<sup>4</sup> 'Whom henceforth we shall call Second Alexander,' adds the author who gives to Qara-Yūsuf the title of 'famous amir' (*amīr-i nāmdār*). All the Safavid kings had also such *post-mortem* titles.

<sup>5</sup> The famous conqueror of Egypt. The reference is to the advice which he gave to Mu'āwiya during the battle of Ṣiffin (36/656).

this is Iskandar's head', and the other under the feet of Iskandar saying 'behold, this is Aspand's head', and immediately the drums (*naqqāra*) rolled triumphantly (*shādiyāna*) and from all sides shouts were heard: 'O Turkmans, for whom are you now fighting?' The Turkmans took to their heels and Iskandar fled to the banks of the Euphrates.<sup>1</sup> While the collecting of the dispersed warriors was proceeding he temporarily withdrew from kingship. He wrote to his 'beloved brother' amīrzāda Shāh-Muḥammad, ruler of the Arabian Iraq, asking him for help. No sooner did the army come together than Iskandar moved to Tabriz. The Chaghatays cleared the place and Iskandar sat on the throne for the second time. Having got affairs well in hand he punished those of the sultāns [*sic*]<sup>2</sup> who, profiting by the defeat of the army, caused ruin to the outlying provinces (*sarḥadd*). First, he marched on Malik 'Izz al-dīn Shīr, the king of Kurdistan, who made ready for fighting with 20,000 men,<sup>3</sup> but he himself and most of his men lost their lives. On hearing this news the ruler of Sharwān, the governor of Akhlāt,<sup>4</sup> Malik Sharaf al-dīn, and the governor (*vālī*) of Diyārbakr, amir Qara-'Othmān, made an alliance and marched on Ardabil, but Iskandar defeated their armies. He killed the three sons of Shams al-dīn.<sup>5</sup> From (the neighbourhood of Ardabil?) Iskandar went to Sharvān whose king sought security in Shamākhī. Having devastated his country, Iskandar returned to Tabriz and in 832/1428-9 united under his sway the whole of Azarbayjan down to the frontiers of Rūm.

Having secured his frontiers, he marched on Sultāniya and Qazvīn, and near Sultāniya fought a battle with Yūsuf-khwāja, one of the important amirs of Shāhrukh. He took 'His Excellency' prisoner and liberated Qazvīn, Sultāniya, and Dargazīn<sup>6</sup> which he entrusted to Ya'qūb-Sultān.

When the news (f. 12r) reached Shāhrukh he marched against Iskandar with 100,000 horsemen. The armies met in Salmās and fought for . . . days and nights. Finally amīrzāda Abū-Sa'īd, brother of Iskandar, at the instigation of some intriguers, withdrew from the battle with a numerous force and submitted to Shāhrukh. Greatly vexed by such a turn and desirous to affirm his reputation Iskandar rushed into the battle and slew several of the Chaghatay nobles but as the remainder of his army had abandoned the battle-field, he, with a part of his men, retreated to Diyārbakr.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The battle which took place at Yakhshi near Alashkerd on 1 Sha'bān 823/1 August, 1421, is described in detail in *Maṭla'*, I, 449-64.

<sup>2</sup> Here this high title refers to some petty rulers. Under the Qajars 'sultān' meant only 'a captain'.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to Malik Muḥammad, son of 'Izz al-dīn of Hakkārī and Van, see *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 91. The title is taken hereditarily and possibly corresponds to the Kurdish \**Yazdān-shēr*, which was the name of a Kurdish rebel about 1850.

<sup>4</sup> Originally of Bitlis.

<sup>5</sup> According to *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Or. 140, f. 62a, 'Izz al-dīn was executed in Ardabil in 828/1425 and in the same year Shams al-dīn was put to death (in Akhlāt, *Sharafnāma*, p. 380).

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 58, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> On the battle of 18 Dhul-hijja 832/18 September, 1429, see the detailed report in *Maṭla'*, 606-17. The text of the *fath-nāma* is found in appendix to Br. Mus. Or. 3587, pp. 171-3.



The Aq-qoyunlu Qara-‘Othmān, in his inveterate hostility, took advantage of the events and occupied the road (of Iskandar’s retreat). When the situation was reported to Shāhrukh he sent Mīrzā Jūkī<sup>1</sup> to Qara-‘Othmān’s assistance. In the ensuing battle Iskandar killed Qara-‘Othmān (whose) army fled. All the treasures which the Aq-qoyunlu malik had amassed during many years fell into the hands of the Qara-qoyunlu army. Iskandar took several of the castles and strongholds of Diyārbakr and marched in the direction of Erzerum.

§ 14. For his part, Shāhrukh gave the governorship of Azarbayjan to Abū-Sa‘īd and went back to Khorasan. In the hope that his brother would repent and ask for pardon, Iskandar proceeded to Azarbayjan but the prince Abū-Sa‘īd, incited by seekers of trouble, raised the banner of opposition. In the battle fought in 838/1434 he was killed by an arrow and his Chaghatay troops hurried to Khorasan. Iskandar again ascended the throne. Because of some irregularities (*bī-andāmī*) in the conduct of the Shīrvān-shāh [*sic*] during his absence,<sup>2</sup> Iskandar marched on Shīrvān, whose ruler sought safety in a stronghold and appealed to Shāhrukh for help. After cogitation Shāhrukh came to the conclusion that, as long as there were no conflicts among Qara-Yūsuf’s sons, the conquest of Azarbayjan would be illusory. So he beguiled Mīrzā Jihānshāh by a secret message that Azarbayjan would be his. With his promises he also enticed Shāh-‘Alī b. Amīr Shāh-Muhammad b. Qara-Yūsuf, as well as the Aq-qoyunlu (?) amīr Bāyazīd,<sup>3</sup> who was the mainstay of the Turkman army, and other sardārs. ‘This he did to his own discredit’,<sup>4</sup> and they turned away from their former lord (*valī-ni‘mat*). Then in 839/1435 Shāhrukh marched again on Tabriz and the princes and amirs aforementioned joined him in Rayy. Hearing of their betrayal Iskandar went to Arjish and Erzerum and Shāhrukh occupied Tabriz. After a while he bestowed Azarbayjan and the Arabian Iraq on Mīrzā Jihānshāh and in the beginning of 840/1436 returned to Khorasan. Iskandar, confident that Jihānshāh would not grudge him his kingship and his belongings, moved from Erzerum to Tabriz but Jihānshāh<sup>5</sup> met him at Sofyān near Tabriz.<sup>6</sup> Iskandar had few troops left and his advisers did not think fighting expedient. They caught the bridle of his horse and left for the Alinjaq castle. There some evil-doers incited Iskandar’s son Qubād, who was fourteen years old, to attempt his father’s life. This misguided prince, worked upon by two or three wicked intriguers, killed him in his bed on Shawwāl 841/April, 1438.<sup>7</sup> His reign lasted 14 years and he left five sons (*amīrzāda*): Alvand, Yār-‘Alī, Malik-Qāsim, Ḥasan-beg, and Shāh-Qubād. When fighting with Shāhrukh was going on, Yār-‘Alī happened to be in Sharvān and the ruler of that

<sup>1</sup> Son of Shāhrukh who died in 848/1444. The name is said to be derived from Indian *yogi* (?).

<sup>2</sup> See below on the connivance of the ruler of Sharvān with Iskandar’s son Yār-‘Alī.

<sup>3</sup> An Aq-qoyunlu allied to the Qara-qoyunlu ?

<sup>4</sup> *Nīl-i bi-vafā’i bar rukhsār-i i’tiḡar-i khud kashīda*. The author is constantly on the side of Iskandar, the ancestor of the Quṭb-shāhs.

<sup>5</sup> ‘The pious and just king’ (*khusrāu-i ba-dīn-u dād*).

<sup>6</sup> Some 40 kms. north of Tabriz.

<sup>7</sup> F. Sümer : April, 1437.

country captured him and sent him to Khorasan, to Shāhrukh.<sup>1</sup> Shāh-Qubād was put to death by Jihānshāh by the law of talion for his murder of his father. Of Alvand we shall speak later (see § 19).

§ 15. After Iskandar's death JIHĀNSHĀH became an independent ruler and, following the demise of his brother Aspand, he annexed the Arabian Iraq as well. In 850/1446 Shāhrukh died and Jihānshāh placed the crown on his own head and had coins struck and the *khutba* read in his own name. Under such blessings he went on a sacred war (*ghazā*) against the Georgian infidels. Many were killed and most of the country plundered, after which Jihānshāh devastated the Cherkes country.<sup>2</sup> On coming home he made it his business to liberate the hereditary territories. He sent Isfandiyār-beg with some high amirs to Sultāniya and Qazvīn to wrest them from the trustees of Mīrzā Sultān-Muḥammad b. Bāysunqur b. Shāhrukh. Sultān-Muḥammad and Jihānshāh marched out for battle but some well-wishers of both of them mediated a peace between them. Bāysunqur married a daughter of Jihānshāh and both kings went home. When Sultān-Muḥammad was murdered in Isfarāyin by the order of his elder brother Mīrzā Bābur,<sup>3</sup> Jihānshāh decided to conquer (Persian) Iraq. From Sultāniya he dispatched Mīhrāb-Sultān to Qum and Sāva. Guided by some of the Sāva notables, he suddenly penetrated into Sāva and captured its governor, Amir Shaykh 'Alī, whom he sent to Jihānshāh. Then he besieged Amir Darvīsh 'Alī, who was the governor of those parts (Qum?), and in a short time took him prisoner. Thence the amirs marched on Isfahan. The report about Sāva and Qum reached Mīrzā Bābur and he marched to Iraq and Fars across the Tūn desert. On arriving in Shiraz he was joined by Mīrzā Alvand, son of Mīrzā Iskandar, who came from Diyārbakr.<sup>4</sup> Bābur treated him kindly, but at this moment the news arrived that the Turkman army had laid siege to Isfahan and that the town was in a critical situation. Bābur granted Fars to [Maṭla': Prince Mu'izz al-dīn Mīrzā] Sultān-Sanjār and rushed to Isfahan, but on his way heard that Mīrzā 'Alā al-daula had revolted in Khorasan and intended to assume sovereignty. On 16 Rajab 856/2 August, 1452,<sup>5</sup> Bābur left post-haste for Khorasan. On reaching Tūn he received a report from the amirs, among them Pīr Uvays Hazār-aspi, saying that 'Alā al-daula had been put to flight by them and that he had joined Jihānshāh in Rayy. Bābur felt more confident and spent the winter in those (?) parts. Meanwhile Jihānshāh appointed to Isfahan his son Pīr-Budāq,<sup>6</sup> who entrusted this city to an esteemed amir, while he himself proceeded to Fars and occupied it after Sultān-Sanjār had fled to Khorasan. Then in 857/1453 the Persian Iraq and Fars, from the frontiers of Azarbayjan

<sup>1</sup> This Yār-'Alī arrived in Herat in 836/1432 but was deported to Samarqand and later kept prisoner in the Neretu castle. In 1448 he escaped and seized Herat. He was captured and executed in 852/end of February, 1449. See Barthold, *Ulugh-bek*, 1918, pp. 125–8.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this term is applied here loosely to some territory in Daghestan. On a similar use see the accounts of the northern raids of Shāh Ismā'il's ancestors.

<sup>3</sup> *Maṭla'*, p. 1029–32 (under 855/1451).

<sup>4</sup> *Maṭla'*, p. 1039 (under 856/1452).

<sup>5</sup> *Maṭla'*, p. 1041.

<sup>6</sup> Not to be confused with Pīr-Budāq, son of Qara-Yūsuf, who predeceased his father.

down to the coast of the 'Omān sea (Persian Gulf), were annexed by Jihānshāh who awarded Fars to Pīr-Budāq.

In 859/1454–5 Jihānshāh wrested Baghdad from his nephew Valad, son of Mirzā Aspand.

§ 16. In 861/1457 Bābur died in Mashhad<sup>1</sup> and Jihānshāh marched on Khorasan. By the Sanduq-shikan pass he penetrated into Gurgān and defeated Mirzā Ibrāhīm, son of 'Alā al-daula. He annexed Astarābād and Mazandaran and *via* Mashhad reached Herat, whence 'Alā al-daula retired to the Murghāb river. On 15 Sha'bān 862/28 June, 1458, Jihānshāh graced the throne of Shāh-rukh by ascending it. Envoys from the neighbouring countries waited on him with presents and rarities (*tansūqāt*). 'Alā al-daula himself, escaping from his son Ibrāhīm (*ba sabab-i istilā*), sought asylum with Jihānshāh who honoured and befriended him (f. 14a). By the forced marches for which he was well known, Pīr-Budāq covered a month's distance in eight days and came to Herat, where he beheld his father in all the glory of his kingly surroundings (*halqa-yi saltanat*). Several days were spent in banqueting and rejoicing.

Then a report came from Azarbayjan that owing to the enmity of some evil-doers Jihānshāh's son Ḥasan 'Alī had escaped from prison and stirred up trouble. Meanwhile (the Timurid) Sultān Abū-Sa'īd had crossed the Murghāb and, for several days, indecisive fighting went on with him. Some well-intentioned people put in a word for peace. As every day bad news arrived from Azarbayjan, Jihānshāh accepted the peace on the condition that the whole of Fars and Iraq up to Semnān should remain to him while Khorasan was restored to Abū-Sa'īd.<sup>2</sup>

§ 17. In the beginning of 863/winter 1458 Jihānshāh was back in Tabriz and Ḥasan 'Alī was again sent to prison. Then, one after the other, messages came of Mirzā Pīr-Budāq's disobedience (*sarkashī*) in Fars. Jihānshāh went to Fars and, on the intercession of the prince's mother, Pīr-Budāq was sent to Baghdad. In his place, Jihānshāh appointed 'his felicitous son' Yūsuf and returned to Tabriz.

In Baghdad, Pīr-Budāq continued to oppose his father's will. In 869/1464 Jihānshāh was obliged to march on Baghdad, where for a year he besieged his son. The affairs of the inhabitants got into confusion and they pleaded for mercy and opened the gates. By his father's order, Muḥammad-mīrzā put his brother to death and the province of Baghdād came again under Jihānshāh's sway. Now he lorded it over the two Iraqs, Fars, Kerman, the coast of the 'Omān sea, Armenia, and Georgia up to Syria and the frontiers of Rūm.

§ 18. The only remaining opponent was the Aq-qoyunlu Ḥasan-beg, son of Qara-'Othmān, who was the hereditary foe of the Qara-qoyunlu family. In 872/1467 Jihānshāh led an army against him to Diyārbakr. Ḥasan-beg submitted but Jihānshāh was duped by the peace (f. 14b). Intending to return home he sent his army ahead from the plain of Mūsh, while he himself with a

<sup>1</sup> *Maṭla'*, p. 1112.

<sup>2</sup> *Maṭla'*, 1184: in the beginning of Šafar 863/second week in Dec., 1458.



number of intimates engaged in amusements ('*aysh*'). Meanwhile Ḥasan-beg had posted his scouts and, when they reported on Jihānshāh's lack of caution, he moved with utmost speed (*ba-ilghār-i tamām*) with 6,000 horsemen, penetrating into Jihānshāh's camp and killing most of the Turkmans. He captured the princes Yūsuf and Muḥammadī, whereas Jihānshāh fled. A soldier (*bahādur*) met him and, his greed being aroused by Jihānshāh's horse and accoutrement (*yaraq*), brought him down. Ḥasan-beg possessed himself of Jihānshāh's treasures and belongings. Muḥammadī was put to death and Yūsuf blinded. Jihānshāh's rule lasted thirty-five years: sixteen years in the time of Shāhrukh and twenty-two years after him independently in both 'Irāqs, Fars, Kerman, and Azarbayjan. His age was seventy.

§ 18. According to reports of reliable persons (*thiqāt*) \*Qara-Yūsuf (*amīr-i nāmdār*) had six sons:

1. PĪR-BUDĀQ, already mentioned.

2. SHĀH-MUḤAMMAD who, after the death of Sulṭān Aḥmad, was his father's lieutenant in Baghdad for twenty-two years. When Mirzā Aspand abandoned the battle with Shāhrukh and took the road to Baghdad, Shāh Muḥammad fought him but lost the day. He went to Mosul to collect his dispersed troops and in a short time occupied some provinces. Then in 836/1433, by the craft and guile of Amīr Ḥājji Hamadānī, he lost his life in the neighbourhood of Hamadan and his son Shāh-'Alī hurried to wait on his uncle Iskandar who loaded him with favours.<sup>1</sup> [Hardly identical with the *amīr*, p. 69.]

3. Amīr-zāda ASPAND, after defeating Shāh-Muḥammad ruled in Baghdad for twelve years, until in 848/1445 he died a natural death, after which Jihānshāh took the Arabian Iraq from his nephew (son of Aspand) and gave it to his son Pīr-Budāq.<sup>2</sup>

4. JIHĀNSHĀH.

5. ISKANDAR (the 'Second Alexander').

6. ABŪ-SA'ĪD betrayed his brother and joined Shāhrukh, who gave him Azarbayjan. When Iskandar returned from Erzerum, Abū-Sa'īd was killed in the battle which they fought in 838/1434.

*Verse.* 'When you have acted badly, do not think yourself immune from misfortune, for surely the reward of Bad is bad.'

§ 19. The Amīr-zāda ALVAND,<sup>3</sup> who is at the top of the genealogical tree of (the Qutb-shāhs), was son of Iskandar. At his father's death he held the governorship (*dārā'ī*) of Diyārbakr. Jihānshāh appointed an army against him and he several times sent envoys to his uncle beseeching him to treat him in a fatherly way. As no clear reply was forthcoming and as Alvand understood Jihānshāh's intention to send an army, he went out to meet it, and won a victory. At that time a son was born to him, who was called PĪR-QULĪ-BEG

<sup>1</sup> On Shāh-Muḥammad see *BSOAS.*, xvi, 1954, p. 274. He was killed in Zohāb. His killer Bābā-Ḥājji, who had carved for himself a principality in Gāvarud (Persian Kurdistan), is mentioned in the *Maṭla'*, i, 257, as early as 816/1413, when he submitted to Qara-Yūsuf.

<sup>2</sup> On Aspand see *BSOAS.*, loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Not to be confused with his uncle Aspand.

and, considering his birth as God's blessing, he several times put Jihānshāh to flight. But as he had but 2–3,000 men at his disposal while Jihānshāh each time sent innumerable hordes, he followed the advice of some faithful (followers) and went to Shiraz to join the Timurid Mirzā Bābur (see above, § 15). Together they left for Herat. Later Bābur went with a large army to Transoxiana to fight Sulṭān Abū-Sa'īd. The latter locked himself up in the fortress of Samarqand and Mirzā Bābur besieged him. On the day when the fighting was decisive (*jang-i maghlūba*), Alvand (f. 15b), with some stalwarts, attacked the centre and wrought great havoc.<sup>1</sup> Sulṭān Abū-Sa'īd lost the day. Amīr 'Ali-Tarkhān and Amīr Aḥmad-Sa'īd were caught by Alvand's lasso. When Bābur returned to Herat, Alvand, on the suggestion of some Turkman advisers, went to Sistān and having conquered it turned to Kerman, which he wrested from the Turkman Zād (?) who was governor on behalf of Jihānshāh. He ascended the throne as an independent ruler and having drawn up a report of events sent it, together with suitable presents, to Mirzā Bābur, to whom he witnessed his attachment. On hearing this Jihānshāh appointed Amīr Bāyazīd and Shāhsavār-beg with some amirs of Iraq and Khorasan to proceed to Kerman. They were met by Alvand and after much fighting put to flight. The remnants came to Jihānshāh, who was so incensed that he dispatched to Kerman his son Yūsuf with an innumerable army. Notwithstanding this, Alvand continued to fight and there were many killed and wounded. But as Jihānshāh's amirs had been brought up (*parvarda-yi namak*) by Iskandar, in the decisive battle (*jang-i maghlūba*) they tried not to inflict damage on the person of the prince. This skirmishing had lasted for a year and a half and no end of it was in sight. At that moment the carrier-pigeons (*murghān*) brought the news of Mirzā Bābur's death on 28 Rabī' II 861/25 March, 1457<sup>2</sup> and of the occupation of Khorasan by Jihānshāh. On hearing that Jihānshāh had ascended the throne (of Herat) Alvand's followers were perturbed (f. 16a). The prince made up his mind to make peace with his uncle who was sending friendly and exhortative letters to his nephew promising to give him the Sa'dābād of Hamadan<sup>3</sup> instead of Kerman. A daughter of Prince Yūsuf was given to Mirzā (Pīr ?)-quli-beg who was the 'solace of the eyes' of his father (Alvand).<sup>4</sup> Alvand abandoned the fighting and made peace with his uncle.

*Verse.* 'The leader of Fortune in this ancient world (*dayr*) proclaimed: Peace is a blessing.'

Alvand surrendered Kerman to Maṣṣūr-beg Turkman, who had come from Jihānshāh, and left for Hamadan. Two years (?) after Jihānshāh's return from Khorasan (and ?) his accession<sup>5</sup> to the throne of Tabriz, Alvand journeyed to visit his uncle and was heaped with all kinds of royal kindnesses. After a while

<sup>1</sup> *Maṭla'*, p. 1073, mentions Alvand's prowess under 858/1454.

<sup>2</sup> *Maṭla'*, p. 1117.

<sup>3</sup> No *Sa'dābād* is known in the region of Hamadan. It is possible that we have here an auditive mistake for Asadābād, where the famous pass (to the west of Hamadan) is situated.

<sup>4</sup> Alvand had another son, Allāh-quli (see below, § 21).

<sup>5</sup> Reoccupation ?

a splendid wedding (*toy*) was celebrated for the union of Khadija-begum, daughter of Yūsuf, with the prince Pīr-qulī, son of Alvand. In due time a son was born (in Hamadan) to the newly wed couple and called Uvays-Qulī-beg. After a while Alvand died and the province which was assigned to him to cover his expenses (*dar vajh-i ikhrājāt*) was transferred to his son Pīr-QULI.

§ 20. After the demise of Jihānshāh (in 872/1467) his son ḤASAN-‘ALĪ escaped from his confinement. He collected a large army and wrote a letter to Mīrzā Abū-Sa‘īd saying: ‘The territories of Iraq, Fars, and Azarbayjan are yours.<sup>1</sup> The best plan is that you come and that jointly we fight Ḥasan-beg’. He himself pitched a camp (*khayma-va-khargāh*) in the direction of Ḥasan-beg and had a trench dug around it. As he had spent twenty-five years in seclusion his reason was disturbed. He took umbrage at Jihānshāh’s amirs and, however much the Qara-qoyunlu sardārs insisted on fighting, he withdrew his consent in expectation of Abu-Sa‘īd’s arrival. In such circumstances the renowned amirs Shāh-‘Alī and Amīr Ibrāhīm<sup>2</sup> grew apprehensive and, forgetting their duty, went over to Ḥasan-beg. Hearing of this betrayal and learning that Mīrzā Sultān Abū-Sa‘īd had reached Sultāniya, Ḥasan-‘Alī changed his mind and with 50,000 reliable troops left the camp and met Sultān Abū-Sa‘īd in Miyāna. At the time of the Sultān’s catastrophe he went to Hamadan and set about making trouble. Ḥasan-beg sent against him his son Oghurlu-Muḥammad with an army, and this prince by forced marches reached the environs of Hamadan in 873/1468. Ḥasan-‘Alī, who had executed most of his amirs and courtiers, was captured and put to death.

After this Pīr-‘Alī-beg Shakar,<sup>3</sup> who under Jihānshāh was the chief amir (*amīr al-umarā*) and the Pillar of the State,<sup>4</sup> became the absolute ruler (*muṭlaq al-inān*) and proclaimed Yūsuf b. Jihānshāh, whom Ḥasan-beg had blinded but whose sight was not totally destroyed. He brought him to Hamadan and collected an army. The situation rose to a point where even Ḥasan-beg’s paternal uncle Maḥmūd-beg sought asylum with Yūsuf. Similarly Mīrzā Sultān-‘Alī b. Mīrzā Ḥasan-‘Alī,<sup>5</sup> to whom the Qara-qoyunlu tribe was sincerely attached, also joined Mīrzā Yūsuf and Pīr-‘Alī whose domination (*saltanat*) acquired some brilliance (*raunaq girift*). At first they showed much esteem for Sultān-‘Alī but later, at the instigation of some intriguers, put him to death. This became the cause of weakness (*futūr*) in the Qara-qoyunlu tribe (*oymaq*).

<sup>1</sup> *Maṭla‘*, p. 1320 (under 872).      <sup>2</sup> *Maṭla‘*, p. 1331 (under 873). cf. *BSOAS.*, loc. cit., 297.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 70. It is likely that it was in honour of this amir that the region of Hamadan and Mt. Alvand bore the name of Qalam-rov-i ‘Alī Shakar (see Khanikov’s map in *Zeit. d. Gesell. f. Erdkunde*, 1872, VII, 78–9). [I strongly suspect the present-day Caragozlu (\*Qara-gözlü) family, some of whose members own Bahār, of being related to the Qara-qoyunlu chiefs or amirs. My friend H. A. Caragozlu reminds me (22nd November, 1954) that in Ādhar’s anthology called *Ātash-kada* (second half of the 18th century) it is explained that Hamadān ‘for some time was in the possession of ‘Alī-Shakar [*sic*] beg Bahārlu Turkmān and for this reason became known as his *qalam-rov* (a territory within someone’s jurisdiction)’.]

<sup>4</sup> Under the Safavids, *Rukn al-dawla* was the title of the principal ministers, see Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 114, 116. What follows throws light on a very dark page in the history of the 15th century. <sup>5</sup> Mentioned in *Maṭla‘*, p. 1333 (under 873/1468), as a very handsome prince.

Finally Yūsuf too was killed by Oghurlu-Muḥammad b. Ḥasan-beg on 15 Rabīʿ II (873 ?)/22 October, 1469 (f. 17a). . . .<sup>1</sup>

§ 21. (f. 22b). After the death of Prince Pīr-qulī b. Alvand his sons never thought of kingship and spent their time in sight-seeing (*sayr*) and hunting. As for Ḥasan-beg, after the death of Jihānshāh he occupied the country of Azar-bayjan and began a search for the Qara-qoyunlu princes in order to exterminate them. When in secret he made an inquiry about Pīr-qulī he knew for certain that the latter had abandoned all claims to kingship and was engaged in amusements and hunting. The senior representatives of Hamadan who visited Ḥasan-beg also confirmed this conclusion. Malik-Šāliḥ, one of the notables of the Hamadan province, who gave his daughter Maryam-khātūn to UVAYS-QULI (son of Pīr-qulī) said (to Ḥasan-beg): 'Be entirely quiet on the Prince's account . . . and we, your slaves, stand surety that no untoward action will emanate from him'. Ḥasan-beg accepted the submission of the Hamadan nobles and conferred his royal favours on the prince to whom he sent a written guarantee (*qaul-nāma*). Maryam-khātūn bore a son whose birth was solemnly celebrated by Pīr-qulī, Uvays-qulī, and Malik-Šāliḥ. He received the name of SULTĀN-QULI and, when he reached the age of reason and finished learning the word of God, he dreamt only of spears and arrows, swords and daggers, and read only about conquerors. At the age of twelve he lost his grandfather Pīr-qulī who left two sons, Uvays-qulī and Allāh-qulī. In the meantime Amīr Ḥasan-beg departed on the eve of the Ramadan festival 882/night of 31 December, 1477,<sup>2</sup> and was succeeded by his son Ya'qūb-beg. This latter, at the instigation of some intriguers, wished to destroy the 'scion of the garden of kingship'. When Uvays-qulī got wind of these intentions, he consulted his relatives and intimates. All unanimously said that no trust could be put in Ya'qūb-pādshāh and suggested that the father should part with his son and send him with his uncle to Hindustan. After a few days Sultān-qulī and Allāh-qulī, with good horses and valuable presents, were put on the road for that country. The decree of Providence was that they should kindle the light of Islam in the country of Unbelief (*Kāfiristān*) which had never heard of Muḥammad. They occupied the

<sup>1</sup> A short record of the events after Ḥasan 'Alī's death is found in the contemporary *Maṭla'*, p. 1404-5. His blinded brother Yūsuf led some of the Qara-qoyunlu to Shiraz but was expelled by Uzun-Ḥasan. The son of another brother, Muḥammadi, together with the children of Mīr 'Alī Shakar (see above) went to Kirman and thence arrived in Herat on 20 Jamādā I 874/25 November, 1469. The author adds that Mīr 'Alī was the maternal uncle (*khāl*) of Muḥammadi's son; consequently Muḥammadi was married to his sister. [On the other hand Bābur in his *Memoirs*, ed. A. Beveridge, fol. 28a, says that Pasha-begüm (پشه بیگم) was a daughter of 'Alī-Shakar beg, 'one of the Turkman begs of the Bahārlu *oymagh* of the Qara-qoyluq (federation)'. She was married first to Muḥammadi-mirzā, son of Jihānshāh-mirzā Bārānī of the Qara-qoyluq (federation). After Uzun-Ḥasan's victory the sons of 'Alī-Shakar, with 4-5,000 men, joined the Timurid Sultān Abū-Sa'id. As the latter was defeated, they came 'to these parts' and Abū Sa'id's son Sultān-Mahmūd married Pasha-begüm. According to the *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (Tehran), III, 251, the party of refugees, consisting of Yār 'Alī Turkmān, Bayrām, and the sons of Muḥammad 'Alī-Shakar, with 1,000 men, included also Mirzā Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammadi. In Rajab 874/Nov. 1474 Uzun-Ḥasan sent an envoy to Herat to request their extradition but Sultān Ḥusayn refused to surrender his guests.]

<sup>2</sup> More probably on the night of 5/6 January, 1478.

whole of the kingdom of Telingana, and now we shall turn the bridle of the high-stepping steed of our pen to describe their dangerous campaigns and the curious adventures of Sultān-quli and his children in the country of Deccan and the kingdom of Telingana.

§ 22. In his first *Maqāla* (f. 18a), the author <sup>1</sup> completes the family tree of Qutb-shāh Sultān-quli b. Uvays-quli b. Pīr-quli b. Alvand b. Iskandar b. Qara-Yūsuf b. Qara-Muḥammad b. Qara-Tursun (Christ's MS. *Tūr.s.*, Briggs : Toorsin) b. Qara-Manṣūr. The latter's ancestors have variants in the MSS.

Paris	Christ's
Qara-Manṣūr	Qara-Manṣūr
Qara-Bayrām (?)	Qara-Tūrmish
Qara-T.wārmish	Amir Tūra-beg
Amir Zeh-beg	Amir Zeh-beg

The genealogy finally goes back to Oghuz-khan b. Yāfeth b. Nūh, and after this the author reverts to the story of the family.

According to the (previous) histories, Ḥasan-beg and his immediate successor Khalīl-Sultān left Pīr-quli in peace. On the contrary, Ya'qūb b. Ḥasan-beg's suspicions were aroused against Sultān-quli and, as he had some knowledge of geomancy and astrology, he consulted the scholars who prepared a horoscope (*zā'icha*) of the prince which indicated that he would become king, though

*Verse.* 'Not in the kingdom of 'Irāq  
But in Hindūstān this will happen.'

Ya'qūb did not feel entirely confident about this oracle and was preparing to destroy the prince. Uvays-quli, warned of the situation, sent Sultān-quli with Allāh-quli to India.

§ 23. In the book called *Marghūb al-qulūb* (f. 18b) written by Sayyid Ṣadr-i jihān it is recorded that this king (Sultān-quli) was a descendant of Amīr Qara Yūsuf and belonged to the close relatives (*aqrabā*) of Jihānshāh-pādshāh whose deeds are described in histories. The hereditary home and the birthplace of this felicitous king is the village Sa'dābād in the region of Hamadān. When the Aq-qoyunlu, whose leader was Ḥasan-beg, subdued (*tasalluṭ*) the Qara-qoyunlu, he being still a youth came to the Deccan together with his uncle. Having met the Sultān of the kingdom of Deccan and arranged affairs he returned to Persian Iraq, but declared that from the moment he saw the kingdom of Deccan he ever dreamt of it; moreover, in view of his tender age he had to accompany his uncle back to Iraq. As the king of Deccan had received them with kindness and as the (Aq-qoyunlu) enemies still held full sway, he <sup>2</sup> again collected swift steeds and presents and, together with his uncle, left for India. 'When we reached Yazd we waited on the late Shāh Nūr al-dīn Ni'matullāh <sup>3</sup> with whom we were connected both by the links of attachment of a *murīd* to a *pīr* and by

<sup>1</sup> Apparently using some other sources and traditions. See above after § 20.

<sup>2</sup> The whole story is in the first person as Ṣadr-i Jahān is supposed to have heard it (*istimā'*) from Sultān-quli (see f. 18a).

<sup>3</sup> *Ḥadrat-i irshād-panāhi 'arif-i ma'arif-i ilāhī*. The great Ni'matullāh Valī died on 22 Rajab 834/5 April, 1431, see *Mujmal-i Faṣīhī*, Browne collection G8 (10), f. 508 (*Murtaḍā-yi mamālik-i Islām Nūr al-Ḥaqq wal-sharī'a wal-taqwā amīr sayyid Ni'matullāh*), but here the reference is to



those of kinship, for his wife was the daughter (*ṣabiya-yi ṣulbiya*) of Mīrzā Jihānshāh. As the gift of clairvoyance (*karāmat*) was a trait of his sanctity (*vilāyat*), the saintly man . . . said: "O my child, be confident that in every way thou wilt reach the object of (thy) hopes, because God has vouchsafed to thee and thy children a region of the regions of Hindustan". He patted my head and my shoulder with his hand, then brought out some gold coins from under his prayer rug and gave them to me saying: "This is the first stage of happiness; go, for that country has been assigned to thee". Full of hope we asked him to recite a *fātiḥa* and proceeded on our journey. Having crossed the sea, we arrived in Maḥmūd-ābād, the capital of Bīdar, and after some rest waited on the Bahmanī king at an auspicious moment.' He honoured the travellers and assigned to them an appropriate residence. Allāh-qulī asked for leave to return home and as the news of Sulṭān Ya'qūb's death [896/1490] was announced he was firm in his intention. The king let him go but wished to retain Sulṭān-qulī at his court. Sulṭān-qulī readily submitted to this request for he had no desire to witness the tyranny of the hereditary enemies, the Aq-qoyunlu. Moreover he had reached the age of twenty and was feeling in his soul the call of his ancestors' valour. Besides, in India, merits were always recognized (f. 19b). The uncle accepted this argument and the king appointed Sulṭān-qulī to his inner circle (*muqarrabān*), for people coming from Persia belonged to the low classes (*arādhil*), whereas he was the first prince to come and his ancestors had ruled in Iran, the best country in the world.

Further the author describes the prince's rapid career and the unexpected death of the Bahmanid (*Bahman-nizhād*) sulṭān (f. 26a).<sup>1</sup> Thereupon trouble broke out in the kingdom and the amirs offered the throne (*sarīr-i pādshāhī*) to Sulṭān-qulī (f. 28a). From that moment he gave all his time to administration and to the consolidation of the Duodeciman Shī'a creed, causing the names of the imams to be proclaimed from the pulpits and struck on the coins (f. 28b) throughout the *pargānas* of Tilingāna. The opponents of the true religion were put to death.<sup>2</sup>

'Ni'matullāh II'. In addition to the sources quoted in *BSOAS.*, xvi, 1954, 275, note 5, see also Ṣan'-allāh Ni'matullāhī, *Sawāneḥ al-ayyām = Silsilat al-'arīfin*, Bombay, 1307, p. 46-8, who calls Jihān-shāh's son-in-law: Na'im al-dīn b. Ḥabīb al-dīn b. Burhān al-dīn b. Ni'matullāh.

<sup>1</sup> He died on 24 Dhul-Ḥijja 912/7 May, 1507 (Christ's, f. 35a). Here again *Marghūb al-qulūb* is quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly the *Tārīkh-i Turkmāniya* (f. 139a) reports that according to the Deccan experts (*Marghūb al-qulūb*?), Malik Sulṭān-qulī, when he conquered all the fortresses and spread the Shī'a religion, boasted that the Duodeciman creed was not inaugurated by the Safavids, for his own family professed it even in the time of Qara-Muḥammad and Qara-Yūsuf before the rise of 'the essence of the house of Prophecy and Sanctity Shāh Ismā'il Safavi al-Ḥusayni' (see, however, above, p. 62, note 1). On the contrary, Firishta, II, 329-330, 340, several times insists upon the fact that the Quṭb-shāhs recognized the religious leadership of the Safavids and that under Sulṭān-qulī, Shāh Ismā'il's name was read in the *khuṭba* before his own name, as 'the name of a descendant of his murshid'. The same practice was followed at the time of Shāh 'Abbās (p. 330). Firishta ends his account with the mention of the first matrimonial link established between the Safavids and the Quṭb-shāhs (Shāh 'Abbās on behalf of his son asked for the hand of a daughter of Muḥammad-qulī).

§ 25. After describing the assassination of Sultān-quli on 2 Jamādā II 950/2 September, 1543, at the instigation of his son Jamshīd, the author (f. 52b) adds that he ruled 60 years—of them sixteen years as the lieutenant of Sultān Maḥmūd-shāh Bahman (who died on 24 Dhul-Ḥijja 912/7 May, 1507) and forty-four years as the lord (*darā'ī va-farmān-ravā'ī*) of Tilingāna, and that he had reached the age of 'nearly' ninety years. Consequently his birth date would be as early as *circa* 860/1456. The first journey of Sultān-quli to India appears to have been motivated by the advent of the Aq-qoyunlu Ya'qūb (883/1478), and at that time Sultān-quli was under age. After the rule of thirteen years Ya'qūb died in 896/1490, by which time Sultān-quli is said to have reached the age of twenty. Following this chronology he would have been born about 876, at least sixteen years later than according to the anonymous author. Should one assume that the uncle, Allāh-quli, returned to Persia on receiving a false report of Ya'qūb's death, the discrepancy might be reduced by some ten years but, in any case, Sultān-quli was born later than previously assumed, and his age at the time of his death was possibly deduced from his appearance and exaggerated by the tradition.

*Addenda to the article 'Jihān-shāh and his Poetry', BSOAS., 1954, 271–97.*

p. 275, note 5. The author of the *Jāmī'-i Mufīdī* (written in 1090/1679), fol. 45b, says that, while in Haydarabad (Deccan) he read the *Tārīkh-i Qutb-shāhī*, in which the story of Sultān-quli's flight is reported from the *Marghūb al-qulūb* whose author Sadr-i Jihan had gathered it from Sultān-quli himself. See above, p. 50.

p. 279, note 3. The late J. Sauvaget, during his visit to Tabriz, deciphered some more words of the important inscription on the Blue Mosque. In it Jihān-shāh is called 'the most learned of the khāqāns of the Arabs and non-Arabs' . . . 'May God elevate the standards of the Faith by making last his (Jihānshāh's) caliphate [*sic*]', see *Ars Islamica*, 1938, p. 105.

p. 281. I am sorry to have overlooked the fact that in his translation of E. G. Browne's *LHP.*, III (*Az Sa'dī tā Jāmī*, 1327/1948, p. 441), my old friend Prof. A. A. Hekmat has quoted a poem of Jihānshāh included in the rare chronicle *Takmilat al-akhbār* by Zayn al-'ābidin 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Mu'min (*ca.* 967/1560). This Persian poem (5 verses) is in a purely secular vein.

p. 292–7. I have collated the text of Ghaffārī with that of the short chapter on the Qara-qoyunlu in Münejjim-bashī's *Ṣaḥā'if al-akhbār* (Turkish translation) III, 149–54. Münejjim-bashī (who wrote towards 1083/1672) followed Ghaffārī (912/1564), though he must have had at his disposal a better text of the *Jihān-ārā*. Quite characteristic in this respect is the episode of the revolt in Tabriz of the two daughters of Iskandar before Hasan 'Alī's accession: the details are identical in both histories. The chief correction in the text of Br. Mus. Or. 141 should be that Bayrām-khoja died in Syria in 782 and his son Qara-Muḥammad died in 792 (also in Syria). [But see above p. 56, note 1.]

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

The Aq-qoyunlu and Land Reforms (Turkmenica, 11)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (1955), pp. 449-462

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609589>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:34

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



# THE AQ-QOYUNLU AND LAND REFORMS

(TURKMENICA, 11)

By V. MINORSKY

1. Uzun Hasan and his *qānūn*
2. Qāḍī 'Isā's reform under Sultan Ya'qūb
3. The policy of Ahmad-beg Aq-qoyunlu

THERE still remain many interesting and important problems connected with the emergence in the 14th century of the Turkman federations of the Qara-qoyunlu (780–874/1378–1469) and Aq-qoyunlu (780–908/1378–1502). The roots of the Persian *risorgimento* under the Safavids (1502–1722) go deep into this preparatory period.

On the internal policy of the Qara-qoyunlu our documentation is still insufficient. Having succeeded the Jalāyirs the Qara-qoyunlu must have inherited the administrative pattern evolved under the Mongol il-khans.<sup>1</sup> New tendencies become noticeable under the Aq-qoyunlu. It is true that a document from the last stage of their domination<sup>2</sup> clearly indicates that institutions saturated with extra-Islamic elements remained strong-rooted, but we hear also of several attempts made in their time to introduce some financial and administrative reforms. Apparently the rulers, under the cover of 'Islamic institutions', wished to reduce the disintegration of central authority resulting from the system of grants of land made in the guise of salaries, pensions, etc. Such grants were meant to be temporary and conditional, but numerous 'immunities' attached to them transformed beneficiaries into almost independent princes and lords.

## § 1. UZUN-HASAN AND HIS *qānūn*

Under the founder of the Aq-qoyunlu dynasty, Uzun-Hasan, the financial situation was fixed in some regulations, the original text of which has not survived. In Persia we learn of them only through the occasional references of historians to the *dastūr-i Ḥasan-beg* or *qānūn-i Ḥasan pādshāh*. These enactments were still applied at least down to the time of Shah Ṭahmāsp Safavī.<sup>3</sup> More fortunately detailed examples of Uzun-Hasan's regulations have survived in Turkish archives. They concern the region of Diyarbekir, Mardin, Ergani,

<sup>1</sup> See especially the very illuminating data of Rashīd al-dīn's *Tarikh-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn (and also available in good Russian translation by Arends, 1946). See also Minovi and Minorsky, 'Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī on Finance', *BSOAS*, 1941, x, 3, 755–89.

<sup>2</sup> Minorsky, 'A *soyurghal* of Qāsim Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)', *BSOS*, 1939, ix, 4, 927–60.

<sup>3</sup> *Lubb al-tavārīkh*, Br. Mus. Or., 140, f. 63v: 'until now [Shah Ṭahmāsp's time] his regulations (*amal*) concerning the organization of finance (*istifā-yi māl*) and the collection of the governmental fees (*huqūq-i divānī*?) has been a law (*qānūn*)'. See *Sharafnāma*, II, 120, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, f. 10r. Quoted in Minorsky, 'A Civil and Military Review in Fars in 881/1476', *BSOS*, 1939, x, 3, 142.

Urfa, Erzinjan, Harput, Birejik, Chermik, and Arabgir which once formed the original (westernmost) part of Uzun-Hasan's dominions.<sup>1</sup>

It is doubtful whether Uzun-Hasan, during his not too long reign (871–83/1466–78), could have carried out a systematic survey on the territory of his new empire which from Diyarbekir extended to Fars. The reasoned conclusion of W. Hinz (op. cit., p. 179) is that Uzun-Hasan's *qānūn* chiefly fixed and confirmed the various local practices inherited from ancient times. Consequently it was not a financial system but a practical register of local customary law.

According to the *Sharaf-nāma*, Uzun-Hasan's regulations were applied in Fars, (Persian) Iraq, and Azarbayjan, but even under Uzun-Hasan's immediate successors there were periods when in practice the financial situation became utterly confused.

In the *Ta'rikh al-Ghiyāthi*<sup>2</sup> the meaning of the *Qānūn-nāma* is explained somewhat differently, but the author gives some interesting hints at the improvements of the administration. '(Uzun Hasan) was just and beneficent and wished to abrogate the *tamghā*<sup>3</sup> altogether throughout his kingdom. However, his amirs (!) did not agree with (this plan) and he fixed it at one dirham in 20 dirhams, (i.e. reducing it) by half<sup>4</sup> and thus diminishing it from what the earlier sultans used to levy. He abolished the brothels and the taverns and gambling (*maysar*) dens belonging thereto, throughout the kingdom. And he fixed (*aṭlaqa*) the amount of the (land-) tax (*khārīj al-māl* ?) which used to be collected throughout the kingdom. And he wrote a *Qānūn-nāma* concerning complaints and quarrels occurring among people. He insisted upon the chastisement of the guilty by strict punishment (*bil-ta'zīr*), fines, etc. And he sent the *Qānūn-nāma* to all the (provinces of his) kingdom to be acted upon. He did not neglect any principles of justice that he was able to fulfil. He liked learned and accomplished men, and he treated the population of conquered countries with every kind of appeasement and justice.'

The interpretation of the *Qānūn-nāma* as a penal code differs from the sense given to the term by other historians and needs further checking.

<sup>1</sup> Published by Prof. Ömer Lütfü Barkan in *Tarih vesikalari*, 1941, I, 2, 91–106, and 3, 184–97, and digested in a clear résumé by W. Hinz in *ZDMG*, 1950, Bd. 100, Heft 1, 177–201.

<sup>2</sup> Still unpublished. The author 'Abdullāh b. Faṭḥullāh al-Baghdādī al-Ghiyāthī was still alive in 891/1482. The passage on Uzun Hasan's reforms is quoted in 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī's *Ta'rikh al-'Irāq*, III (1357/1939), 254. On the author, *ibid.*, II, 110. See B. Lewis, in *BSOAS*, xvi, 3, p. 599.

<sup>3</sup> The non-Islamic levy, originally the octroi and later a kind of capital levy, see 'Naṣīr al-dīn Ṭūsī on Finance', p. 781; under the Mongols the *tamgha* levy amounted to 1 : 240 of the capital; cf. Barthold, 'Inscription der Manuče Moschee', German trans. by Hinz, *ZDMG*, 1951, Bd. 101, p. 263.

<sup>4</sup> Thus apparently fixing the rate at 1 : 20. Even at this diminished rate it would be twelve times the rate of Mongol times! The text, as given in 'Azzāwī, is not quite clear:

اراد ان يبطل التمنغات من اصلها في جميع بلاده فلم يوافقه امراؤه فجعلها درهما من كل عشرين درهما على النصف واقل مما (كان) ياخذ السلاطين قبله.

## § 2. SULTAN YA'QŪB AND THE REFORM OF QĀDĪ 'ĪSĀ

The reign of Uzun-Hasan's son and successor, Sultan Ya'qūb (883-96/1478-90), is presented by chroniclers as on the whole peaceful and successful but, thanks to his special historian, we now know what political and social strife was going on behind the official scene. The *Tārīkh-i Amīnī* of Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān has never yet been systematically utilized.<sup>1</sup> Its author<sup>2</sup> was a gifted and learned man and a pupil of the well-known Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sakhawī (d. 902/1497). As a convinced sunnī, having close family links with the shaykhs of Fars, he was utterly opposed to the Safavids and finished his days in exile in Central Asia.

The chief part in the events described by Faḍlullāh belongs to the chief qādī Ṣafī al-dīn 'Īsā of Sāva, son of Shukrullāh-vazīr. He was the tutor of Sultan Ya'qūb and exercised a great influence upon his ward. Khwāndamīr is full of praise for his virtues and piety. He says that Sultan Ya'qūb empowered him to write his confirmation (*tauqī'*) opposite the great royal seal and that without that approval the documents were not valid. From the mouth of Qādī Diyā al-dīn Nūr-Allāh, Khwāndamīr heard a story how, at a solemn audience given to the ambassadors of Egypt and Turkey, Sultan Ya'qūb appeared in a gold-embroidered coat (*diglacha-yi zar-dūz*). Qādī 'Īsā declared that such attire was unlawful for men and told his attendant Amīr Sirāj al-dīn to take the *diglacha* off the sovereign's shoulders and to dress him in a coarse caftan of natural colour (*farajī-yi ābaft-i khud-rang*) and the Sultan gracefully submitted to this operation. Khwāndamīr also praises the manners of Shaykh Najm al-dīn Mas'ūd, son of Shaykh 'Īsā's sister, who was in charge of 'civil and financial affairs' and 'sowed the seed of attention and kindness in the hearts of the peasants'.

Quite different is the impassioned report of Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān, which is unique in its extremely detailed presentation of the arguments put forward by the opposition.<sup>3</sup> Such documents are very scarce in Persian and Muslim literature. Faḍlullāh pays lip service to Qādī 'Īsā's virtues and, by way of introduction, tells (f. 154b) how in Ramadān 893/August 1488, he commanded strict punishments to be applied by the *muḥtasibs* to drinkers of wine, 'whose vessels of life' should be upset with condign torture. He then explains how the qadi began to impress his views on the State organization.

From the time of Chingiz-khan, land problems (*umūr-i milkī*) had got into confusion and the Islamic law became infested with the Chingizian *yāsā*, and the qadi's wish was to enforce the commandments of the *sharī'at*.

<sup>1</sup> I have used both the Paris MS. (Bibl. Nat., ancien fonds persan, No. 101) and the Istanbul MS. (Fatih 4431), of which Prof. Hinz most kindly lent me the photographs. I have prepared a detailed analysis of the contents of this remarkable work which I hope will see light some day.

<sup>2</sup> Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 1, 300.

<sup>3</sup> The original report occupies in the Paris MS. ff. 159a-170a and 179b-194a; in the Fatih MS. ff. 177a-191b and 199a-212b.

The author, Faḍlullāh b. Rūzbihān, acknowledges the benefactions which he had received from the qadi but proclaims his desire to speak the truth. Then he prepares his indictment by insinuating that Qādī 'Isā wasted much time on writing poetry; he elevated a worthless crew devoid of nobility; he falsely pretended to be a learned shaykh and it was this conceit that led him astray.

In Ṣafar 894/January 1489, his position, already strong, became paramount and he wielded almost royal power. The only other person admitted to manage the affairs of finance and land was Shaykh Najm al-dīn Mas'ūd *parvānachī*<sup>1</sup> whom the king appointed to be the *amīr-i dīvān*.

The qadi's ambition was to rise above all the notables and dignitaries of Persian Iraq and Fars in order to collect by legal means<sup>2</sup> a sum which would equal the revenue obtained from various *tamghās*<sup>3</sup> which constituted the major part of the heads of revenue (*abwāb al-māl*). Then an order would be obtained from the king to abrogate these non-Islamic levies.<sup>4</sup>

One night the qadi invited Shāh Sharaf al-dīn Maḥmūd Daylamī, who was the vazīr and mushrif of the Divan,<sup>5</sup> and declared that the king's wish was to liquidate the innovations (*khadsha*) of the kings incompatible with the rulings (*nishān*) of the Sacred Law. The qadi took upon himself the task of revising the *kharāj*, but requested Daylamī to accompany him on the journey in order to regularize the items of taxation (*dabt-i jihāt-i mālī*) and dues collected from the peasants for public interests (*huqūq-i māl-al-maṣāliḥ*),<sup>6</sup> and to enforce the rules of justice and equity (*'adl-u-savīyat*). Should the collection of *kharāj* be regularized, the victorious army would not suffer any harm.<sup>7</sup>

Though Daylamī felt that the qadi wanted to make him the scapegoat, he could not help obeying him. Then the qadi alleged the need of his attendance on the king and appointed his brother Imām al-dīn Shaykh 'Alī to act as his deputy. A royal decree was obtained for Shaykh 'Alī to dismiss in (Persian) Iraq and Fars any official at his discretion, and an appropriate patent-letter was also given to Sharaf al-dīn Daylamī. On 4 Rabī' I 894/5 February 1489,

<sup>1</sup> *Parvānachī* is the official concerned with *parvānas*, lit. 'fly-leaves', i.e. correspondence and orders of appointments, apparently not of the highest level. This may have been the original rank of Najm.

<sup>2</sup> *Abwāb-i kifāyat*. In Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī's treatise on finance, the term is explained as revenue from bringing dead lands to cultivation, from mines, fisheries, purchased land, etc. In my commentary I tentatively translated the term as 'lawful exertions and prosecutions', but it may have had a more general use.

<sup>3</sup> Octrois, municipal levies. See Barthold, *Nadpis na mecheti Manuche*, 1911, p. 34 (Germ. transl. by Hinz, *ZDMG*, 1951, Bd. 101). See especially Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī's treatise, p. 781, where *tamghā* refers also to a kind of capital levy (amounting to 1 : 240).

<sup>4</sup> The text of Faḍlullāh bristles with technical terms which still admit only of an approximate interpretation. Etymologies are here of little help and the phraseology of the manuals of accountancy admits of various interpretations.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the vazīr of finance but rather the director and inspector of the Chancery. Each department had a vazīr and a mushrif.

<sup>6</sup> *Maṣāliḥ* 'public weal, state needs', cf. Sa'dī, *Gulistān*, I, story 32; *maṣāliḥ-i mamālīk* 'state affairs'. cf. also Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī, pp. 774 and 779.

<sup>7</sup> The expenditure on the army belonged to the *maṣāliḥ-i pādshāhī* 'state interests', see Naṣīr al-dīn's treatise, p. 777.

the two commissioners set out on their journey with the object of eliminating innovations.

From the *ordu-bazar*<sup>1</sup> they dispatched *bukā'uls*<sup>2</sup> to all parts of Iraq and Fars to proclaim that the *soyurghāls* of the *hashvī* and *kharjī*<sup>3</sup> classes were suspended and that no money should be collected until the trustees of the Divan had estimated the lands and surveyed (*harz-u masāḥat*) the area.

The author, who till then had sat quietly in his corner, went to see Khwāja Shaykh 'Alī and explained to him that the enforcement<sup>4</sup> of the rules of the *shari'at* was subject to (*mauqūf bi*) supporting such people as scholars and 'ulamā. He was sorry to see that the first step of the commissioners was violence and vexation. It appeared that the dotations (*musallamīyāt*),<sup>5</sup> both *hashvī* and *kharjī*, had become insecure (*nā-musallam*). If you wish to attack an enemy how can you defeat the centre of your host? The abrogation of *soyurghāls* was an unmixed evil. 'I know', said Faḍlullāh, 'many of the great 'ulamā of Shīrāz' who sought loans on their *soyurghāls* before the latter fell due and hoped to settle the debts from the next instalments.

Shaykh 'Alī got angry and pointed out that the author intervened because he had friends and relatives in Fars.<sup>6</sup> Let him write out their names and, should hardship be inflicted, they would be exempted from the application of the law. The author retorted that the important matter was the principle, but in the meantime quoted the name of his relative Khwāja Nizām al-dīn Aḥmad Ṣā'idī,<sup>7</sup> who had a thousand poor and destitute persons in his charge to maintain for whom he needed a *soyurghāl* in addition to his own resources. Shaykh 'Alī said that his task was only to report on the situation, but the next one hears of him is when the new settlement (*kifāyat*) was an accomplished fact.

The author proceeds to describe how the *bukā'uls* took the orders to each district (*bulūk*) and anybody 'looking like a *mullā*, or assuming the name of a *qāḍī*' went on with the survey exaggerating every item both with regard to lands and animals. 'The bull supporting the earth would not escape their register, nor even Aries, or Taurus, or Capricorn.'<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is not a geographical place but rather a settlement of traders and artisans attached to the royal camp.

<sup>2</sup> Officials, originally attached to the Royal Table, but in fact having the functions of executive officers. This is an example of how offices and titles changed their purpose. [In Mongol the term would be \* *böke'ül*.]

<sup>3</sup> *Soyurghāl* is the tenure of lands assigned to the beneficiary by the State. The *kharjī* class may have been the grants issued to defray the expenses of a dignitary or an amir rendering some services. The *hashvī* class may have been those issued as a mere favour. However, from the point of view of pure accountancy, Hinz (*Die Welt des Orients*, 1949, p. 315) opposes the terms *bāriz* and *hashvī* as referring respectively to items 'mit Errechnung des Endzahlenproducts' and those without such evaluation. I wonder whether this interpretation would apply in our case.

<sup>4</sup> *Raf'*, here definitely in the sense of 'elevation' and not of 'suppression'.

<sup>5</sup> *Prima facie* this term refers to 'immunities'.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 455, n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> A well-known family of noblemen of Isfahan.

<sup>8</sup> Consequently herds and flocks were also registered. The non-Islamic *qopchur* was originally a levy on flocks and herds, before the term acquired a more general meaning. See on the shaky terminology 'Naṣir al-dīn', pp. 783-4.

The poor people of Fars appealed to 'ulamā and imāms, and Jalāl al-Islām Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad al-Ṣādiqī Davānī,<sup>1</sup> the mujtahid Abū-Yazīd al-Davānī and Maulānā Muḥammad al-Muḥyavī wrote letters to Qāḍī 'Īsā but the latter remained adamant.

The commissioners stopped at Qazvin where people from Rayy, Qum, and Hamadan were gathered, and then proceeded to Isfahan. Using all kinds of chicanery (*manāqiz-va-shanāqiz*) they proceeded to check the pious bequests of the sultans (*auqāf-i abwāb al-birr-i sulṭānīya*) and, on this pretext, without any fear dispossessed even the possessors (*mallāk*) of unimpeachably clear estates (*amlāk-i khālīṣ-i pāk*).

On the denunciation of some heretical qadi, whose unhallowedness appeared on his ugly face, the purchases (*matā'*) of the borough of Ardistān were proclaimed a royal pious foundation (*waqf-i abwāb al-birr-i sulṭānīya*), whereas the number of possessors (*mālīk*) of one half of Ardistān went up to over 10,000. How at the time of Sultan Öljeytu could such a vast community have conspired (*ijmā'-va-ittifāq*) unheeded to buy up the estates and split them up into small lots (*khurda-rīzī-yi ḥiṣaṣ*)<sup>2</sup>? The people of Ardistān protested but were turned away by Qāḍī 'Īsā. Shaykh Abū-Ishāq Muḥammad b. 'Abdullāh Tabrizī (Nīrīzī?), called *Haḍrat-i 'allāmī* wrote to Shaykh 'Alī saying that the denunciation of the vicious (*fāsiq*) shaykh constituted an aberrant argument (*burhān-i fāriq*); why should not his worship (*nuvvāb*) listen to the clear testimony (*bayyina*) of the people of Ardistān? But Shaykh 'Alī replied that he had noticed no relevant testimony (*bayyina-yi dākhila*?), and proceeded via Yazd to Shiraz.

Here he did even more mischief than in Isfahan. The governor of Fars, Amīr Muẓaffar al-dīn Manṣūr-beg Pornāk,<sup>3</sup> was an unprincipled man, and through some personal interest (*aghrād*) did not object to Shaykh 'Alī's actions. Following the abolishment of soyurghāls most of the charitable funds (*abwāb al-khayr*) and hermitages (*khānaqāh*) had to close down. But suddenly the day of retribution came with 'the dreadful death' (*vāqī'a-yi hā'ila*?) of His Majesty.<sup>4</sup> The governor<sup>5</sup> put Shaykh 'Alī in fetters (*band*) and his house and belongings were pillaged. He had not even a morsel of bread to eat and finally in Tabriz was subjected to torture (*shikanja*), loss of limbs, hanging, and dishonour (*ta'līq-u tafḍīh*). As for Qāḍī 'Īsā he fell in Qarabagh into the hands of the ferocious Ṣūfī Khalīl and Fate apportioned to him condign punishment

<sup>1</sup> Jalāl al-dīn Muḥammad b. As'ad Davānī, author of the *Akhlaq-i Jalālī* (830–908/1427–1502), see Minorsky, 'Civil and Military Review', *BSOS*, x, 1, 1939, 144.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning is apparently that the smallholders who had bought their lots could not have done so if Öljeytu's waqf really existed.

<sup>3</sup> On him see below, p. 458.

<sup>4</sup> Sultan Ya'qūb died on 14 September, 1490. Despite Faḍlullāh's detailed description of the course of his illness the circumstances of his death are not quite clear, see Lāri, *Mir'āt al-adwār*, Br. Mus. Add. 7650, f. 229b, the Italian merchant, Hakluyt Society, 1873, pp. 183–4, and the Georgian Chronicle, trans. Brosset, II, 329, according to whom the Sultan was poisoned.

<sup>5</sup> The author promises to illustrate his narrative with the story of the shaykhs of Sāva (*quḍāt-i Sāvajīya*) (MS. Fatih, fol. 199a) and (fol. 191a) refers to Part II of his work which apparently was never written.



in the arena of retribution (*maydān-i jazā*). Such punishment for such deeds was necessary as a warning to men.

After this anticipation of later events the author goes back to the point at which signs of decline appeared in the affairs of Sultan Ya'qūb. He tries to connect these misfortunes with the changes in the basic laws of justice and in the benevolence which the king showed to the world-serving (*jahān-parvar*) Qāḍī 'Īsā. The structure of the State was strong, but stronger was the wind that destroyed the gardens of Erem. By nature the king was generous but the garb of righteousness covered the lining of evil and deadly poison was admixed to the cup of wine.<sup>1</sup>

The author describes in detail his personal interventions against the policy of Qāḍī Ṣafī al-dīn 'Īsā. One day at the camp on Mt. Sahand (south of Tabriz)<sup>2</sup> he visited him at the moment when one of the vazirs was praising those commissioners who were oppressing the people of Fars. He evaluated at 4,000 tomans the sum recovered by the treasury from the available items of *taqabbulāt*<sup>3</sup> and a small part of the arrears (*mukhtaṣar-i mutavvalāt*?). This sum was paid out to the holders of drafts issued by the Supreme Divan.<sup>4</sup> The qadi was sweetly smiling at the recovery of such a sum—each rotten dinar of which was extorted with a thousand tortures. Faḍlullāh, with his habitual 'zeal before God',<sup>5</sup> remarked that, even though this revenue (*māl*) enriched the treasury, it undermined the foundations of the State. No bliss would result from suppressing the pension (due to the family) of Abū 'Abdullāh Khafif and stopping the means of existence (*ma'ishat*) of the house of Rūzbihān Bāqilī.<sup>6</sup> The qadi got angry and at night summoned the author to a private interview (*khalvat*) which seems to have been stormy. 'When the qadi said that his brother strove to cut the oppressors' hand from the skirts of the oppressed, Faḍlullāh told him a story of a monkey which evicted the snake from the house of a lizard but occupied it itself. So the qadi's brother too withdraws estates from the oppressed and sows in them seeds of encroachment. In Sharrā and Farahān<sup>7</sup> Khwāja 'Alī, in the course of 20 days of stocktaking, seized an area to plough which 100 pairs of oxen would be needed.'

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 454, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Fatih, f. 195a: the summer quarters of the court were at Sahand in 895/1490.

<sup>3</sup> *Mā-haḍar-i avbāb-i taqabbulāt*. See *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 176, where I suggest for *taqabbulāt* some contracts accepted from the government. A. K. S. Lambton, *Landlord and Peasant*, 1953, 441: 'taqabbul (?) some kind of levy made when a taxpayer agrees to the assessment fixed by the revenue officer (Aq-qoyunlu)'. The text on which this explanation is based is not indicated.

<sup>4</sup> This indicates the purpose of the government: to collect the revenue and, out of it, to pay the salaries and stipends instead of remunerating the claimants in grants and assignments on lands.

<sup>5</sup> \**Tama* "un fī wajhi 'llāh, instead of *t.m'r wajh fī 'llāh*, as twice in the text?

<sup>6</sup> The former of whom died in 371/982 and the latter in 606/1209, see *Shadd al-izār*, ed. M. Qazvinī, pp. 38–46 and 243–7.

<sup>7</sup> In the central part of Persian Iraq. If there is no mistake in the text, the number of oxen is not impressive. About 1620, the mutavallī of the sanctuary of Ardabil had 650 pairs of oxen to lend to his share-croppers, see *Silsilat al-nasab*, pp. 113–4.

The second of the unpleasant stories was about an ass whose ambition was to flutter in the garden like a crow, and the third about the caliph and a hermit who ruined the state. There is no doubt that this Sheherazade-like performance before the qadi was purely imaginary. Faḍlullāh would never have dared to present his brilliant but vicious caricatures to the original.<sup>1</sup> All that interests us at this place is the intermediate arguments of the two parties in which their real views are reflected.

The qadi kept repeating that the object of the commission was legal, that the population was thriving and the soldiers paid regularly. To maintain the administration of the kingdom (*ḥauza-yi mulk*) one had to collect offerings (*ṣila* ?) from the inhabitants and to transmit them (*waṣla*) to the soldiers, for otherwise the opponents (of the state) might display greed and the depletion of the army's ranks would open breaches in the kingdom.

To this Faḍlullāh retorted that most of the soldiers had abandoned the path of valour and adopted the way of agriculture and the majority of the owners (*arbāb*) in (Persian) Iraq were sturdy Turks (*Turkān-i buzurg-chomaq*).<sup>2</sup> Should the commissioners (*arbāb-i kifāyat*), who have gone to Iraq, investigate their transgressions and encroachments, they might arouse their hatred and anger, and collect nothing of the sums underpaid.<sup>3</sup> The attitude of all the inhabitants to (the collection) of the differences (*amr . . . dar tafāvut*) would be contrary to the expectations (*ma'kūs*) and the encroachments (*taṣarrufāt*) would upset the taxation (*istīfā*). A few dinars likely to be collected would amount to an insignificant sum, which forms the sustenance of the great 'ulamā and the masters of hermitages (*khavānīq*), whereas the consequence would be to provoke squabbles (*ghirghasha*) among the administration of the 'private demesnes' (*injū*), that of the 'seals' and that of the lands transferred to the 'state' category (*mutaḥawwal al-mamālīk*).<sup>4</sup>

Then, in despair of royal subventions (*i'āna*), the poor people (*da'īfān*) might invoke God's assistance (*ighātha*) and sanguinary maledictions might bring decay to the State. The people being ruined and the army disturbed, the few dinars buried in the treasury (*dar khazīna-va-dafīna*) would not ward off the army of misfortune, or the troops of the enemies. Then, thanks to the advice of the supreme vazir, the royal throne might taste the bitter poison of colocynth (*zahr-i 'alqam*), like unto the cup which the caliph Musta'ṣim had to drink through the intrigues of Ibn al-'Alqamī.

Thus the fourth parable is introduced. The vazir Ibn al-'Alqamī was a

<sup>1</sup> In the story of the hermit the latter has even the same weakness for poetry as Qāḍī 'Isā and imagines himself a Mutanabbī and an Abū-Nuwās.

<sup>2</sup> 'With big sticks.' The argument ('let sleeping dogs lie') is specious but the hint at the situation obtaining in Persian Iraq is very interesting.

<sup>3</sup> *Vujūh-i tafāvut*, apparently the difference between the old assessment and the increased value of the estate.

<sup>4</sup> On the opposition between the state (*mamālīk*) administration and the demesnes (*khāṣṣa*, *injū*) see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, p. 24. The 'seals' were the various registration fees collected by the keepers of the seals, *ibid.*, § 98.



shī'ite (!) wishing destruction to the caliphate.<sup>1</sup> When previously the \*Khwārazm-shāh ('Alā al-dīn) marched against Baghdad the caliph Naṣīr al-dīn defeated his army at Asadābād.<sup>2</sup> But al-'Alqamī kept all the revenue in the treasury. The army chiefs were disgusted and no troops were left. Then the vazir invited Hulagu and the latter, when the caliph Musta'sim was suffering from hunger, sent him only gold.<sup>3</sup>

The author pretends that this picture silenced Qāḍī 'Īsā. On coming home the author had a dream boding an imminent catastrophe and on the morrow he took leave of the company (*jamā'at*), and from Mt. Sahand returned to Tabriz to spend the month of Ramadan <sup>4</sup> in perusing the sacred book and in conversing with doctors of law.

Faḍlullāh's indignation against the reform indicates how much the interests of the spiritual lords depending on government grants were united with those of the other holders of *soyurghāls*, namely the military chiefs. He wished to intimidate Qāḍī 'Īsā <sup>5</sup> by the vision both of curses of the 'poor people' and of complications with the powerful Turkish amirs. With regard to the latter threat he proved right, as the sorry end of Qāḍī 'Īsā showed soon after. Elemental interests had the better of the Islamic motives with which Qāḍī 'Īsā tried to clothe his projects.

No other historian mentions Qāḍī 'Īsā's plan of reforms. The *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (iv/3, 331) speaks definitely of the *soyurghāls* issued under Sultan Ya'qūb to qāḍīs, sayyids and 'ulamā,<sup>6</sup> and according to Mīr Yaḥyā (fol. 64a) this king confirmed the *soyurghāls* and appointments made by his father Uzun Hasan.<sup>7</sup> Faḍlullāh's text suggests that the idea of reforms was conceived by the qadi only towards the very end of Ya'qūb's reign.

The death of Sultan Ya'qūb suddenly upset the situation. According to Khwāndamīr (iv/3, 332), Ṣūfī Khalīl, the new war-lord supporting the infant king Baysunghur, for a time had been resentful (*dhakkīra*) towards Qāḍī 'Īsā and he made him 'drink the drink of martyrdom'. Shaykh Najm al-dīn escaped with his life <sup>8</sup> but soon after was poisoned in Shirvan whither he accompanied Baysunghur after the latter's expulsion by his cousin Rustam. Of the qadi's acolytes executed together with him Lārī (f. 229b) mentions his maternal uncle Khwāja 'Abd al-Malik Sāvajī. According to Ghaffārī (f. 193b) the events followed in rapid succession: Ya'qūb died on Thursday, 11 Ṣafar

<sup>1</sup> Is this some particularly venomous hint at Qāḍī 'Īsā?

<sup>2</sup> In 614/1217. In the text 'Khwārazm-shāh' is mis-spelt as the Mongol general 'Chormaghun' (f. 211 b).

<sup>3</sup> See Naṣīr al-dīn Tūsī in Juvayni, III, 290.

<sup>4</sup> In 895 Ramadan began on 19 July 1490.

<sup>5</sup> The 'past qāḍī' (*qāḍī-yi māḍī*) as he rather unceremoniously calls him after his death.

<sup>6</sup> See also Lārī, f. 229a, on 'colleges and retreats (*biqā'-va-ṣavāmi'*)' resounding with pious recitations at the time of Sultan Ya'qūb.

<sup>7</sup> This would suggest that the grants had to be confirmed by each new king. See below Sultan Ahmad's refusal to do so, p. 459.

<sup>8</sup> According to Faḍlullāh (MS. Fatih, f. 190a) Shaykh 'Alī was tortured in Shiraz by Qāsim Pornāk and died some time after.

896/24 December 1490 ; Qāḍī 'Īsā was put in fetters on 8 Rabi' I/19 January 1491, and four days later hanged in the *ordu-bazar* ('soldiers' market').

Such is the picture of events which can be culled from Faḍlullāh's singular report, and not the least remarkable feature of the latter is the purely practical attitude of the learned author imbued with Islamic learning. He most violently opposed the 'back-to-Islam' plan of Qāḍī 'Īsā as soon as the latter trod on the toes of the material interest of his learned friends and relatives in Fars.

### § 3. THE POLICY OF AHMAD-BEG AQ-QOYUNLU <sup>1</sup>

While struggles and clashes were going on between Uzun-Hasan's grandsons, Baysunghur (son of Ya'qūb) and Rustam (son of Maqsūd), their cousin Ahmad-beg appeared on the stage. He was the son of Uzun-Hasan's eldest son Oghurlu-Muhammad. In 879/1474-5, in view of some disappointment, this prince escaped to Baghdad and thence went to Turkey. Sultan Mehmed II received him with much kindness and gave him his daughter, of whom Ahmad-beg was born. Oghurlu-Muhammad lost his life in 882/1477 as he was apparently making for his father's dominions.<sup>2</sup>

The short episode of Ahmad-beg's reign is clearly summed up in Ḥasan Rūmlū's *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, ed. Seddon, pp. 13-4.

In 902/1496-7 a certain Ḥasan 'Alī Tarkhānī went to Turkey to tell Sultan Bāyazīd II (880-918/1481-1519) that Azarbayjan and Persian Iraq were lying defenceless and suggested that Ahmad-beg, heir to that kingdom, should be sent there with Ottoman troops. Sultan Bāyazīd liked the idea of 'sultanate' over those two territories<sup>3</sup> and accepted Tarkhānī's plan. Rustam-beg's amirs betrayed him. Husayn-beg 'Alī-khānī put to death the king's *lala* 'Abd al-Karīm beg and on 1 Ramadan/3 May 1497 proclaimed Ahmad-beg (whose sister was his wife). The rivals clashed on the Araxes and, when the amir Ayba-sultan<sup>4</sup> went over from Rustam to Ahmad, Rustam was taken prisoner and put to death. Husayn-beg 'Alī-khānī, who now became the most powerful amir, for some personal reasons killed Muzaḥḥar Purnāk (see above p. 454). Although Husayn himself was soon executed by Ahmad-beg<sup>5</sup>, blood-feuds continued. Ahmad gave to Ayba-sultan the governorship (*ayālat*) of

<sup>1</sup> I very much regret that, despite my endeavours, Prof. I. P. Petrushevsky's 'Internal Policy of Ahmad Aq-qoyunlu', published in *Izv. Azarbayjan. Filiala Akad. Nauk*, 1942, No. 2, has remained inaccessible to me. On the other hand, a parallel study may prove its utility, as when the decipherment of a difficult document is checked by communicating it to two independent scholars.

<sup>2</sup> See Ghaffārī, f. 192a.

<sup>3</sup> This little-known episode can be considered as a prelude to Sultan Selim's campaign against Shah Ismā'il in 1514.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps *\*Ay-apa*? This venturesome man, particularly responsible for the disruption of the Aq-qoyunlu kingdom, belonged to a collateral side branch of the ruling Bayundur clan. His personal name was Ibrāhīm b. Dānā (or *Dāna*) Khalīl b. Kūr-Muḥammad b. Qara-'Othmān, whereas Uzun-Hasan was son of 'Alī, son of Qara-'Othmān. Ayba-sultan is usually mentioned in conjunction with the Qājār troops. The Qājār clan emerges for the first time at this period.

<sup>5</sup> According to Mir Yahyā, f. 66a, in Dhul-Ḥijja 902/July 1497.

Kerman. On the way there Ayba-sultan plotted with Qāsim-beg Pornāk (brother of Muẓaffar) <sup>1</sup> and together they marched against Ahmad-beg. In the battle fought at Khwāja-Ḥasan-māqī, <sup>2</sup> near Isfahan, Ahmad lost his life on Wednesday 17 Rabī' II 903/13 December 1497. <sup>3</sup>

The interesting detail in Ahmad-beg's career is his attempt to change the financial policy, on which several reports are extant.

The oldest contemporary historian Khwāndamīr (born *circa* 880/1475–6) reports that on his arrival from Turkey <sup>4</sup> Ahmad-beg 'announced to the peasants and sharecroppers (*ra'āyā va muzārī'ān*) the introduction of rules of justice (*qavā'id-i 'adālat*). He raised the standard of respect for the *sharī'at* and gave orders that the vazirs and the (officials) of the Divan should not charge (*ḥavāla*) any creature one dinar or one maund (*yak mann bār*) in excess of what was due (*mutavajjah*) in accordance with the *sharī'at*, that they should exempt (*mu'āf*) all classes of humanity (*tav'īf-i insānī*) from divan impositions (*takālīf-i dīvānī*) and not molest anyone with *ikhrājāt* and *shiltāqāt*. <sup>5</sup> He drew the pen of deletion <sup>6</sup> through the fixed emoluments (*muqarrarīyāt*) of the holders of *soyurghāl*s and did not confirm (*imḍā*) the documents of exemptions (*nishān-i mu'āfī*) of any of the turban-wearers (*arbāb-i 'amā'im*). But this dispensation (*ma'nī*) did not turn out blissful for him', for only six months later he was killed in a pitched battle with Ayba-sultan and Qāsim Pornāk.

Mir Yaḥyā, born in 886/1482, was another contemporary of the later Aq-qoyunlu. According to him <sup>7</sup> Ahmad-beg 'was a king kindly to the subjects (or peasants, *ra'īyat-parvar*). During his short reign the gates of *ikhrājāt* were closed to such an extent that no creature made bold to take unlawfully a straw from a peasant (*ra'īyat*). He abstained from forbidden things, idle pastimes (*malāḥī*) and drinking wine. He strove to propagate the Sacred Law and to enforce the exalted faith and he treated the 'ulamā and the learned people with respect and kindness. At his gatherings much scholarly converse went on and he himself took part in it. He had a shaykh who was called Nuqtaji A'lā and whom he followed (*sulūk*) readily, not swerving from his words and opinions. However, parsimony (*imsāk*) was a dominant trait both of the shaykh

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned above in connexion with Qāḍī 'Isā's commission.

<sup>2</sup> Khwāndamīr, III/4, p. 334, calls this place *K.hyz* (or *Kyhas*)*ölāng*. In Mongol *ölāng* means 'grass, meadow'. The first part of the name should be restored probably as *كهير* \**Kehēr*, in Mong. 'desert, steppe', see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 233: *keherün Bāyāvut*, and Ibn Muḥannā's lexicon, ed. Kilisi Rif'at, p. 217: *الصحراء* = *كهير*, cf. N. Poppe, *Muqaddimat al-adab*, Moscow 1938, p. 439. It is curious that about A.D. 1497 Mongol toponymy should have been still remembered in Central Persia. [Original Mongol: *keger*.]

<sup>3</sup> Mir Yaḥyā gives 18 Rabī' II 903/14 December 1497, while Ghaffārī, f. 194b, omits the day of the month.

<sup>4</sup> *Ḥabīb al-siyar* (written after 930/1524), III/4, p. 334, line 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Ikhrājāt* are occasional 'disbursements' borne by the population, for example, in connexion with the arrival of official travellers; *shiltāq* 'a pretext', a still more arbitrary levy. See Minorsky, 'A *soyurghāl*', *BSOS*, IX, 4, 1939, 946–7.

<sup>6</sup> \**Qalam-i ibtāl* (printed: *qm*).

<sup>7</sup> *Lubb al-tavārikh*, Br. Mus., Or. 140, f. 66a.

and of the king and they gave no effect to the *soyurghāls* and pensions (*idrārāt*) granted by (Ahmad's) grandfather, uncles, and earlier kings. This kind of practice proved unblissful to them, and inevitably the rule of Ahmad did not last . . . He was not safe from the amirs' betrayal. In Dhul-Ḥijja 902/July 1497, he put to death Husayn-beg 'Alī-khānī who was married to his sister, and some other persons'. The author repeats the report on Ayba-sultan's appointment to the governorship (*ayālat*) of Kerman and his plot with Qāsim Pornāk. In the battle fought in the neighbourhood of Khwāja-Ḥasan-māḍī (on Wednesday 18 Rabī' II 903/14 December 1497) Ahmad lost his life together with Shaykh Nuqṭaji A'lā and many of the courtiers (*khāṣṣān*).

The historian of Shah Ṭahmāsp Ḥasan-beg Rūmlū<sup>1</sup> was well acquainted with the history of the Turkmans. In the first part of his statement on Ahmad-beg he closely follows Mīr Yaḥyā even in his terminology. To illustrate Ahmad-beg's respect for the 'ulamā he adds: 'Instead of orders, he wrote letters (*kitābat*) to Maulānā Jalāl al-dīn Davānī and Mīr Ṣadr al-dīn Muḥammad and on the *verso* apposed his seal. Thus it was that he introduced the law of justice<sup>2</sup> to make the Turks<sup>3</sup> withdraw their hands from the heads of the lowly and the peasants. Therefore the Turks, although outwardly obeying his orders, in their hearts opposed (*'inād*) him. He knew it and every few days killed one of them. Parsimony (*imsāk*) prevailed in his character and he hampered the bringing into effect of the *soyurghāls* decreed by previous kings. This procedure did not turn happy for him, etc. His face was very pink and white, he was short of stature with short legs and therefore was called Gōvdeje-Ahmad.<sup>4</sup>

A poet said :

The head-of-cabbage from Rūm, whom they made sultan of the world,  
When Dey (December) came, was put under the sod.

The device on his seal was :

Tell the dry lip of a pauper (*darvīsh*) : smile sweetly,  
For we shall uproot the oppressors.'

Another contemporary of Shah Ṭahmāsp, Qāḍī Ahmad Ghaffārī<sup>5</sup> also confirms Ahmad-beg's intentions to run the affairs of the state with justice—'in the Ottoman way' (*ba-ṭarīq-i Rūm*), as he unexpectedly adds, mindless of the compliment he makes to the rivals of his master.

<sup>1</sup> *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, ed. Seddon, p. 16. The editor was unaware of the fact that vol. XI of Ḥasan Rūmlū's history (covering the years 807–99/1405–95) has also survived, see Storey, *Persian Literature*, I, 1, pp. 306–7.

<sup>2</sup> *Qānūn-i 'adālat*, possibly 'a just assessment'.

<sup>3</sup> Meaning : the tribal Aq-qoyunlu chiefs.

<sup>4</sup> The mother of his father Oghurlu-Muhammad was a Kurdish lady. Ahmad was the son of an Ottoman princess. The sobriquet *gōvde*, or *gōvdeje* means in Turkish 'a small trunk, a dwarfish person'.

<sup>5</sup> *Jihān-ārā*, Br. Mus., Or. 141, f. 194b. This author substitutes the term *tiyūl* for *ayālat* which Mīr Yaḥyā uses with regard to Sultan-Ayba's appointment to Kerman. [*Tiyūl* (northern Turkish : *tiyish*) from Turkish *tiy-mek* (Ottoman *deg-mek*) : 'what reaches somebody, falls to his lot'. The Persians pronounce *toyūl*.]

As a dissonant note in this chorus of historians one should quote the words of Maulānā Muṣliḥ al-dīn al-Shāfi'ī Lārī.<sup>1</sup> According to him Gōvde-Ahmad was a prince of 'exceptional villainy (\**khabīthat*); in avarice he emulated Mādir,<sup>2</sup> and in baseness (*dānā'at*) was famous throughout the world'.

The reports quoted indicate only the general tendency of Ahmad's democratic practices, and we cannot say whether, during his short reign, he found time to embody them in any general acts of legislative character. Ghaffārī's suggestion that his policy was run on Ottoman (*Rūmī*) lines may have been deduced from his Ottoman upbringing<sup>3</sup> and must have some truth in it, but in any case the direct influence behind the throne was that shaykh bearing the strange name of Nuqtaji A'lā.<sup>4</sup>

The material at our disposal is insufficient but on purely historical grounds, we have to connect Ahmad-beg's policy with the reforms already attempted under Sultan Ya'qūb. Since then the nefarious system of grants indiscriminately distributed by rulers had sprung up again. Of Rustam-beg, whom Ahmad-beg succeeded, Ḥasan Rūmlū says, p. 15: 'he was an extremely generous (*karīm al-naḥs*) king and such *soyurghāls* and *vazīfas* ("pensions") as he gave to meritorious people no one of the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu ever gave'. Consequently, economy and reform in the revenue department and measures to reduce the unruliness of the amirs were inevitable in view of the situation.

What seemed to be an isolated attempt of an ephemeral ruler becomes now much easier to understand in the light of the precedent from Sultan Ya'qūb's time. The Ottoman upbringing and connexions of Gōvde-Ahmad may have stimulated his energy, but the normalization of taxes and the rigid revision of the *soyurghāls* were certainly local Persian problems awaiting an urgent solution.

Very curiously in both cases the opinion of the equally orthodox interpreters of the divine law was split. Most of the historians praise the financial policy of Qādī 'Īsā and Ahmad-beg as concordant with Islam, as against such learned champions of orthodoxy as Faḍlullāh ibn Rūzbihān and Lārī, of whom the former furiously denounces the 'back-to-Islam' reforms of the 'Sāva shaykhs', and the latter blackens the miserly nature of the dwarfish Ahmad.

<sup>1</sup> *Mir'āt al-advār*, Br. Mus., Add. 7650, f. 230b. Lārī was a sunnite Persian who lived in India and finished his days in Turkey (in 979/1572). [On him see Babinger, GOW, 94; Storey, *Persian Literature*, 117; cf. *Aḥsan al-tavarīkh*, 454, under the year 980.]

<sup>2</sup> Lane, I/7, 2699: '*mādir*, one who plasters his watering-trough or tank with his ordure, in order that no one besides himself may water at it'. cf. *Lisān al-'arab*, III, 536, where this dishonouring practice is connected with the Banū-Hilāl.

<sup>3</sup> He was not only the son of an Ottoman princess but himself was married to a daughter of Sultan Bāyazid. See M. H. Inanç, *Ak-koyunlu*, in *İslām Ansiklopedisi*.

<sup>4</sup> Did he come with Amad-beg from Turkey? Could he have had any connexion with the Ḥurūfī sect whose important branch were the Nuqtavi? See on them the recent works of Şādiq Kiyā, *Nuqtaviyān yā Paṣī-khāniyān*, 1320/1941 (there are no data on their history between 831/1427 and 973/1565), and H. Ritter, in *Oriens*, 1954, VII, 1, pp. 6, 40. The very name of the shaykh, A'lā, is strange and even suggestive.

Such negative attitude towards reforms must be explained by the links of the critics with the groups interested in the preservation of their privileges. Faḍlul-lāh goes even so far as to suggest a danger for the throne if the prayers of the 'subjects' were replaced by deprecations.

The dichotomy of opinions would be less instructive had not the immediate developments justified the warnings of the critics. In both cases the initiators of the 'back-to-Islam' policy fell victims to the combination of more powerful forces and interests. Considerations of orthodoxy did not influence the course of events. And this conclusion shows the potential dangers of simplifying our approaches to the study of 'Islamic society' and its history.

6 June 1955.

P.S.—Thanks to Prof. I. P. Petrushevsky's kindness I am now in possession of *Sbornik statey po istorii Azerbayjana*, I, Baku 1949, 310 pp., which contains five articles by A. A. Ali-zadeh (pp. 47–143), chiefly on the Mongol period, and five articles by I. P. Petrushevsky (pp. 144–310), on the 15th–17th centuries, namely 'Internal policy of Ahmad Aq-qoyunlu' (mentioned above, p. 458, note 1); 'The states of Azerbaijan in the 15th century'; 'The rising of artisans in Tabriz in 1571–3'; 'Azerbaijan in the 16th–17th century', and 'Iranian sources on the history of Azerbaijan in the 16th–17th century'.

In the article on Ahmad Aq-qoyunlu (pp. 144–52), completed in January 1942, Prof. Petrushevsky used practically the same sources as myself (in my § 3) and came to the same conclusions on the purport of the centralizing tendency of the government directed against the fief-holders. In the light of my §§ 1 and 2, this trend of policy acquires a wider significance and permits one to draw additional conclusions.

20 August 1955.



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Mongol Place-Names in Mukri Kurdistan (Mongolica, 4)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1957), pp. 58-81

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/609632>

Accessed: 25/03/2013 20:32

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# MONGOL PLACE-NAMES IN MUKRI KURDISTAN

(MONGOLICA, 4)

By V. MINORSKY

- § 1. General studies on the toponymy of Iran
- § 2. Geography of Mukri Kurdistan
- § 3. Its historical destinies
- § 4. Mongol elements in place-names
  - (a) rivers
  - (b) mountains and passes
  - (c) districts and villages
  - (d) tribes

Annex I. Additional list of Mongol place-names

Annex II. Earlier strata in local toponymy : Parsua and Dariausa

## § 1. STUDIES IN PERSIAN TOPONYMY

MY article written some twenty years ago had a twofold purpose : to insist on the importance of a systematic study of the toponymy of Persia and, by way of example, to examine the Mongolian stratum of place-names in the southernmost area of the Persian province of Azarbayjan.

Much of what I said in the first part of the original draft has happily become superfluous in view of the appearance of a very welcome series of volumes which, in the years 1328–32/1949–53, was published by the Persian Army Survey, under the title of *Farhang-i joghrāfiyāyi-yi Irān*. The production of this series is chiefly due to the enlightened endeavours of the former chief of the Survey, General Ḥosayn ‘Alī Razmārā (brother of the assassinated premier).

The 10 volumes are arranged according to the 10 *ostāns* into which Persia is divided under the present-day administrative organization, namely :

- I. Centre (247 pp.)
- II. West-Central (324 pp.)
- III. Caspian provinces (331 pp.)
- IV. Āzarbayjān (593 pp.)
- V. Kurdistān (517 pp.)
- VI. Khūzistān (314 pp.)
- VII. Fārs (243 pp.)
- VIII. Kermān-Mukrān (458 pp.)
- IX. Khorāsān (444 pp.)
- X. Isfāhān (224 pp.)

Altogether the series consists of roughly 4,000 pages, large quarto, each volume containing a complete enumeration of the component parts of each *shahristān* (larger governorships administered from principal towns), *bakhsh* (smaller districts), and *dihistān* (rural units of several villages).<sup>1</sup> The names in

<sup>1</sup> These terms will be further referred to under abbreviations : *sh.*, *b.*, and *d.*



Persian script are also presented in an easy Latin transcription,<sup>1</sup> the items being accompanied by brief notices on their geographical and administrative location, distances, number of inhabitants, and their native speech and occupations. The names are marked on the accompanying maps, drastically reduced but not totally illegible.

It is a pity that no references are made to the older forms of the names<sup>2</sup> altered under the Pahlavi dispensation. Thus historical research is somewhat hampered, but, in any case, the mass of nomenclature thrown open for the first time is formidable. I understand that a catalogue of such geographical features as mountains, rivers, etc., has also been prepared by the same agency and no explanation is needed of the importance of its publication to scholars, especially if it is accompanied by clear plans and sketches.

Only at the present day has a systematic study of Iranian place-names become possible on a scale on which such studies have been conducted in most European countries. Places mentioned in historical texts will be easier to identify; philology will find an interest in the ancient forms which have survived in people's everyday use, or have undergone unusual alterations under the influence of local factors; ethnologists will be able to trace various ancient populations and examine the 'visiting-cards' left by migrations and invasions.

Contrary to the study of Iranian personal names, for which we have Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 1895 (now considerably antiquated), the study of the toponymy of Iran has been conducted unsystematically. We have no general study similar to G. Hoffmann's painstaking analysis of Aramaic place-names in his *Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer*, 1880, or to H. Hübschmann's 'Die altarmenischen Ortsnamen'.<sup>3</sup>

The ancient toponymy of the Zagros range connected with Assyrian sources was studied by Billerbeck, W. Belck, M. Streck,<sup>4</sup> Thureau-Dangin, Forrer, E. Speiser, Herzfeld, and others. At an early date the identification of the names mentioned by classical authors was accomplished by their original editors. W. Tomaschek in his remarkable studies of Nearch's cruise in the Persian Gulf, of the great 'Khorasanian' highway, and of the roads across the

<sup>1</sup> Non-Persian (Turkish, Kurdish, Aramaic) names are transcribed according to the Persian pronunciation, and some of them purely theoretically, as they looked in the misleading Arabic script (iv, 221: *Dorke-Targun* for \**Dūrge-Tārkāvūn*; iv, 290: *Qariq* for \**Qirīq* (?); iv, 523: *Nalus* for \**Nālōs*, etc.). Nor is the alphabetical order of the lists always correct.

<sup>2</sup> It takes some time to realize that the new name *Shāhpūr* stands for the time-honoured Salmās and Dilmān (*Dilmaḡān*). The earlier registers and histories contain many archaic forms. Thus Bāsminj (east of Tabriz, *FJ*, iv, 74) appears in the *Ālam-ārā*, 657, as Fahūs-faj. Somewhat inconsistently in *FJ*, v, 307, one finds the name of the present-day village of Parispe (west of Hamadan) restored as *Farsafaj*.

<sup>3</sup> In *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvi, 1904, 197-490. Another systematic study of local toponymy is M. Hartmann's *Bohtān* (with notes by C. F. Andreas), 1886.

<sup>4</sup> 'Das Gebiet d. heutigen Landschaften Armenien, Kurdistan und Westpersien', *Zeit. f. Assyriologie*, xiv, 1899, 103-72.

Central desert, has shown what can be done with ancient and medieval sources. Alexander's campaigns have naturally provoked much discussion (lately by W. W. Tarn). To J. Marquart and his extraordinary erudition and acumen we owe such treasures of learning as *Ērānšahr*, the Pahlavi list of the provincial capitals of Iran, and a number of other studies. However, such tables as Ptolemy's catalogue of Median place-names still await a special study to continue the excellent approach made by C. F. Andreas in the series of some forty articles contributed to Pauli-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie*.<sup>1</sup>

Each Iranian scholar, from Windischmann, Geiger, and Nöldeke to the present-day specialists, like H. W. Bailey and W. B. Henning, has made notable contributions to the identification and explanation of place-names. Such particular questions as the origin of the element *-karta* were debated by O. Blau, A. D. Mordtmann, and Nöldeke in the pages of *ZDMG* in the years 1877–9, but in the special periodical *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* Iranian subjects have been hardly touched upon.<sup>2</sup> Recently W. Eilers has undertaken a very detailed examination of a series of old Iranian place-names which he connects with the present-day toponymy.<sup>3</sup>

Finally, on the Persian side, the efforts of Sayyid Aḥmad Kasravi<sup>4</sup> should not be forgotten. This original and interesting historian (assassinated in 1945) was in no sense a philologist, but it is characteristic that he felt a need to explain local names, especially in his native Azarbayjan.

On the whole the results of our studies, though partial and scattered, are very considerable, but the general direction of the research has been mainly from literary remains to actual geography, and it is time to shift the observation point to the other end, namely to the mine of still existing names in which one should try to discover regularities and to explain local deviations. It is important to analyse the various strata of toponymy in which the historical destinies of the provinces are reflected. Persia teems with splinters of ancient and modern tribes and the tracing of their names, jointly with the study of local dialects, may disclose their former distribution and the roads of their migrations.<sup>5</sup> As it is likely that the name of Mt. Balkhan, near the Krasnovodsk Bay of the Caspian (see Priscus, frag. 41 : *Βαλαάμ*), was transplanted by the Oghuz Turks to the Balkan peninsula (ancient *Haemus*), so the existence of a

<sup>1</sup> The articles do not go beyond the letter A. Some literature on historical geography (before 1900) is quoted in *Grundriss der iran. Philologie*, II, 371–3, 387–94 (W. Geiger), and 605–11 (F. Justi).

<sup>2</sup> The main object of O. Paul, VIII, 1932, 105–10; x, 1934, 206–15 and J. Schnetz, x, 1934, 215–21, is to reject the alleged connexion of the names *Γερμανοί* and Kirmān.

<sup>3</sup> 'Der alte Name des persischen Neujahrfeſtes', *Akad. d. Wiss. u. d. Lit. in Mainz, Abhandl. d. Geistes- u. Sozialwiss. Kl.*, 1953, Nr. 2 (see Index); 'Der Name Demavend', *Archiv Orientalni*, xxii, 1954, 267–374; xxiv, 1956, 183–224.

<sup>4</sup> *Nām-hā-yi shahr-hā va dīh-hā-yi Irān*, I, 1929, 21 pp. (Tehrān, Shamirān, etc.); II, 1931, 31 pp. (on the endings: *-vān*, *-gān*, *-hān*, *-khān*, *-dān*, *-zān*, *-lān*, *-rān*).

<sup>5</sup> Only the name of the district Shūlistān and some other place-names in Fars remind one of the Shūl who were still known in the thirteenth-fourteenth century.

second Damāvand in the Baluchistan borderland may be accounted for by the southward migration of the Baluch who seem to have left traces of their language in the oases of the Central Iranian desert.<sup>1</sup>

## § 2. GEOGRAPHY

As an experimental field for my limited essay I have chosen the basin of the southern tributaries of Lake Urmiya. I visited it three times: in 1905, when from Marāgha I went to see some places in the basin of the Tatavū; in 1911 when, jointly with my British colleague, the late S. H. Shipley, I was commissioned to inspect the then zone of Turkish occupation, and in 1914 when, on the eve of the first World War, I was one of the four delegates (Persia, Turkey, Great Britain, and Russia) for the delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier, which *grosso modo* has survived two world wars and many political tribulations.

The region to the south of Lake Urmiya is extremely interesting in both the geographical and the archaeological respects.<sup>2</sup>

Four rivers discharge into the lake from the south. First from the east is the important JAGHATŪ. It rises in the south near the head of the corridor of Shilēr,<sup>3</sup> which represents a deep indent of the present-day Iraq into Persian Kurdistan and through which at all times communications between the Mesopotamian lowlands and the Iranian highlands have been maintained. The Jaghatū makes a long sweep to the east, whence it receives the considerable tributary (now *Saruq*), on which the ancient Parthian fortress (now Takht-i Sulaymān) and the grottoes of Kereftū (with a Greek inscription) are situated. Then it takes a north-westerly direction towards the lake, leaving on the right the original site of the ancient Iranian capital Gazaca and its fire-temple (now Laylān).

Inside the bend of the Jaghatū a shorter river, called TATAVŪ, flows through hilly country to the east of the central Kurtak massif and on the shore of the lake comes very near to the Jaghatū, which it may have joined at one time or another.

The third, and much shorter, stream is the SĀ'UJ-BULAQ from which the present-day Mahābād received its former name. It rises north-west of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, 374; cf. W. Ivanow on the dialects of the Central desert, *JRAS*, 1926, 405-31, and *Acta Orientalia*, VIII, 1927, 45-61 (cf. in the dialect of Khūr: *gīs* for *bīst* '20', *god* for *bād* 'wind'). I have tried to show that the name of the Armenian capital Dvin was due to the Parthians coming from the steppes of the present-day Turkmenia, see my 'Transcaucasica' in *J.As.*, juillet 1930, 41-51. In my opinion the eastern (Soghdian?) *-kanθ* was also brought to Azarbayjan and Transcaucasia by the Oghuz Turks during their westward migration, see below, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> See my early article 'The Kela-shin and the earliest monuments in the basin of Lake Urmiya' (in Russian) in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, xxiv, 1917, 145-84, and my articles *Sawdj-bulaq* in *E.I.*, and 'Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene', *BSOAS*, xi, 2, 1944, 243-65.

<sup>3</sup> *Shilēr* is the Kurdish name of a plant which at the Cambridge Botanic Garden has been identified as *Fistillaria imperialis* 'crown imperial'.

Kurtak and, by way of the narrow gorge, between the ancient rock-hewn chamber of Faqraqā (Indirqash) and the old irrigation works of Saukand, emerges into the plain of Vērān-shār ('Ruined town').

The fourth river is the important GĀDIR, which descends from the neighbourhood of the pass of Kela-shin (with its famous bilingual Assyro-Urartian stele), waters the fertile plains of Ushnū and Suldūz, and discharges into the south-western corner of the lake.

The situation is complicated by the fact that quite close to the Kela-shin pass are situated the sources of the K'ALU, or Zey, which flows in the opposite direction to the south, collects the waters of the eastern face of the high range (*Qandīl*) forming now the frontier between Persia and Iraq, and then, breaking through the imposing gorge of Alān, flows (under the name of Lesser Zāb) to join the Tigris. Thus the area under description belongs to the basins of Lake Urmiya and the Persian Gulf, and the interesting fact is that the sources of the important Lesser Zāb lie not on the Mesopotamian side but far behind the frontier range of Qandīl (Zagros).

Between the northern pass of Kela-shin and the southern passage through the gorge of Alān there are several other (and even easier) passes over the frontier range and this explains the facility with which the kings of Assyria invaded the present area of Mukri. In the north-east, the Jaghatū valley is everywhere open to penetration and along that line proceeded the infiltrations of such ancient peoples as the Medes, and in much later times, the Turks and the Mongols. *Grosso modo*, the Tataavū is regarded as a frontier between the Turks and the Kurds, who, to the west of it, live in a compact mass.<sup>1</sup> But even here the toponymy, as we shall see, bears witness to infiltrations, especially in Mongol times.

### § 3. HISTORICAL DESTINIES

At the dawn of history we learn from the Assyrian sources of the existence to the east of Zagros of a number of small principalities (Kharkhar, Ellipi, Allabria); they cannot be easily located on the map because of their pre-Iranian names which have been forgotten or have undergone too great alterations on the tongues of later inhabitants.<sup>2</sup>

To the south-east of Lake Urmiya, the existence of a more important kingdom of Manna<sup>3</sup> is attested (from 840 B.C. till the end of the seventh century

<sup>1</sup> More to the south, the more easterly Jaghatū serves as such a borderline. Beyond the confines of Azarbayjan, the more southerly governorships of Kurdistān and Kermanshah are firmly occupied by Kurds.

<sup>2</sup> The village Khalkhāl, 26 km. east of Kermanshah, the considerable district Khalkhāl, south of Ardabil, and the southern residence of the old Albanian kings (Transcaucasia), Moses Kalankatvats'i, I, ch. 19, might indicate the dispersion of the Kharkhar people.

<sup>3</sup> Jeremiah LI, 27: 'the kingdoms of Ararat (Urartu), Minni (Manna), and Ashchenaz (Scythians)'. Strabo, II, 14, 8, calls Lake Urmiya *Μαυριανή*. Cf. W. Belck, 'Das Reich d. Mannäer', in *Verhandl. d. Berl. Gesell. f. Anthropologie*, 1894, 479-87, and G. Melikishvili, 'Voprosi istorii Maneynskogo tsarstva', in *Vest. drevney istorii*, 1949, No. 1, 57-72.

B.C.), and the unfortunately damaged inscription of the Urartian king Menua (810–781 B.C.) at Tash-tapa (on the Lower Tatavū) is a valuable landmark for the location of at least one point of its territory.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the ninth century B.C. the Assyrian annals record the appearance in the area of the earlier Iranian Mada (Medes) and Parsua (Persians).<sup>2</sup> On a number of occasions the Assyrians and their northern rivals the Urartu, kings of Van, invaded the southern part of the basin of the lake, and the most detailed record of the eighth expedition of Sargon II (in 714 B.C.) has happily survived until our day.<sup>3</sup>

During the reign of Cyaxares, Scythians invaded Media and became masters of Asia for 28 years, until the Median king recovered his empire (Herodotus, I, 105–6). Their traces too may be looked for in the toponymy and in archaeological finds. The recent discovery of the astonishing treasure of Ziviyā,<sup>4</sup> in which Assyrian and Scythian jewellery are mingled, is a symbol of the melting-pot that was the area to the east of the Zagros range even in those ancient times!

In Alexander's time the region was part of Media Atropatenē ruled by its eponym, the Achaemenid general Atropates, and after him by his successors. The Median dialects (the putative ancestors of Kurdish) must have continued to be spoken in the area.<sup>5</sup>

During the Parthian domination in Iraq and Armenia, Azarbayjan often formed a separate area governed by a branch of the ruling house.<sup>6</sup> The fortified hill of Takht-i Sulaymān (on the Sārūq) is now recognized to be a vestige of the Parthian epoch. Some Parthian admixtures to the population and the toponymy of the area are to be expected. Neither are the Alān (Ossete) infiltrations from Armenia and northern Azarbayjan excluded. The Alāns invaded Parthia in A.D. 26, 72, and 136, and on this last occasion penetrated into Atropatenē.<sup>7</sup>

Under the Sasanians, the provincial capital, Gazaca, and its famous fire-temple (at Laylān) further contributed to the Iranicization of the region to the south of Lake Urmiya. According to I. Khurdādhbih, p. 120, and Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 95, the great kings on their accession travelled from Ctesiphon to

<sup>1</sup> Or perhaps of its frontier province Missi (Meishta ?), see Melikishvili, op. cit.

<sup>2</sup> F. W. König, 'Älteste Geschichte der Meder und Perser', *Der Alte Orient*, xxxiii, 3/4, 1934. For the rôle of the local Zagros tribes in the formation of the Median kingdom cf. I. Aliyev, in *Ocherki po drevney istorii Azerbayjana*, Baku, 1956, 57–169.

<sup>3</sup> F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, 1912. Cf. more recently Herzfeld, 'Bronzener Freibrief eines Königs von Abdadana', *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, ix, 3, 1938, 159–77 (an independent revision of the Assyrian records), and Col. E. M. Wright, 'The eighth campaign of Sargon II', *J. of Near Eastern Studies*, ii, 3, 1943, 173–85 (considered remarks by a former officer of the American Intelligence Service who closely studied the area and crossed Mt. Sahand over seven different trails). The recent work on the history of Urartu is by Professor B. B. Piotrovsky, *Istoriya i kultura Urartu*, Erevan, 1944, 364 pp.

<sup>4</sup> 50 km. east of Saqqiz, see A. Godard, *Le trésor de Ziviyé*, 1950.

<sup>5</sup> See Minorsky, 'Les origines des Kurdes', in *Actes du XX<sup>e</sup> Congrès des Orientalistes*, Louvain, 1940, 143–52.

<sup>6</sup> See N. Debevoise, *A political history of Parthia*, 1938, Index under Ariobarzanus, Artabanus III.

<sup>7</sup> See also Moses of Khoren, ii, chapters 50, 52 (the Alāns in Artaz-Mākū), and 58; v. inf., p. 75.

the temple of Shīz, via Shahrazūr, where there stood the town characteristically called *Nīm az-rāy* ('half-way house'). The Byzantine troops came to Gazaca in A.D. 589 to support the rights of Khusrau Parvīz against the rebel Bahrām Chūbīn, and soon afterwards the Emperor Heraclius several times crossed the region which must have been one of the sensitive points in the organization of the great Persian Empire.

Then came the Arabs, and we hear of the south Arabian Audī amirs established in Barza (Saqqiz ?) and Salaq (Lāhījān ?), and of the Ṭā'ī amirs of the Rudaynī family whose original fief was Nirīz (Suldūz).<sup>1</sup>

They were replaced by the Hadhbānī Kurds<sup>2</sup> with whom were probably connected, on the distaff side, the Rawwādid dynasties of Tabriz and Marāgha.<sup>3</sup>

During all that period, and possibly already in much earlier times, the Daylamite highlanders from Gilān occupied many points of the present-day frontier region in Salmās, in Lāhījān (at the sources of the Lesser Zāb), and in Awrāmān.<sup>4</sup>

In the early eleventh century the Oghuz Turks appeared on the stage and even at that time the Turkish colonization of the region between the Jaghatū and Marāgha must have commenced.

In the thirteenth century the Mongols on their arrival made Marāgha their capital and we several times hear of the il-khans wintering in the warm valley of the Jaghatū.<sup>5</sup> Rashīd al-dīn (Jahn, *GMS*, 303–9) quotes the manifesto of 703/1303 by which Ghazan-khan established the system of *iqṭā'* (grants of land) for the 'thousands' of the Mongol army, on the stretch of territory 'between the Oxus and Egypt'. Rashīd al-dīn does not indicate the location of such fiefs but the names, like Suldūz, Oyrat, or personal names, like El-Tamur, etc., surviving in the toponymy of Azarbayjan are important landmarks in this regard.<sup>6</sup>

After the extinction of the line of Chengiz, its immediate successors struggled often in southern Azarbayjan and, under the Jalāyirs, the area lay on the line of communication between the two capitals, Baghdad and Tabriz. Timur's troops operated on the eastern bank of the Jaghatū.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Balādhurī, 331, Iṣṭ., 182, A. Kasravī, *Padshāhān-i gum-nām*, II, 34; Minorsky, *Nirīz, Ushnū* in *E.I.*

<sup>2</sup> i.e. 'those of Heḍayyab (Erbil)', see Abū-Dulaf Mis'ar's *Second risāla*, ed. by V. Minorsky, Cairo, 1955, § 25.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Marāgha' and 'Tabriz' in *E.I.*

<sup>4</sup> The capital of Salmās until recently was called Dilmaqān ('the Daylamites'), and Lāhījān is originally a well-known district of Gilān. G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, 245, calls Salakh (now Lāhījān) 'das Einfallsthür der dēlūmitischen Barbaren, z. B. in das Bisthum Hnaithā'. Cf. Minorsky, *La domination des Dāilamites*, Paris, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> See Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Quatremère, under 660/1263; ed. Jahn (Prag), 44: the family mourns the death of Abaqa on the Jaghatū, see the Life of Yabalāhā, below, p. 73, n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> In another region (north of Ardabil) closely connected with the Mongols one easily recognizes the name of the Mongol tribe Öngüt, Rashīd, VII, 145, in the name of the district Öngüt, *FJ*, IV, 52. See below, p. 72.

<sup>7</sup> *Zafar-nāma*, I, 628. I also presume that the name of the plain quoted in the same chapter should be read Dasht-i Qulāghay (in Mong. 'a thief').



Under the Turkman dynasties and even under the Şafavids the Turkman elements in the region south of Marāgha must have been reinforced especially after Shāh 'Abbās's punitive expedition against the Mukri chiefs in 1019/1610 (see below, n. 1).

Under Nādir-shāh the Afshārs of his own tribe, who were settled east of the Jaghatū, were partly transferred to other regions but their place seems to have been occupied by the Turkish Muqaddam.<sup>1</sup>

Under the Qajars, the Qara-papakh fugitives from Georgia were settled in Suldūz and local Kurds (especially in the south-eastern corner of the district) became their *ra'īyats*.

Under such circumstances it is astonishing how the Kurds have succeeded in preserving their special area to the west of the middle Jaghatū and lower Tatavū. They were apparently reinforced by the settlement of the Bilbās near the sources of the Lesser Zāb (K'alu).

In accordance with the new nationalist tendencies of the Pahlavi regime, the older Turkish name of Sā'uj-bulaq was replaced by the modern Persian Mahābād, with a possible hint at ancient Media (*Māh*). After the second World War, the region unexpectedly came into the limelight when the autonomy of Persian Kurds (within Persian Azarbayjan) was proclaimed at Mahābād and the movement was severely suppressed by government troops.<sup>2</sup>

Illustrations of all these historical developments, from the Assyrians to our days, can be sought in local toponymy.

#### § 4. MONGOL TOPONYMY

Among the traces left in the area by very dissimilar strata of population, I have decided to limit my study to the forgotten and not yet discussed Mongol elements. They strike one's imagination, if one considers the facts that the home of the Mongols lay some 3,000 miles east of Lake Urmiya, and their not too long domination in the area ceased some six centuries ago.

I must decline any competence in Mongol, and the explanations of the names which specialists in several countries have most generously suggested to me did not always agree. Being unwilling to involve my kind advisers in any controversies, I shall concentrate on the evidence which I could find in Persian histories, in the *Secret history of the Mongols*, and in Mongol vocabularies, among which the first place belongs to the Mongol-Turkish *Muqaddimat al-adab*, ed. by N. Poppe, Moscow, 1928 (quoted *MA*).

I have divided the elements under consideration into special groups referring to rivers, mountains, districts, villages, and tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Sultan Mir Muqaddam was appointed to Marāgha after the destruction of the Mukri chiefs, *Ālam-ārā*, 574.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Roosevelt, Jr., 'The Kurdish Republic of Mahabad', *Middle East Journal*, 1, 3, 1943, 247-69.

(a) *Rivers*

The names of watercourses are usually the most stable part of the toponymy,<sup>1</sup> but in Persia the few larger rivers have often changed their names under the influence of historical events. From the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (written in 740/1340), p. 217, we know that the important Safid-rūd (ancient Amardus), which in its upper reaches drains the north-western part of the Iranian plateau, was called by the 'Turks' (in this case, the Mongols) *Hūlān-mūrān* (\**Hūlān-mören* 'the red river'). Such a Mongol innovation was later replaced by the synonymous Turkish name *Qizil-özān*.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, the Mongol names of the rivers Jaghatū and Tatavū have survived on the borderline between the Turkish and Kurdish subjects of the Shāh.<sup>3</sup>

In the report on the events of 661/1263, Rashīd al-dīn (ed. Quatremère, p. 401) says that 'when the autumn came, Hulagu, intending to winter on the Zarrīna-rūd, which the Mongols call Jaghātū and N.ghātū (\*Taghātū), left for Marāgha'. In this sentence 'Zarrīna-rūd' seems to cover the basin of the two rivers,<sup>4</sup> and, as already suggested, at times the Tatavū in its lower course on the marshy bank of Lake Urmiya, may have joined the Jaghatū.<sup>5</sup>

A still more ancient name of the river is given by Theophylact Simocatta, ed. Bonn, 223: *ποτάμῳ τῷ Βαλαράθῳ*. The same ancient name is apparently reflected in the Life of Mar Yabalāhā, trans. by Chabot, p. 151: in 1304–5 the Catholicos joined Ōljeitū on the banks of the river 'called in Mongolian Jaghatuy [*sic*] and in Persian *Vakya-rud*', and the latter name should probably be restored as \**Vālā-rūd*.<sup>6</sup>

The name Jaghatū is one of the very numerous Mongol names formed with the possessive suffix *-tu* 'belonging to, provided with'. My Mongol authorities

<sup>1</sup> As in the fluvial system of the European part of Russia.

<sup>2</sup> Which can even belong to the pre-Mongol Seljuk Turks who in the eleventh century settled in the north-western provinces of Iran. For a short period in the fourteenth century the Chaghatay Turks of Timur rebaptised the Safid-rūd as Aq-say ('the white river'), *Ẓafar-nāma*, I, 627. This Aq-say should not be confused with the tributary of the Kur in Transcaucasia, of which Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), p. 9, says: 'The Chaghān-mūrān which they call *Aq-su*' (in which *aq* translates Mongol *chaghān/tsaghān* 'white').<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 62, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> At present the ancient name of the Jaghatū has been restored as *Zarīn-rūd* 'Gold river', and concurrently the Tata'ū has been given the name *Simīn-rūd* 'Silver river'.

<sup>5</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 223: 'Jaghatū (جغتو, see also *Ẓafar-nāma*, II, 371) rises in the mountains of Kurdistan in the neighbourhood of the village Siyāh-kūh; having flowed past the province of Marāgha, (together) with the rivers Šāfi and Taghatū, it discharges into the salt lake of Tasūj (i.e. Lake Urmiya)'. The author of the Syrian Life of Yabalāhā III, transl. by Chabot, 1895, p. 121, says that in 1296, after the persecution of the Christians in Marāgha the Christian queen Burghachin (Bulaghan?) hid the Catholicos and his bishops in her house. Then they went to a place called Shāqātu and on to Mt. Siyāh-kūh, to be received by the king near Hamadan. Shāqātu seems to be but another spelling for Jaghatū, and Siyāh-kūh the range east of Shīlēr which forms the watershed between the Jaghatū and the Qizil-özān.

<sup>6</sup> On which see my 'Roman and Byzantine campaigns', *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 248.

<sup>7</sup> Equivalent to Turkish *-lu*. The suffix *-lu* tends now to become *-lī* and the no more comprehensible *-tu* seems to follow the same evolution towards *-lī*, as the late A. Kasravi (himself an Azarbayjan Turk) heard it. Having no idea of Mongol suffixes, he then quite erroneously tried to explain *-lī* as 'a mountain' in the old Azarbayjan tongue!



were unwilling to accept my surmise that the name might represent *chaghā(n)-tu* 'having something white', see *MA*, 130 : چاغاتو,<sup>1</sup> and in fact our name begins with a *j* and has no indication of length. Therefore the most likely explanation is that first suggested to me in 1935 by Prof. W. Kotwicz, who derived the name from *jaqa* (cf. Turkish *yaqa*) 'border, bank', cf. *MA*, 201, 'collar', 356, 'trouser-belt'. In fact the Jaghātū in its sweep encloses a definite geographical region (see above, p. 61).

In its present shape *Tataṭvū* might be connected with *tataqū*, *MA*, 342 : 'such as can haul', or even with *tata'ūl* 'a channel, a ditch', cf. the name of a small river north of Darband in Daghestan : *Tataṭul*. However the *Nuzhat al-qulūb* gives \**Taghatū*<sup>2</sup> which might be explained as *taqa(n)-tu* 'possessing, related to ravens', *MA*, 341.

The name of the third river, Sā'uj (Sāvuj)-bulaq, looks Turkish (*bulaq* 'spring'), but the element spelt in Persian *sā'uj* (*sāvuj*) is not clear. A homonymous district forms one of the dependencies of the Persian capital Tehran. The actual form (in both cases *sā'uj*, *sāvuj*-) does not support the interpretation of the initial element by Turkish *so'uq* 'cold'.<sup>3</sup> A *q* is unlikely to give *j*. Would, then, the name be derived from Turkish *sauji* 'speaker, messenger, prophet'?<sup>4</sup> The name is not Mongol, though it could have been imported by the Mongols.

The name *Gādir* is one of the strange local names without any parallel.

More to the south of our region, a headwater of the Qizil-özān is called Talvāntū (N. Poppe : \**talbangtu* 'having a plain').

At this place it will not be amiss to mention an example of the violent contractions of a probably Turkish name. The important right affluent of the Jaghātū on which a Parthian fort is still standing, *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 258, is now known as Saruq, whereas in Mongol times it is many times referred to as سوقورلوق or سوغورلوق *Suqurluq*, or *Soqurluq*, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, Index.

#### (b) Mountains and passes

One of the places to the south of Bāne, Qarj-daban,<sup>5</sup> has actually preserved the original Mongol term *daban* 'a pass', and in this connexion I should mention a pass situated more to the south, between Shahrazūr and the small valley of

<sup>1</sup> The Life of Yabalāhā at one place (see above) has Shāqātu (\*Chaghatu ?) but later gives Jaghatuy, in conformity with the present-day pronunciation.

<sup>2</sup> In the report on the visit of Shaykh Ṣafī (A.D. 1252-1334) to the Mukri Kurdistan the *Ṣafvat al-Ṣafā*, ed. 1329/1911, p. 333, spells the names of the two rivers چغاتو و تغاتو. In the *Jihān-nümā*, Istanbul, 1145, p. 388, the names are disfigured *J.f.t* and *T.f.tū*, while the latter follows the pattern of the *Nuzhat*.

<sup>3</sup> However, in my 1911 diary I noted : 'a cold ferruginous spring', at half-an-hour's distance to the west of Sāvuj-bulaq near the confluence of its two headwaters.

<sup>4</sup> For the reduction of *jī* (*chī*) to *j* (*ch*) one might quote the names of the Uyghur months used by the Mongols : *altinch*, *onunch*.

<sup>5</sup> Thus spelt in the report of Dervish-pasha, Istanbul, 1287, p. 51. In Gamazov's additions to Col. Chirikov's *Putevoy zhurnal*, SPb., 1875, 545 : *Qirish-daban* ; Khurshīd-efendi, *Seyāhat-name-i ḥudūd*, trans. by Gamazov, 393 : *Qirāz-daban*.

Pīrān (Meriwān) which is called *Chaghān*, which would be 'white' in Mongol, see above, p. 67.

Many mountains and peaks of the region have names ending in *-tu*.<sup>1</sup> Such is the peak *CHOGHĀNTŪ*, on the watershed between the Sā'uj-bulaq river and Lāhijān; the ending is decisive, though it is added to a word which is attested only (?) in Turkish: *choghan* (also *chögen*) = 'gypsophila', a plant the roots of which are used as soap, Budagov, 495; M. A. Ağakay, *Türkçe Sözlük*, Ankara, 1955, p. 173. *Tändiürtü* in the Saruq valley is a mountain 'having an oven, i.e. a crater'. The well-known range stretching between Miyāna and Tabrīz and now called Qaflān-kūh was earlier called *Qaplan-tu* 'having panthers', as still attested in Dervish-pasha's report, § 49. Even now the village of Qaplan-tu (east of Saqqiz, *FJ*, v, 315) preserves the original Mongol form. The bare peak standing to the south-east of Sā'uj-bulaq (now Mahābād) bears the name of Tarāqa, in Mongol 'bald', cf. also the personal name *Taraghay* of the fifth son of Hulagu, etc.

(c) *Districts and villages* <sup>2</sup>

On the eastern side of the area the names of districts and villages often bear a Mongol appearance and reflect now Mongol administrative terms, now the tribal and personal names of the earlier fief-holders.

BŪKĀN, on the middle course of the Jaghātū, is now considered a borough and the administrative centre of a *bakhsh*, and seems to have a Kurdish name (*būk-ān* 'brides'), though in Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, vii, 97, the name spelt *Būkān* is borne by a messenger of the Merkit princes. The district of Būkān used to be called BEHĪ (Bāhī?), but now this name applies only to a *dihistān* of Būkān. A village Behī-ābād is known in Akhtāchī, *FJ*, iv, 101. The *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 87, under the *tuman* of Marāgha quotes a district: B.histān without any particulars. More important is what the *Ālam-ārā*, 575, says on the tribes (*oymāq*) Bā'i and Uryād which lived among the Mukri, but were *distinct* from them. In 1610 their chiefs were comprised in the disgrace which befell the Mukri and were massacred with them. The present toponymy of Behī is mixed (Turkish and Kurdish). Who were the Bā'i coupled with the Mongol Uryād? I can only refer to the borough Bā'i, existing in Chinese Turkestan to the west of Kuchā. In Persian transcription the Mongol hiatus is often replaced by an *h* (*ke'er* 'desert' becomes *keher*, see Rashīd, vii, 233) and under the influence of the following *ī*, *a* could easily become *e* in Persian. In the district of Behī one finds the striking QĀTĀNQŪR which might be compared with Mongol *qatānqhir* 'slender', and have a parallel in QĪTĀNQŪ (Chār-oymaq).

In connexion with the Bā'i (Behī) it will be useful to mention the district

<sup>1</sup> The name of the mountain Arqatī which Kasravī quotes (with the present-day change of the sequence *a-u* into *a-ī*) would be *Arqa-tu* 'related to wiles, stratagems'. Cf. ارغچاوت 'false fires, stratagems' in Mirkhond's report on Ulugh-beg's campaign in Mughulistan.

<sup>2</sup> In this section we are brought to mention also some other neighbouring districts lying east and south of the Mukri area properly so called.

اورياد ORYĀD, on the communication line between Marāgha and Miyāna (now *ḍ*. Chār-oymaq 'the Four Tribes',<sup>1</sup> *b*. Qara-aghach, *sh*. Marāgha). This strange name is nothing but a mutilation of *Oyrāt*, the powerful tribe of which there were numerous representatives in Iran, see Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 107. The Oyrāt amirs took an active part in the troubles after the collapse of the il-khans, see Hāfiz Abrū, ed. K. Bayānī, 148, 156, 160, 168. The *Zafar-nāma*, I, 647, still mentions a Shaykh 'Ali *Oyrāt*, who was governor of Ardabīl under Timur, but we have seen that under Shāh 'Abbās the name was spelt Uryād (in Rawlinson, *JRGS*, x, 1840, 58, wrongly *Uryard*, with a parasitic English *r*). The village of Oryādjiq still stands as a reminder of the old name in the present-day Chār-oymaq and several names in the district have Mongol forms: *Chūkatū* (\**Chōketū* ? 'with small stones'), *Makatū* (*Meketū* 'wily'). A village called Oryād exists in the eastern part of Senendj (*b*. Qorva), *FJ*, v, 29.

North-west of Būkān, on the Tatavū, one finds the district AKHTĀCHI 'grooms' undoubtedly connected with the studs (Turkish *ilkhī*) even now existing in this region. Several villages in Akhtāchi (now split into two *dihistāns*) have Mongol names. Most curious is perhaps the village bearing the name BURHĀN, which looks entirely Islamic, although on principle one should expect \**Burhān al-dīn*. Curiously enough on Khanikov's 'Map of Azerbaijan', *Zeit. f. Allgem. Erdkunde*, XIV, 1893, map III, the village is called *Byrkhan*, which transcription would suggest Mong. *burkhan* 'idol, statue of Buddha', see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 67: *Shakmūnī Burkhān* 'Çäkyamuni Buddha'. The impression is corroborated by the existence south of Rezaiye (Urmia) of a village called similarly: *Qutlu-Burhānlu*, in which *qutlu* 'blessed' would refer to a saint.<sup>2</sup> SUNJAQ is a Mongol name, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 231, of a Suldus amīr who came to Iran with Hulagu-khan. TUBUT (in *FJ*, IV, mis-spelt *Tabat*) would point to the presence of some Tibetans, and AKH-TATAR (not in *FJ*) to that of the 'White Tatars'.<sup>3</sup> NĀCHĪT ('faucons') is only another form of *Nāchīd* appearing in the Chār-oymāq district of Marāgha.

The name of the neighbouring district: QARALAR (now reckoned to Marāgha), despite its Turkish name, suggests the Mongol use of the term *khara/qara* for 'peasants and labourers'.<sup>4</sup>

The island between the Jaghatū and Tatavū is called Miyān-du-āb ('between two rivers') and among its dependencies there is a village called CHELIK (whose doublet is found in Ardabīl). In Turkish this would mean a game ('tipcat'), but, in view of the strangeness of such an appellation, one might think of a corruption of \**cherik*, the usual Mongol term (*tserik*) for 'militia, and the duty to supply levies', see Rashīd al-dīn, *passim*.

<sup>1</sup> It would be interesting to have an exact enumeration of all the four tribes, one of which must surely be the *Oyrāt*.

<sup>2</sup> The name of Siril lying close by is mysterious but it would be too risky to compare it with Mong. *shāril* 'a part of Buddha's relics', cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 67.

<sup>3</sup> See Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 82, on the Chaghān-Tātār 'White Tatar' chiefs in Iran. Another Qaralar exists near Kalkhorān (Ardabīl).

East of Būkān, on the right bank of the Jaghatū, lies the district SĀ'IN-QAL'Ā (now renamed : *Shāhīn-dež* and reckoned to Marāgha). In Mong. *sa'in* is 'good' and a homonymous place exists half-way between Abhar and Zanjān. A village called Sā'in lies south of Ardabil, and the pass between Ardabil and Sarāb bears the name of Sā'in-gedük (*gedük* in Turk. 'a pass'). One of the villages of Shāhīn-dež is ĀJARĪ. Rawlinson, *JRGS*, x, 1840, 40, heard the name as *Ājārī*, and the spelling in *FJ*, iv, 5 : *Ājorī*, is only a popular etymology to connect it with Pers. *ājor* 'brick'. The real name looks like a contraction of the original *Aghaj-āri* 'woodmen', as an Oghuz tribe was called. According to Rashīd, vii, 25, it was of later formation and its name corresponded to the Mongol term *hoyin-irgen* 'people of the woods'. The Aghaj-āri must have arrived before the Mongols. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 174, mentions an Abul-Muẓaffar Anūsh-tegin *al-Aghājārī* who in 405/1014 was captured together with the Kurdish prince Hilāl b. Badr. This is a precious indication of the early penetration and dispersal of the Aghaj-āri. The author of the *Nuzhat* (A.D. 1340), p. 81, rather vaguely says : 'they used to call the governors (of Khalkhāl, south of Ardabil) Aghājārī (*hukkām-ish rā Aqājariyān mī-guftand*)'. The name is also known in the region of the oil-wells in southern Persia where it has been misunderstood and officially spelt *Aqā-Jārī*, instead of *Aghāj-āri*, see *FJ*, viii, 18 : اغاجاری.

Adjoining Būkān on the west, lies the *dihistān* of Tūrjān (on the middle course of the Tatavū). Its name looks Iranian and its population is Kurdish, but its toponymy is mixed with Turkish. The two names which can interest us are : HABAKĪ, perhaps from Mong. *habāki* 'a spider', and SHĪLĀN-ĀBĀD. The element *shīlān* undoubtedly refers to public feasts with distribution of soup, see *MA*, 333, and *Sīlīlat al-nasab-i Ṣafaviya*, 111.

The middle course of the Sā'uj-bulaq river is occupied by the district officially called EL-TEYMUR (*FJ*, iv, 66), or in Kurdish pronunciation *Yel-tāmūr*, the *y* in *Yel-* being only a parasitic Kurdish element before an initial vowel, like in *Yakhtachi*. El-Timur is known as a personal name of a Jalayir, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, vii, 13. A village in this district (no more shown in *FJ*, iv) was called TOKHTĀ (perhaps *\*Tokhtoghā*), a name common among the Mongols, see the name of a Bayāūt, in Rashīd al-dīn, vii, 236, of the ruler of the Merkit, *ibid.*, 92 (Toqtā), etc.

Lower down the river lies the administrative centre Sā'uj-bulaq, now renamed Mahābād (where *Mah-* is meant for 'Media'). Downstream from it, the plain stretching towards Lake Urmīya forms the district of Shār-i vērān (see below, p. 79) which possesses another Shīlān-ābād (see above under Tūrjān). In modern Turkish parlance, the name of the village INDIRKASH is sometimes heard as *Āgri-qash* 'a crooked eyebrow', or *Hündür-qash* 'a high eyebrow', the Mongol *hündür* being used in Azarbayjan Turkish, but both these popular etymologies stand for some unintelligible ancient name.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Close to Indirkash lies the ancient rock-cut chamber of Faqraqā.

The south-western corner of Lake Urmīya is occupied by the district SULDUZ bearing the name of the Mongol tribe Suldus, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 244. The Suldus amirs played an important rôle under the last il-khans and even succeeded the latter (the Chobanid dynasty). The district of Suldus must have been occupied by the Kurds, especially under the Mukri rulers, but at present its population consists almost exclusively of Qara-papakh emigrants from Transcaucasia after 1828.

As appears from our enumeration, the Mongol names in local toponymy can be especially ascertained either by the use of the suffix *-tu* or by a comparison with personal names.

As regards the first category, a very typical case is presented by KĀRĀFTŪ, a small district in the side-valley of the Saruq (see above, p. 61), where grottoes with a Greek inscription were discovered by Sir R. Porter (see Sir A. Stein, *Old routes*, 324–46). Light on the name is thrown by the report on the expeditions which Timur, from his camp on the Aq-say (*persicè*: *Safīd-rūd*), sent northwards to Sariq-qurghan<sup>1</sup> and کردتو (see *Zafar-nāma*, I, 628). I am sure that this latter name should be restored as \*کروتو *Kārūtū* (N. Poppe: *kere'ütü* 'having a wood on its northern side'). The Mongol character of the name is supported by the existence in Transbaikalia (Barguzin) of the gold-fields called (with a Russian ending) *Kereftitskaya*.

Considerably south of the Mukri region, on the road from Saqqiz to Senendej, there exists a district called HOBĀTŪ (now officially: *Obātū*, *FJ*, v, 26) 'possessing an *obo/oba*', i.e. a commemorative column, or stone cairn, cf. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn, *GMS*, 47, 53: *barāyi nishān mīli sākhtand ki mughulān ān rā ōbā guyand*. The attested *h* before *obā* is typical for the earlier Mongolian.<sup>2</sup>

To the category of villages named after their founders and former possessors one can add a few examples from the districts adjoining Mukri. In a side-valley of the Saqqiz river (which flows into the Jaghatū) lies the large village MARKHOZ, apparently named after some Christian Mongol, or Uyghur, Marcus, cf. the name of the ancestor of the Kereit, Marghūz Buyuruq-khan, Rashīd, VII, 123. In the valley of Mīrede (on the road Saqqiz-Bāna) lie the villages TAMŪGHA and QARACHĀR. Tamūqa was the name of a *noyon* of the Bārin tribe in the time of Chengiz-khan, Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 264. Qarachār (*FJ*, v, 321) sounds Mongol (perhaps 'blackish, swarthy'), cf. the names Toquchar, *Secret history*, § 280, Tughāchār, Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Jahn (Prag), 9, etc. On the suffix *-char* see Pelliot, *La horde d'Or*, 52. Qarachar was the name of one of Tamerlane's ancestors. A place called *Karachar-ov* is known in Russian epic poems (*bilina*).

To end this enumeration I shall quote the village of KONDALĀN near Saqqiz

<sup>1</sup> South of *Marāgha*, cf. *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 294; apparently Sari-qurghan in the district of Takāb (formerly Tikān-tapa), on the road from Sa'in-qal'a to Bijār.

<sup>2</sup> It remains to be seen whether this form is purely imitative or has any philological grounds, cf. Pelliot, 'Les mots à *H* initiale, aujourd'hui amuie', *J. As.*, avril, 1925, 193–263. In view of the *h*- and *-tu*, the name can hardly be derived from the Turkish *oba* 'a felt hut'.

(*FJ*, v, 383). This term is frequently used in the Mongol epoch (though it may be not of Mongol origin). It means 'a large tent, pavilion', but usually stands for 'royal camp'. See Arghun-khan's letter to the 'Roi de France' (*irad Barans*): 'written at Köndelen'. W. Kotwicz, *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, xvi, 1950, 376, takes Köndelen for a place-name. A northern tributary of the Araxes, south-west of Shusha (Transcaucasia), is called Köndelen-su. Kahdalān which *FJ*, iv, 436, mentions near Sarāb, may be a mutilated form of the same word.

(d) *Tribes*

We have seen that the names of two well-known Mongol tribes, SULDUS and \*OYRĀT, still account for the appellation of the districts Suldūz<sup>1</sup> and Uryād (now re-named *Chār-oymāq*).

More unexpected is the name of the great Kurdish tribe MUKRI. No one seems to have noticed its outward likeness to that of the Μουκρί whom Theophylact<sup>2</sup> mentions as living in the neighbourhood of Ταυγαστ (\**Tabghach*, denoting North China), at about the time when the Emperor Mauricius was sending his expedition to the shores of Lake Urmiya (A.D. 589).

However, Theophylact might be a dangerous guide. His Mukri seem to be the people whom the Chinese called Mu-Ki (Wu-Ki?) and later Mo-ho and who lived in northern Korea. Chavannes<sup>3</sup> considered them as a Tunguz (?) nation. Haussig, op. cit., 340, restores Theophylact's name as \**Murkit*/*Markat* and admits the possibility of their being identical with the Merkit of Mongol sources.<sup>4</sup> I am incompetent to discuss this question, but I see that Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches*, i, 28, identified the Mo-k'o-li with a different tribe, the 'Mekrin' (the vocalization of *Mekrin* being somewhat uncertain). It is true that according to Rashīd, vii, 90, the *M.rkīt* were sometimes called *M.krīt*, but quite different from them were the *B.krīn*, otherwise called *M.krīn*, Rashīd, vii, 166.<sup>5</sup> They were 'neither Mongols, nor Uyghurs'<sup>6</sup> but lived in the difficult mountains of Uyghuristān<sup>7</sup> and were renowned cragsmen (*qayachi*). Among the great confusion of almost homonymous names of the two tribes, this particular

<sup>1</sup> This is the Turkish form of the Mongol *Suldus*, see Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, vii, 224, which is reflected in Kurdish *Sundus* or *Sindus*, see O. Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri-Kurden*, 1906, 15, 258.

<sup>2</sup> See H. W. Haussig, 'Theophylakts Exkurs über die skytischen Völker', *Byzantion*, xxiii, 1953, 282, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, 230, etc.

<sup>4</sup> In his Addenda, p. 431, Haussig restores Μουκρί as \**Μουκαί*, which should refer to the neighbours of the Tabghach, called *Mu-küan*, whose name is further confronted with Mong. *moghay* 'a snake'. This complicates the problem still more.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. also Plano Carpini, ed. C. R. Beazley, 1903, 80, on the distinction between *Merkit* and *Metrit* (ed. Risch, 1930, 109, *Merkit* and *Mecrit*), of whom the former were pagans and the latter Christians.

<sup>6</sup> Were the two groups, *M.rkīt*/*M.krīt* and *B.krīn*/*M.krīn*, of the same Tunguz origin?

<sup>7</sup> It is not clear whether this refers to the old home of the Uyghurs on the Orkhon, or to the later kingdom near the T'ien-shan, Rashīd, vii, 161-6. The chapter on the *B.krīn* follows immediately on that on the Uyghurs.



and typical nickname (*gayachi*) is of great utility. Chingiz destroyed the Merkit, *Secret history*, §§ 197, 198, and Rashīd does not mention any Merkit in the west,<sup>1</sup> whereas he avers that a group (*tāyifa*) of B.krīn accompanied Hulagu 'and in this kingdom (Iran) they were known as *gayachi* and (experts in) mountaineering (*kūh-ravī*)'.

In fact we find a most illuminating passage on the *gayachi* in the Syrian Life of the Nestorian Catholicos Yabalāhā III (1281–1317).<sup>2</sup> According to this source, towards 1297 the Christian soldiers of the garrison of Arbela (Erbil), belonging to the tribe of 'the *gayachi* mountaineers', killed a Muslim notable. The Mongols of the faction of the Muslim convert Naurūz and some Kurds and Arabs besieged the citadel. The quarrel was patched up but it flared up in 1310, when the *gayachi* brought a complaint to the court against their amir Zayn al-dīn Balū, whose duty it was to distribute salaries to 3,000 men. The il-khan imprisoned the amir but then Arbela was surrounded by Muslims and Kurds, and the Christians and the *gayachi* were requested to come down from the citadel. The all-powerful amir Choban, who seems to have been the protector of Zayn al-dīn, intervened for the *gayachi* (p. 167), but the Muslims provoked contradictory orders. The Christians and the *gayachi* who, trusting in the promises, came down, were massacred, and the *gayachis* who remained in the citadel were thrown down from the top of the town walls. In this story the collusion of the local Christians with the *gayachis* was quite obvious.

For our purpose one point is important, that the *gayachi*, i.e. the B.krīn/M.krīn were in considerable force in Arbīl. The disaster of 1310 did not result in the total destruction of the tribe, for even in 806/1403 Timur, during his campaign in Georgia, used the particular skill of the M.krīt.<sup>3</sup>

The author of the *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 288–96, states that the origin of the Mukri governors (*hukkām-i Mukrī*) of the country to the south of Lake Urmiya goes back to 'the Mukri tribe established in Shahrazūr, and some say that they branched off from the Bābān governors'. The first Mukri chief whom Sharaf al-dīn mentions was Sayf al-dīn who gathered a large number of clansmen of Bābān and other tribes of Kurdistan and, at the time of the Turkman rulers (second half of the fifteenth century), occupied Daryās, thence to spread to the districts of Dol-i bārīk, Akhtāchī, El-Tamur, and Suldūz. We know that the Kurds Hadhbānī, Zarzārī (now Zarzā),<sup>4</sup> etc., for centuries had lived in the region,

<sup>1</sup> However, the *FJ*, IV, 492, mentions a *Margid* near Marand, and another one on the road Tabriz-Ahar!

<sup>2</sup> *Histoire de Mar Jabalaha III*, tr. by Chabot, 1895, ch. XVIII, pp. 122–30, 152–77. Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, *The monks of Küblāi Khān*, 1928, 230, 260: *tūrāyē kāyājīyē*.

<sup>3</sup> Nizām al-dīn Shāmī, ed. Tauer, 282, was the witness of their exploit. Sharaf al-dīn, *Zafar-nāma*, II, 527, praises the M.krīt 'who in mountaineering (*kūh-ravī*) have no rivals in the world (*az Qāf tā Qāf*)'.

<sup>4</sup> Sharaf-khān does not seem to know anything of the Hadhbānī ('those of Heḏāyyeb', i.e. Adiabene-Arbela) and the chapter on the Zarzā is missing in all the MSS of his work. On the Hadhbānī see Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, 1953, 129.

and the migration of Sayf al-dīn did not amount to a colonization of the region, but only to a reunification of the local population under the leadership of a new military group. Such changes in the organization of tribes are frequent in the history of the Kurds. The Mukri chiefs and their henchmen only superimposed a new 'ashīrat over the local peasants (*ra'iyat*, *gōrān*) and splinters of smaller, or weakened, tribes.

In fact there are no earlier mentions of the name of Mukri in the basin of Lake Urmiya, and the Egyptian encyclopaedia *Masālik al-abṣār* (written before 1350) omits the Mukri in its list of Kurdish tribes.<sup>1</sup> The period between the massacre of the *gayachi* in Erbil (1310) and the second half of the fifteenth century is a blank, but the available material gives no other clue to the explanation of the name Mukri, except by assuming that the new leaders were the fully Kurdicized representatives of those earlier 'cragsmen' who belonged to the *B.krīn*, *M.krīn*, *M.krīt* <sup>2</sup> tribe which had been settled among the Kurds in Arbīl.<sup>3</sup>

Another curious tribal name is DEBOKRĪ. This tribal group is not mentioned in the *Sharaf-nāma*, but Rawlinson, op. cit., 34, quotes the 'Dehbokri' under the Mukri, adding that they supply the financial governors of the tribe. O. Mann <sup>4</sup> regarded the Debokrī as the original population of the Sā'uj-bulaq region which was subjugated by the Mukri. This statement may be slightly out of focus because the Debokri too consist both of wealthy landowners and the *ra'iyat*, and Mann's suggestion applies to the latter dependent class. Outwardly *Debokrī* should be derived from the village Debokr,<sup>5</sup> situated 11 km. to the south of Savuj-bulaq (\*Dih-i Bokr, as Degurjī in Ushnū is \**Dih-i Gurjī*). The difficult element is *-Bokr*. In 1914 the Debokri family affirmed that their

<sup>1</sup> See Quatremère, *Notices et Extraits*, XIII, 1838, 300–29.

<sup>2</sup> The difference in the ending is explainable by Mongol suffixes. Final *-n* in Mongol is easily elided: *morin* > *mori*, and *-t* is a plural ending. A sept (affiliated to Goklan Turkmans) is called Mukri, see G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund, 1939, 39 (quoting Tumanovich), and a village Mukri is shown on the Amu-darya, south of Kerkī. The form Mukri, whether original, or secondary (under the influence of a labial initial) is very suggestive for our case. Are these Mukri too a splinter of the *gayachi*? I cannot say whether the name of the Uzbek clan Murkut, which according to Khanikov, *Opisaniye Bukharskogo khanstva*, SPb., 1843, 61, existed in Bukhara, refers to the same element, or to the 'Merkit'.

<sup>3</sup> In the Turkish kaza of Saray (west of Persian Qotur) one finds a small tribe called Muqurī (or Muqrī). According to Sir M. Sykes, *The Caliph's last heritage*, 1915, 564, these 'Mukeri [*sic*. V.M.] are said to have migrated to Persia 50 years ago'. This vague statement might lead to misunderstandings. The Kurd Maḥmūd-efendi of Bāyezid, who collaborated with A. Jaba (*Notices et récits kurdes*, St. Petersburg, 1860, Kurdish text, p. 5) clearly spells the name as مقري and adds that this group belongs to the Shikākī (Shekkāk) tribe. The Muqurī are separated from the nearest point of the Mukri region by some 225 kms. and many mountains and, unless some historical facts are produced, it is not easy to establish any link between the two tribes.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Mundart*, I, p. XVIII: 'Die ackerbauenden Klassen, die *ra'iyāt*, nennen sich grösstenteils zum Stamme der Dēbokrī gehörig und man darf wohl vermuten, dass diese Dēbokrī, welche in grösseren Massen die östlichen Teile des Mukrilandes, den Distrikt Shār-wērān, und die nach Miān-dū-āb hin gelegenen Täler des Tatāu und Jagatū bewohnen, die Reste der einstigen Bevölkerung darstellen, die von den stammes- und sprachverwandten Mukrī aus dem Besitze verdrängt worden ist'.

<sup>5</sup> In *FJ*, IV, 226, mis-spelt: *Dehbogr*.



ancestor in the fourth generation, Bayrām-aqā, had arrived from Diyār-Bakr. The change of Arabic *Bakr* into *Bokr* is unlikely,<sup>1</sup> as the name *Bā-Bakr* (\*Abū-Bakr) is common among the Kurds. In view of the fact that the tribe *M.krīn* was also called *B.krīn*, one might perhaps consider the element *-bokrī* as another variant of *Mukri*, but such speculation would involve some difficulties with the name of the village (*Debokr*, without *-ī*) and some difference of the vowels *o/u*. *Nondum liquet*.

Another important Kurdish tribe established in the west of the area, on the southern bank of the Gādir and on the headwaters of the Lesser Zāb, is BILBĀS. According to Sharaf-khan, I, 358, his own federation of Rōzhikī (of Bitlis) consisted of two branches, Bilbāsī and Qawālīsī reckoned to the Hakkārī area (on the Greater Zāb). In fact the name Qawālīsī seems to be known in Bohtān. Both Hakkārī and Bohtān lie very far from Lake Urmiya, and Sharaf-khan himself is not sure of his statement, because he quotes another tradition, according to which the Bilbāsī and Qawālīsī (perhaps at a later stage) belonged to the Bābān federation (of Shahrazūr), from which the Mukri are also said to have stemmed. Nowadays the Bilbās live astride the Qandīl range and their basic sept (*Ojaq*) used to spend the winter in Mesopotamia and the summer in the *sarān* ('heights') of the eastern side of the Qandīl range. Nothing can be said about the origin of the name, unknown among the Mongol and Turkish tribes.<sup>2</sup> One of the clans of the Bilbās federation, now firmly settled in Mukri country, is called MANGŪR, and the late Mongolian scholar Professor W. Kotwicz once wrote to me (31 March 1935) that it reminded him of the name Mangūt. Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 253, spells this name Mangqūt and quotes the names of its amirs who served in Persia. A village in the district of Sarāb (in *FJ*, IV, 183: *Manqūtāy*) apparently reflects the name of the amir Mangquday (father of the famous Qutlugh-shāh noyon), see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 254. Consequently, one should not reject the idea that the origin of Mangūr might be parallel to that of *Mukri*, though Mangūr, as a singular to the Mongol plural *Mangqūt*, is not attested.<sup>3</sup>

The names of the other tribes of the area, GOURUK (on the eastern bank of the K'alū) and SÜĒSNĪ<sup>4</sup> on the right bank, look Kurdish. The Süēsni, whose name should regularly represent an earlier \*Sōsni, seem to belong to the earliest settled stratum of the Kurdish population. The names of their septs sound Iranian: *Beryājī*, *Milkārī*, and *Alān*. The latter name, so strikingly identical with that of the Caucasian Alān (Ossetes), is most interesting, and we know that the Alāns several times penetrated into Parthia and Media (see above, p. 63, n. 7).

<sup>1</sup> In the *sh.* of Bam (Kerman) there exists a village called *Deh-Bakrī*, whose inhabitants speak Persian, *FJ*, VIII, 169.

<sup>2</sup> I have been unable to ascertain the origin of the Russian family name Бильбасов, which is certainly not Kurdish but might point to Turco-Mongol affinities.

<sup>3</sup> The difference between *g* and *q* also makes a difficulty.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the village Süsnāvā, outside the Mukri area—in the district of Mergever (west of Urmiya-Rizāiyya)—points to a colony of the same tribe.

## ANNEX I

## ADDITIONAL LIST OF MONGOL PLACE-NAMES

From some 6,000 or 7,000 names quoted under Azarbayjan in the *Farhang-i joghrāfiyāyi*, IV, I have made a further selection of names which look obviously Mongol. I quote them in the order of the Arabic alphabet. Outside the Mukrī area (South), already treated above, I have divided Azarbayjan into the following areas :

- I. East : Ardabīl—Sarāb—Khalkhāl—Mughān
- II. Centre : Tabriz—Miyāna—Qaraja-dagh
- III. North-west : Khoy—Mākū
- IV. South-east : Marāgha
- V. West : Urmiya, now Rezā'iya

These Roman numbers have been added to the names of districts which follow the names of towns and villages. For parallels to less common Mongol words I am obliged to Professor N. Poppe.

In addition to the 13 villages of the Southern area (Mukri), this list contains 50 names, of which 11 belong to area I, 16 to II, 8 to III, 12 to IV, and 3 to V.

Achāchi	Miyāna II	' carriers of loads ( <i>achān</i> ) '
Arbatān	Yāmchi II	' chief of ten men ' <sup>1</sup>
Orātlu	Miyāna II	' possessing craftsmen ( <i>urat</i> ) '
Arqūn	Marāgha IV	personal name, Arghun
Arkavīn	Chāldirān III	' Christians ( <i>erkeūn</i> ) '
Orgotīn	Qaraja-dagh II	' having a chief's camp ( <i>ōrgōten</i> ) '
Alpāvūt (1)	Ahar II	<i>alpā'ut</i> , ' a privileged class '
Alpāvūt (2)	Hiris II	" "
Ālqū (1)	Benājū IV	personal name, Alghū <sup>2</sup>
Ālqū (2)	Chār-oymāq IV	" "
Onar	Meshkīn I	personal name, Öner
Ūlāmchī	Ājerlu IV	' purveyor of relay horses '
Ongūt	Garmi I	Öngüt, tribe
*Bārchūq	Chār-oymāq IV	proper name <sup>3</sup>
Bārūq (1)	Dijūvijīn I	' large, ample ( <i>barugh</i> ) '
Bārūq (2)	Gāvdūl IV	" "
Bārūq (3)	Sarāb I	" "
Bārūq (4)	Chār-oymāq IV	" "
Bakhlachi	Aland III	' bundle-makers '
Barānqāz	Kāghaz-konān I	' right wing ( <i>*baranqar</i> ?) '
Bilarqū	Sōmāy V	' lost property ' <sup>4</sup>
Bolqan	Chār-oymāq IV	feminine personal name <sup>5</sup>
Tūpūlqā	Barzand I	? sounds Mongol
Tūdān	Aland III	personal name, *Todoyon (?) <sup>6</sup>
Toulāchi	Öngüt I	' a catcher of hares '

<sup>1</sup> cf. Rashīd al-dīn's correspondence, ed. M. Shafī, 177 : *Harbatān*.

<sup>2</sup> Hāfiz-i Abrū, ed. Bayānī, 60 : amir Alghū, atābek of Abū-Sa'id, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 163 : Barchuq, an Uyghur chief, etc.

<sup>4</sup> See *BSOAS*, x, 3, 1941, 786.

<sup>5</sup> Several princesses were called Bul(a)ghan ' sable-marten '.

<sup>6</sup> Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 59, etc.

Jāliq	Ahar II	'an idol ?' <sup>1</sup>
Chār-oymāq	Marāgha IV	'the 4 tribes (Mong. <i>aymaq</i> )'
Chukatū	Chār-oymāq IV	'with small stones'
Sā'in	Ardabīl I	'good'
Sāṭi	Ahar II	personal name <sup>2</sup>
Sapūrghān	Urmiya V	'a stupa ( <i>suburghan</i> )'
'Araqtū	Ātesh-beg II	suffix <i>-tū</i>
Qānchī	Sharaf-khāna II	'a sleeve'
Qartāvul	Sarājū IV	? suffix <i>-aul</i>
Qūtān	Mākū III	'a pelican' <sup>3</sup>
Kārdchīn (?)	Meshe-pāra II	personal feminine name, Kardūjin <sup>4</sup>
Kivī	Hero <sup>v</sup> I	Kū'i, tribe <sup>5</sup>
Mānqutāy	Sarāb I	personal name <sup>6</sup>
Mārgān (1,2,3)	Qara-qoyun III	'a clever hunter'
Margīd (1)	Marand II	Merkit, tribe
Margīd (2)	Hiris II	" "
Margīd (3)	Yamchi II	" "
Makatū	Chār-oymāq II	'sly ( <i>meketū</i> )'
Mūkhor (1)	Qara-qoyun III	'obtuse, short ( <i>muqur</i> )'
Mūkhor (2)	Aland III	" "
Movil	Meshkīn I	'bird-cherry ( <i>movil</i> )'
Nāchīd (1,2)	Chār-oymāq IV	'falcons'
Nachiq	Dizmār II	'lazy'
Nāvur	Aland III	'a lake'
Hārūlān	Silvānā V	Arulan (Arulat), tribe

## ANNEX II

## EARLIER STRATA IN LOCAL TOPONYMY. PARSUA AND DARIAUSA

Our short review of the 'visiting cards' which the Mongols left in the region of the southern tributaries of Lake Urmiya refers only to one of the latest strata (thirteenth-fourteenth century) in the local toponymy. Soon after, the Mongol elements were entirely absorbed, chiefly by the Turkish population.<sup>7</sup> A few

<sup>1</sup> The *History of the Muzaffarids*, GMS, xiv, 1, 642, in describing the war of the amir Mubāriz with the Aughān Mongols (not to be confused with the Afghāns) states that the latter 'had a *jāligh* and worshipped it according to the Mongol custom, and made sacrifices to those [*sic*] idols (*butān*)'. Cf. also *Chālīq* near Ahar (II). Radloff, III, 1884, gives *chalū* 'the shaman's tambourine, idol' (Altai).

<sup>2</sup> Daughter of Ōljejtū, Sāti-beg, who reigned A.D. 1338-9, *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 606, but also an amir of the Jalayirs, Sāti-bahādur (about 765/1364), *ibid.*, 691.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps: *gotan*, Turk. 'enclosure for sheep'.

<sup>4</sup> See *Tārīkh-i guzīda*, 533, daughter of Mangu-Timur, son of Hulagu. Hāfiz-i Abrū, ed. Bayānī, 131, 134, wife of amir Chopan.

<sup>5</sup> The spelling in *FJ*, IV, 440, tries to imitate the sound of *ū*, but the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 82, spells *Kūyī*. The Kūyīn (\*Kū'in) were a branch of the Tātār tribe and Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 82, quotes several Kūyīn in Iran.

<sup>6</sup> Rashīd, ed. Berezin, VII, 253, a Manqut, father of Qutlugh-shāh.

<sup>7</sup> The Oghuz tribes who arrived in Azarbayjan together with the Seljuks, and in the fifteenth century were reinforced by their Turkman brothers, brought back from Armenia by the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu rulers.

Mongols may also have been assimilated by the Kurds, though the typical appearance of the latter shows no traces of such admixtures. The basin of the K'alū (Lesser Zāb) is almost free from Turco-Mongol names. In the area of the southern affluents of Lake Urmiya one can trace a pretty clear line between the names with the Turkish<sup>1</sup> component *-kand* (Sharaf-kandi, 'Īsā-kandi), with Turkish suffixes like *-līq*, and with definitely Turkish elements like *aghach*, *bulaq*, on the one hand, and, on the other, the Kurdish series of names ending in *-āwā* (Persian *-ābād*), names with Iranian suffixes (plurals in *-ān* or *-ākān*), names beginning with *kānī* (*Kānī-res̄h* 'black spring'), or *gird* (*Girda-sūr* 'red hill'), those containing easily recognizable Kurdish elements like *Baska-drēž* 'long arm (prong)', *Kona-mīshka* 'mouse-hole', etc. Kurdish is still an insufficiently known language and many technical Kurdish words await an explanation.<sup>2</sup>

Outside the Kurdish, Turkish, and Mongol strata, a stock of very unusual names is noticeable in local toponymy. Some names, especially in the Gādir basin, are undoubtedly Christian Aramaic (Sargis, Dinha 'Epiphany', Salos, Bem-surta 'the small pulpit'—at present Bem-zurta, *FJ*, iv, 94).<sup>3</sup> Perhaps a different strain of Aramaic infiltrations is reflected in the area between Sardasht and Bāna where the K'alū makes a bend to escape into the Mesopotamian plains. Here one finds such names as Shmōla (*FJ*, iv, 306 : Shamū'ilā), Shilmān in Sardasht ; Siyaumā (cf. Syr. *siyāmā* 'plantation') in Bāna (not in *FJ*), and a number of names beginning with *bē* (\**bēt* 'house' ?) : Bētūsh, Bērān, Bēura.<sup>4</sup>

But what are the names Aļōt, Arnabūs (Arbenūs ?), Dunēs, Gādir, Gagash, Lagiz, Naļōs, Narzames (?), Teyet, etc., scattered throughout the western part of the area ?

Whether any vestiges of the pre-Iranian 'Zagros principalities', like Surikash (Saqqiz ?), Lāruete (in the province of Allabria), etc., can be traced in the area under consideration, may become clearer when we have full lists of geographical features (valleys, passes, smaller streams). Would Tirkash in the Mangūr territory (on the western bank of the K'alū), or Tarkāsha (near Būkān, *FJ*, iv, 120) reflect the name of *Tikrish* in the land of Manna (see L. Waterman, *Royal correspondence*, Michigan, 1930, 231) ? Would the name of Indirkash,<sup>5</sup> near which the rock-tomb of Faqraqā is situated, include an element comparable with Tir-kash, or Suri-kash mentioned by Sargon II ? Such problems should be solved by specialists but, to conclude my article, I shall venture some considerations on two names belonging to the earlier strata of the local toponymy.

1. It is a well-known fact that to the south of Lake Urmiya the Assyrians

<sup>1</sup> Originally Sogdian ! The Turks must have brought this term from Central Asia. It is common only in Azarbayjan and Transcaucasia.

<sup>2</sup> *Sora-pungān* 'red thistles' ; *shilēr* 'crown imperial', see above, etc.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Rawlinson, op. cit., 17, who connects some of these names with those of the Nestorian bishops mentioned in these parts in the ecclesiastical sources (Assemani, Bar Hebraeus). Cf. also Qal'a-Kōka in Lāhijān and the name of the church which Yabalāhā built in Baghdad, trans. Chabot, 30, 42.

<sup>4</sup> Also *Bētās* in El-tamur, *Bēkōs* in Mangūr, etc., but not perhaps Bēzhua which sounds Kurdish (one village of this name is found in Alān and another north of Ushnū).

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 70.

mention two peoples, *Mada* (first in 836 B.C.) and *Parsua* (first in 844 B.C.), and that these peoples must represent the early infiltrations of ancient Medes and Persians, before the latter moved much further south to the region of the present-day Fārs (Pārs), to which they give their name.

In the account of his campaign of 714 B.C., Sargon II, moving northwards, says that from Lāruete he 'descended' into *Par-su-ash*. Parsua seems to be the only place in the area about whose location on the lower *Gādir* (near the south-west corner of Lake Urmiya) there exists a consensus of opinion among scholars. In the context, I should particularly insist on the term 'descended'. The extremely fertile area of the lower *Gādir* is now known under the name of Mongol origin: *Suldūz*. At the time of the Muslim conquest it bore the name *Nirīz* (mis-spelt: *Nirīr* in Balādhurī, 331), which I interpret as *ni-rēzh* 'flow down',<sup>1</sup> and one had to 'descend' into such an area. From Parsua Sargon marched eastwards to Missi in the territory of Manna. Missi should be placed on the lower course of the Tativū, on the left bank of which the Urartian king Menua left a cuneiform inscription saying that he built a palace at Meishtakha (?) after his victory over Manna.<sup>2</sup> It is likely that *Missi* and *Meishtakha* correspond to the same spot (cf. Melikishvili's conclusions in *Vest. drev. istorii*, 1949).

I think that the dilapidated fort of Paswē has considerable claims to represent Parsua both phonetically and geographically. Yāqūt, I, 626, who visited the little borough himself, spells the name پَسْوِی, apparently \**Paswē*, see also *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 87. The usual present-day transcription is پَسْوِ Pasva (to be pronounced *Pasvé*). There are numerous cases known of the disappearance in Modern Persian of older *r* in various groups of consonants, see Horn, *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.*, I, 2, 89, 98, and in the area in question many other influences may have contributed to the reduction and simplification of incomprehensible ancient names.

Paswē occupies a position important in petty wars, on the easy pass between Lāhijān (on the headwaters of the K'alū flowing into the Tigris) and a small affluent of the *Gādir* belonging to the basin of Lake Urmiya. Mentions of Paswē are found in the reports of Kurdish intertribal feuds, *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 280, cf. G. Hoffmann, *Märtyrer*, 245. If the Parsua lived in the rich plain of Suldūz, such a point was their natural frontier post towards the south, and Sargon II may have 'descended' into their country at this place. At the same time the name Paswē must have been a kind of signboard for enemies and peaceful visitors crossing the frontier.

The Paswē which I saw in 1911 was utterly desolate, but from Sir A. Stein's sketch and photograph in *Old routes*, 1940, 305, 358, one can judge of the imposing character of its mound.

2. The plain on the lower course of the Sā'uj-bulaq river bears the name of *Shār-i vērān* (in Persian *Shahr-i vērān* 'the ruined town, or country'), and its interesting ruins have been referred to by Sir H. Rawlinson, op. cit., 19,

<sup>1</sup> The Nirīz of Fārs near Lake Mahālū is in a similar category.

<sup>2</sup> Already, in Rawlinson's time, op. cit., 12, the greater part of it was altogether destroyed. A 'Missionsfeldprediger' Faber carelessly removed the fragments which are now in the British Museum. The inscription was translated by W. Belck. See C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Corpus inscriptionum Chaldaicarum*, Textbänd, 1 Lief. 1928, p. 45, No. 20.

38, 74, de Morgan, and Sir A. Stein, *Old routes*, 408–12. One of its sites is called Daryās, where according to the *Sharaf-nāma*, 288–9, the Mukris settled after their arrival from the west. Rawlinson knew the name but overlooked the existence of the site to which it belongs (op. cit., 19). On the other hand, he compared the name with Ptolemy’s *Dariausa*. In the same breath he referred to the village of Sirgān (in Ushnū, on the upper course of the Gādir) as possibly representing the Sincar which Ptolemy mentions side by side with Dariausa.

Sirgān, as already remarked by N. V. Khanikoff, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, III, 1859, 76, should in fact read \*Singān. Rawlinson further suggests, *ibid.*, 74, that Sirgān (\*Singān) may be the place which the Byzantine troops sent by the Emperor Mauricius (in A.D. 589) to support his protégé Khusrau II found on their way to the basin of Lake Urmiya.<sup>1</sup> This last suggestion is very probably right for \*Singān controls the eastern approaches to the Kela-shīn pass, over which the expedition was advancing from Mesopotamia. Phonetically the comparison of Daryās with Dariausa is extremely tempting, and, by the side of Paswē (see above), *Dariausa/Daryās*, with its Iranian assonance, would be an additional and welcome support to the location of Iranian Parsua on the south-western shore of Lake Urmiya.

We should retain the identity of the Byzantine Siraganōn with \*Singān and the location of Daryās, but their further identification with Ptolemy’s Sincar and Dariausa meets with considerable difficulty. According to Ptolemy, VI, ch. 2, their position was :

	Long.	Lat.
Δαριαύσα	87° 30′	38° 30′
Σίνκαρ	88°	38° 30′

Consequently they lay on the same parallel, while Sincar was situated slightly to the east of Dariausa. Moreover we have for

Ecbatana	87° 10′	37° 45′
Pharaspā	85° 30′	40° 30′
Aganzana	89°	39° 30′

If Aganzana is Zanjān, and if Pharaspā is Marāgha (Balādhurī, 330, \*Afrāh-rūdh), as assumed in *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 261, Sincar lay much closer to Hamadan, somewhere near the sources of the Qizil-özān (Safid-rūd). Sincar (var. *Syncar*) might possibly correspond to the present-day Sinna (Balādhurī, 310 : *Sīsar*).<sup>2</sup> Even imagining some major confusion in Ptolemy of Sinna and Sincar, the difficulty of the location of Dariausa to the west of Sincar is insoluble for the present.

Meanwhile Daryās, in the district of the ‘ruined town (or province)’ and lying slightly east of the supposed Parsua area, retains all its archaeological interest and its early Iranian appearance.

\* \* \* \*

<sup>1</sup> See Minorsky, ‘Roman and Byzantine campaigns in Atropatene’, *BSOAS*, XI, 2, 1944, 244–5 (where instead of *Theophanes* read *Theophylact*, 317: *εἰς τινα παρακειμένην λίμνην . . . καὶ γίνονται πλησίον κόμης τινος ἡ Σιραγανῶν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὀνομάζουσι*).

<sup>2</sup> To the east of Dariausa-Sincar Ptolemy places the sources of his confused Strato, which at this place would look like the southern headwaters of the Amardus. In Pauli-Wissowa, E. Honigsmann identifies Strato with Harhāz-pey in Mazandarān !

The present study of a special stratum of place-names within a limited area needs no particular summing up. The Mongol and Turkish names which have been examined in my contribution are more solid and rigid than the Iranian names which in the course of time undergo manifold changes. Their study will form an interesting contribution to philology. My direct purpose in the present article was to stimulate a more systematic approach to the toponymy of the old land of Iran. As a subsidiary instrument of work for historians, toponymy should occupy its due place, by the side of numismatics and epigraphy.

P.S. The three earlier articles in my series 'Mongolica' are :

1. 'A Mongol decree of 720/1320 to the family of Shaykh Zāhid', *BSOAS*, xvi, 3, 1954, 515-27.
2. 'Pūr-i Bahā's "Mongol" ode', *BSOAS*, xviii, 2, 1956, 261-78.
3. 'Pūr-i Bahā and his poems', *Charisteria Orientalia*, Praha, 1956, 186-201.

Cambridge, 5 February 1957.



CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Shaykh Bālī-efendi on the Safavids

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 20, No. 1/3, Studies in Honour of Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1937-57 (1957), pp. 437-450

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/610394>

Accessed: 29/09/2013 21:46

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



# SHAYKH BĀLĪ-EFENDI ON THE SAFAVIDS<sup>1</sup>

By V. MINORSKY

1. The Turkmans between the Ottomans and the Persians
2. Shaykh Bālī-efendi and his letter to Rüstem-pasha (c. 1550)
3. Translation of the letter
4. Bālī-efendi's report on the followers of Badr al-dīn
5. Cheshmī-efendi and his report on heretics (early seventeenth century)

## 1. THE TURKMANS BETWEEN THE OTTOMANS AND THE PERSIANS

THE contents of the document which forms the main subject of the present article are somewhat slender and cannot be appreciated outside the context of the struggles between the Ottomans and the Ṣafavids for the incorporation of the Turkman tribes settled in the territories separating their states. Many points of the situation await further investigation and our summary will be as brief as the complicated subject admits.

The home of the Ottoman dynasty was in the north-western corner of Anatolia, but, by the middle of the fourteenth century, the Turks had crossed over to the northern side of the Straits and the Balkan territories became the nursery of the Ottoman empire. In this unusual surrounding a state was created vastly different from the older Islamic polities. Elsewhere, there existed a strong tradition regulating relations between the rulers and their subjects, both Muslim and those belonging to the class of heterodox 'protected' communities (*dhimmī*). In the Balkans, among the conquered Bulgarians, Rumanians, Serbians, Greeks, and Albanians, the 'ghāzī state' had an absolutely free hand. Perhaps the most striking manifestation of this fact is the unprecedented system of *devshirme*, i.e. the periodical conscription of 'tribute boys', by which Christian children were wrung from their families, churches, and communities to be moulded into Ottoman pretorians owing their allegiance to the Sultan and the official faith of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

The all-absorbing tasks to be accomplished on the European territory

<sup>1</sup> This article forms No. 13 in my 'Turkmenica' series.

<sup>2</sup> See J. H. Mordtmann, *Devshirme* in *EI*; I. Uzunçarşılı in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, II, and recently P. Wittek, 'Devshirme and *gharī'a*', *BSOAS*, XVII, 2, 1955, 271–8. Professor Wittek admits (p. 275) that the ḥanafī law of the Ottomans left no loophole for such unusual practice, but he reminds us of the existence of such a loophole in the shāfi'ite law (p. 277), although in the meantime he quotes the Turkish law forbidding the application of the shāfi'ite rite in the *diyār-i Rūm* (*sic*), etc. One wonders whether there exist positive facts or texts showing that the Ottoman government ever sought any theological grounds for their practice. On the other hand are there any indications that the heads of the Ottoman religious organization (whose rite had no loopholes for the *devshirme*) ever protested against this 'brutal offence against the status of the *dhimmīs*'? If not, the presumption would be that the ghāzī state was little hampered by theology, and that the doctors of law were ready, or obliged, to endorse the 'raison d'état'. These considerations are not foreign to the subject of the present article. [As a means of recruitment the *devshirme* was preceded by the practice of converting and enslaving a part of the Christian prisoners captured by the *ghāzīs*.]

delayed the spread of the Ottoman power in Anatolia, where the Turkman principalities tolerated by the loose organization of the old Seljuk state,<sup>1</sup> or born of its disruption under the impact of the Mongol invasion (thirteenth century), still continued their traditional and tribal existence.<sup>2</sup>

The expansion of the Ottomans in their old homeland did not at all resemble a reunion of brotherly elements. For a very long time the name *Türkmän* was used among the Ottomans as an epitome of backwardness, and the historians exerted their wit at the expense of their tribal cousins by calling them 'ungodly Turks' (*Türkmän-i bî-îmân*).

Asia Minor and the lands adjoining it in the east had their own loyalties and their own way of life, and resented incorporation in the centralized Ottoman state saturated with Balkan elements.<sup>3</sup> As usual in the Middle Ages, the opposition was inclined to drape itself in the cloak of religious dissidence. In the eighth/fourteenth century dervishism and shi'ite influences were widely spread among the Anatolian Turks.<sup>4</sup> Characteristic are the great revolts in Western Anatolia which broke out in the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>5</sup>

By 1390 Sultan Bayazid Yıldırım had subjugated the Anatolian principalities, but in 1402 Tamerlane defeated him at Ankara and this blow gave a new lease of life to the restored principalities.<sup>6</sup> Murād II (1421–51) and the conqueror

<sup>1</sup> The term 'État centralisé' which M. F. Köprülü, *Les origines de l'Empire Ottoman*, 1935, 78, applies to the Seljuk state must be understood *cum grano salis*. He himself, p. 101, refers to 'les beyliks des marches'. The easy disintegration of the state also indicates the complexity of its structure; cf. Wittek, 'Deux chapitres de l'histoire des Turcs de Roum', *Byzantion*, XI, 1936, 297.

<sup>2</sup> cf. the present-day retrospect on the Turkman tribes by Professor Köprülü, see op. cit., 57: 'absolument étrangères à la notion d'État, ne connaissant aucun ordre social hors celui de la tribu . . . ces masses indisciplinées, dès que le mécanisme administratif se relâchait un peu, devenaient aussitôt un élément de troubles et d'anarchie', etc. For the 'visiting cards' left by these tribes in the toponymy of Anatolia see A. Refik, *Anadoluda Türk aşiretleri*, Istanbul, 1930.

<sup>3</sup> P. Wittek, 'De la défaite d'Ankara . . .', *REI*, 1938, I, p. 7: 'Avec ses troupes d'élite, les janissaires, formées de captifs tombés tout jeunes aux mains des ghazis, au cours des razzias en pays chrétiens, et avec les auxiliaires que les princes balkaniques . . . devaient lui amener personnellement, Bayezid disposait d'une supériorité écrasante sur ces émirs (d'Anatolie)'; cf. Wittek, *Byzantion*, XI, 312, on the resentment of the poet Ahmedi against Sultan Bayazid's action in Anatolia.

<sup>4</sup> M. F. Köprülü, *Anadoluda İslâmiyet* (1922, unfinished), p. 89. A Venetian report of 8 April 1514 estimates the number of shi'ites in Asia Minor at 'four-fifths of the whole of Anatolia', see N. Jorga, *Gesch. d. Osm. Reichs*, II, 327.

<sup>5</sup> On the revolts in 1416 of Badr al-dîn and his associates Börklüje-Mustafâ and Torlağ Hû-Kamâl, see Hammer, *GOR*, 1840, I, 293; Babinger, *Schejch Bedr ed-dîn*, 1921, and Babinger, 'Der Islam in Kleinasien', *ZDMG*, LXXVI, 1922, 126–56. See also the important critical review of Babinger's thesis in M. F. Köprülü-zade's 'Bemerkungen z. Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens', *Mitteilungen z. Osmanischen Geschichte* (Wien), I, 1922, 203–22, and especially M. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya, *Bedreddin in Isl. Ansiklopedisi* (which sums up the contents of the monograph by the same author, Istanbul, 1924).

<sup>6</sup> With some exaggeration, H. A. Gibbons, *The foundation of the Ottoman Empire*, Oxford, 1916, 280, enumerates 26 large and small amirates in Anatolia. The book of the American author, despite its many mistakes and misunderstandings, still represents a considerable amount of work and new ideas.

of Constantinople Muḥammad II (1451–81) completed the unification of Anatolia under their sceptre, but the situation remained unsafe because of the existence and influence of other rival forces further east.

By the fourteenth century two powerful and autonomous federations of Turkman tribes had been formed, that of the QARA-QOYUNLU in Armenia, and that of the AQ-QOYUNLU in Diyārbakr.<sup>1</sup> The Aq-qoyunlu had already taken part in Timur's campaign against Sultan Bayazid (1402), and when in 1467 they absorbed their Qara-qoyunlu rivals and defeated the last energetic Timurid, their dominions, extending from Herat and the Persian Gulf to Anatolia, secured them an important place among the neighbours of the Ottoman Empire.

Under UZUN-ḤASAN (1466–78), the Aq-qoyunlu did not conceal their designs in Anatolia and were in close touch both with the remaining principalities of Asia Minor (Qaraman) and with the European powers. In case of Uzun-Ḥasan's success, the Republic of Venice was ready to recognize him as the lord of Constantinople. However, after the first clash with Sultan Muḥammad, Uzun-Ḥasan prudently refrained from any new challenges. No sooner did his successor, Sultan Ya'qūb, die (in 1490), than struggles among the princes, in the course of a decennium, disrupted the Aq-qoyunlu power, but then its succession was taken up by a fresh, and a more serious, candidate.

With the advent of SHAH ISMĀ'IL ŞAFAVĪ (1502) opened the long series of Turco-Persian moves and counter-moves which lasted almost down to our own times. The story of Shaykh Şafī of Ardabil (b. 1252, d. 1334) and his successors needs no re-telling. The shaykhs had succeeded in establishing a large clientèle among the Turkman tribes, right down to the heart of Anatolia and to northern Syria. Perhaps instinctively the Turkmans sought religious allegiance to the chiefs in the far rear, independent of their prevailing and centralizing western neighbours. The early shaykhs were strictly orthodox and their religious authority could not be called in question and opposed. The turning-point came in the years 1449–56, when a descendant of Shaykh Şafī in the fourth generation, the young SHAYKH JUNAYD, appeared too energetic and restless for the then ruler of Persia, the Qara-qoyunlu Jahānshāh. Junayd was expelled from Ardabil and spent six or seven years in visiting the adepts of his house among the Turkman tribes of Anatolia and Syria.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that having discovered shī'ite leanings among the Anatolians, he felt that a wider scope for his enterprise would open with his own move in the same direction. No clear indications as to his exact arguments can be culled from our sources, but the later developments show that he assumed the rôle of a descendant of the shī'ite imams, and even of an incarnation of their

<sup>1</sup> The history of the early Aq-qoyunlu was written by Abū-Bakr Tihrānī. A copy of his *Tārīkh-i Diyārbakriya* (incomplete at the end) was discovered in Iraq, and it is to be hoped that Dr. F. Sümer (Ankara) will succeed in bringing out an edition of it.

<sup>2</sup> W. Hinz, *Irans Aufstieg zum Nationalstaate*, 1936, 25. See Minorsky, *Persia in 1478–90*, 1957.

spark of divinity. When his claims and activities aroused the suspicion both of the Sultan and the lords of Egypt, he had to take refuge with Uzun-Hasan in Diyārbakr. No doubt, the orthodox ruler of the Aq-qoyunlu objected to the vagaries of the young shaykh, but he could not fail to appreciate his useful links with the western Turkmans. Both Junayd and his son Ḥaydar (born in Diyārbakr) married Aq-qoyunlu princesses and this circumstance may have had some importance in preparing the advent of Shah Ismā'il and in gaining for the Ṣafavids the loyalty of further groups of tribesmen.

Such Turkmans, under the name of *shāhī-sevān*,<sup>1</sup> formed the mainstay of the Ṣafavid power, but instead of the loose tribal links which had cemented the Qara-qoyunlu and Aq-qoyunlu federations, they were united this time by their allegiance to the *Murshid-i Kāmīl*, who was capable of working miracles, nay, was even himself a vessel of Godhead. In the list of tribes which carried Shah Ismā'il to the throne there were groups of tribes called *Rūmlu* ('those of Anatolia'), *Shāmlu* ('those of Syria'), *Tākke* (in ancient Lycia), etc., and one clearly realizes what leaven of future struggles they represented in the relations between the 'Grand Turk' and the 'Grand Sofi'.

The momentum of the strife was somewhat lost after the death of Shah 'Abbās I (1587–1628), who weakened the tribal Turkoman element among his supporters and replaced it by more disciplined new troops recruited in Persia and particularly among the Transcaucasian Christians, quite probably in imitation of the Ottoman janissaries.<sup>2</sup>

Somewhat paradoxically, the great achievement of the Ṣafavids proved to be the creation of a Persian state, independent of the goodwill of its neighbours and linked up with the Iranian tradition. This task could not have been realized without stable frontiers. On the other hand, the Ṣafavids had stepped into the shoes of their Aq-qoyunlu predecessors and in the west were anxious to incorporate a large part of the faithful Turkmans and their territories. Thence the entanglements with Turkey, which also coveted Anatolia and the lands stretching beyond it. On the whole, the Ottomans proved more westernized and stronger than the Persians, and gradually the frontier was more or less stabilized by the somewhat vague treaty of 1049/1639 concluded between Sultan Murād IV and Shah Ṣafī.<sup>3</sup>

On the surface, the long struggles between Turkey and Persia often took the aspect of a religious war between the sunnite orthodoxy and the shahs 'gone astray' (*shāh-i gūmrāh*). Apart from the angry epithets exchanged

<sup>1</sup> 'Those loving the shah', but with a hint at the 'Shah of Sanctity' (*shāh-i vilāyat*), i.e. 'Alī.

<sup>2</sup> See Minorsky, *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, 1942, 30, 189, and Minorsky, 'La Perse au 15-me siècle', Rome, 1957.

<sup>3</sup> It was reserved to our generation to establish in 1914 a clear delimitation of the Turco-Persian frontier line based *grosso modo* on the seventeenth century *status quo*, though Persia, in her later negotiations with Turkey, made some additional concessions and gave to Turkey the territory including Mt. Lesser Ararat.

between the two adversaries,<sup>1</sup> the sources available on the theoretical justification of the conflicts are scarce.

On the Persian side, some traces of the 'secret doctrine' of the Şafavids are found in the *divān* of poems composed by Shah Ismā'īl under the *nom de plume* of *Khaṭā'ī*.<sup>2</sup> Some hints at the aberrations of the shah can be gathered from the reproaches addressed to him by the Uzbek khan 'Ubayd-allāh in 936/1520, see *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 226–31. Also characteristic are the debates instituted in 1743 by Nādir-shah when he was eagerly, but vainly, striving to establish an agreement with the sunnites.<sup>3</sup>

From the point of view of the expanding Ottoman Empire, large numbers of shī'ites within the Turkish territory would have been considered as a 'fifth column'. In 917/1511 Shāh-qulī Bābā,<sup>4</sup> son of one of the devoted deputies (*khalīfa*) of Shah Ismā'īl's father, revolted in the province of Tākke and fought several battles with the Ottoman army before he lost his life and his turbulent followers retreated into Persia. In the following year, during the troubles in Turkey, the shah sent Nūr 'Alī khalīfa to summon his followers and they devastated Asia Minor and burnt Toqat.<sup>5</sup> The energetic Sultan Selim, who had succeeded his father on 25 April 1512, had 40,000 shī'ites massacred<sup>6</sup> before he went to defeat Shah Ismā'īl at Chaldīran in 920/1514.

Force was on the Turkish side but the Persian propaganda was more subtle and penetrating. To struggle against it the Ottomans established an intelligence service and tried to control public opinion. The documents quoted in the present article present an interest as showing the way in which it was done and the collaboration of the spiritual powers with the civil and military authorities.

## 2. SHAYKH BĀLĪ-EFENDI AND HIS LETTER TO RÜSTEM-PASHA

The MS of the well-known Turkish history of Ibrāhīm Pechevi<sup>7</sup> belonging to the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris (No. 103) contains two annexes written in the same hand as the remaining text. The date of the first annex (Temeshvar, 1063/middle of March 1653) is close to Pechevi's time and the place of his employment :

وقد وقع الفراغ من تنميق هذه الرسالة المباركة في أواسط شهر ربيع الآخر  
سنة ثلث (كذا) وستين والف بمدينة طمشوار المحروسة.

<sup>1</sup> See the diplomatic correspondence of the time in Feridūn-bey's collection and its abstract in E. G. Browne, *LHP*, IV, 67–9 and 73–5.

<sup>2</sup> For the edification of his Turkman supporters he wrote it in Turkish. See Minorsky, 'The poetry of Shāh Ismā'īl', *BSOAS*, x, 4, 1942, 1006a–53a.

<sup>3</sup> See 'Abdullāh al-Suwaydī, *Kitāb al-hujjaj al-qat'iya bi-ittifāq al-firaq al-islāmiya*, Cairo, 1329. Russian résumé by Professor A. E. Schmidt in *V. V. Bartoldu*, Tashkent, 1927, 69–107 and 532.

<sup>4</sup> Called *Shaytan-qulī* by the Turks.

<sup>5</sup> See *Aḥsan al-tavārīkh*, 125, 128, 134.

<sup>6</sup> Idris Bidlisī, *Selīm-nāma*, B.M. Add. 24,960, ff. 68b–70b. As noted by E. G. Browne, *LHP*, IV, 72, the Persian historians do not mention this melancholy event.

<sup>7</sup> Pechevi was a native of Pécs in Hungary. Born in 982/1574 he died in 1061/1650, or a few years earlier. A part of his career was spent in Temeshvar. See Babinger, *GOW*, 1927, 192–5.



The annexes were discovered by the late Abraham Danon (d. 1925), who published one of them<sup>1</sup> but only referred to the second (dated about A.D. 1548–9). He most kindly allowed me to copy it out from his notes and it will form the main subject of the present article. In conclusion I shall offer some considerations on the document published by A. Danon himself, which was drawn up some 75 years later than the first.

The new document (MS 103, f. 10r) is a copy of a letter addressed to Rüstempasha, twice Grand Vazir under Sultan Suleyman.<sup>2</sup> The sender of the letter is Shaykh Bālī-efendi 'who lies buried in Sofia', and the letter, judging by its epistolary formulas, seems to be complete. Shaykh Şūfī Bālī khalīfa is mentioned in Tashköprü-zadé's biographical work.<sup>3</sup> The author states that he was a learned and pious man who led the poor and the unfortunate along the path of righteousness and strongly supported the *sharī'at*. He died in Sofia in 959/1552 and was buried outside the town, at Şālihiya where there stands a mosque and a *tekke*.<sup>4</sup> The translator of Tashköprü's work into Turkish, Mejdi-efendi of Adrianople, in his postscript (*tedhiyil*) adds that Bālī-efendi's birthplace was Strumja (Strumitsa in Macedonia) but he lived in Sofia where he died in 960/10 February 1553. He enjoyed the favour of Sultan Suleyman whom he accompanied on several campaigns and recited prayers for his victories. Mejdi-efendi, during his visit to Sofia, read the marvellous compositions (*rasāyil-i 'ajībe*) of the shaykh, among which he mentions a treatise on Predestination (*qaḍā va qadar*), a commentary on Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*, etc.<sup>5</sup>

The period of Bālī-efendi's letter is more closely indicated by the reference to the brother of Shah Tahmāsp, Alqāş.<sup>6</sup> This prince was governor of Shīrvān, but revolted in 954 and fled, by way of the Crimea, to the court of Sultan Suleyman. Together with Alqāş, the sultan invaded Azarbayjan in 955 (summer of 1548), and during the winter Alqāş carried out a deep diversion into Persian Iraq. In 956/1549 his relations with the Ottomans became strained. He did not respond to the summons of the sultan and took refuge in the fort of Merīvān (Persian Kurdistan), where he was captured by a Kurdish chief and sent to Shah Tahmāsp. He was imprisoned in the castle of Qahqaha (near Ardabil) and in the beginning of 957/1550 was thrown down from its walls.

As Bālī-efendi speaks of the liquidation (*raf'*) of Alqāş, one has to infer

<sup>1</sup> 'Un interrogatoire d'hérétiques musulmans (1619)', *Jour. As.*, 1919, avril, 281–93.

<sup>2</sup> See Hammer, *GOR*, 1840, II, 197, 246, 350, 848: from March 1545 to October 1553 and from 28 September 1555 to 9 July 1561 when he died.

<sup>3</sup> *Shaḡā'iq al-nu'māniya*, Cairo, 1310, II, 64; German transl. by O. Rescher, Galata, 1927, 332.

<sup>4</sup> He must not be confused with the native of Tire (in Aydin) Serkhosh Bālī-efendi, who died in 981/1573 and lies buried near Qurshunlu-türbe, see Pechevi, I, 465–6, and the continuation of Tashköprü-zadé by 'Alī Mīnīq, German transl. (by Rescher), Stuttgart, 1934, 73.

<sup>5</sup> The Turkish translation, completed in 995/1586, 30 years after the composition of the original work, was printed in Constantinople in 1269/1852, pp. 251–2.

<sup>6</sup> This name seems to be of Caucasian (Daghestanian) origin > Alkhas, though perhaps remotely connected with Arabic al-Khāṣṣ.

that the letter was written after 956/1550. Bālī-efendi hints also at some disappointment felt on the Ottoman side, because of a military expedition (*ghazā*) which did not proceed according to the desire of the sultan. In fact, when Sultan Suleyman entered Tabriz (on 20 Jum. II 955/27 July 1548), his horses and camels died in large numbers for lack of fodder. After a five days' stay in the town, Suleyman<sup>1</sup> moved back *via* Van, Diyārbakr, and Aleppo. The Persians came on the heels of the retreating Turks and Shah Tahmāsp rapidly advanced to Arzinjān. It was a moment when the sultan must have felt annoyed, as indicated by Bālī-efendi. This again points to the time about 956/1549.

The tone of the letter suggests that Bālī-efendi stood on terms of intimacy with the Prime Minister, Rüstem-pasha. This clever native of Croatia accompanied Sultan Suleyman on his campaign to Tabriz and was certainly well informed concerning the affairs of the enemy. The more astonishing is the simple-hearted readiness of the shaykh to comfort and support the Grand Vazir with his garbled stories. The blanks in his information and his memory are readily filled in with pure inventions, the object of which is quite clear. Having accumulated his moral authority, the mystic of Sofia wished to bolster up the purely political and military action taken by the government and to free the conscience of his 'son', the Grand Vazir, from any restraints with regard to the enemies vowed to destruction and extermination.

Bālī-efendi's letter is quite outspoken and the only commentary it needs is to underline his free handling of historical facts.

### 3. TRANSLATION FROM THE TURKISH

*The copy of the advice (naṣīḥat-nāme) sent by the late Shaykh Bālī-efendi, who lies buried in Sofia, to the Prime Minister (sadr-i a'zam) Rüstem-pāshā concerning (the Şafavids) Alqāş and Tahmās (Tahmāsp). (In it the Shaykh), may his grave be sanctified, has explained the beginnings of the immoral Qizil-bāsh.*

In the name of God, Merciful and Compassionate.

Your Excellency, Pasha, my son! May God give many years of life to His Majesty the Sultan (*Hünkār*),<sup>2</sup> and may he achieve elevation in this and the other world. After the prayer (*ghibba al-du'ā*): you should not say, that this Holy War (*ghazā*) did not achieve its purpose (*murād*), that H.M. the *Hünkār*'s wish was not realized, that the prayers of the learned and virtuous ('*ulamā-va şūlahā*) were not accepted, and that the power (*ta'thīr*) of the Exalted Qor'ān did not manifest itself.

The answer is offered here that there are three classes of those who pray: the common, the distinguished (*khāṣṣ*), and the especially distinguished (*akhaṣṣ*).

<sup>1</sup> *Aḥsan al-tavārikh*, years 953–6/1546–9; *Tarikh-i Pechevi*, I, 267–83; already at that moment Pechevi (I, 273) refers to the dissatisfaction of Suleyman with the rough proceedings of his protégé Alqāş; *Sharaf-nāma*, I, 85–6 and II, 198: none of the Persian amirs, whom Alqāş had promised to bring over to the Ottoman side, joined the sultan.

<sup>2</sup> Thus spelt throughout, for *Khünkār* < *Kh'andkār*.

The first pray thus : ‘ whatever be the desire of His Majesty the Ḥunkār, thou God, render it successful ’. These people are (God’s) beloved (but ?) in such affairs it is not their duty (*shān*) to look for God’s acceptance.

The distinguished class did not know what the Ḥunkār’s plan was, but admitted that perhaps its realization would not meet with God’s consent. Then, it might lead to mischief (*fisād*), and thus our prayers (too) might prove contrary to God’s will and we might happen to be in revolt (*‘āṣī olavuz*). Then they turned to a still better prayer : ‘ O God, do whatever is blissful for our Sovereign ’, for the habit of the distinguished requires (*خواصك معتاد لزنك*) (*مقتضاسنجه*) that in every affair they pray for (the realization of) God’s will.

As for the most distinguished, their duty (requires) that, since the Ḥunkār had ordered prayers, they paid attention (*naẓar*) to the order, and considered it with utmost concentration. They knew that things should happen (*olsa gerek*) in accordance with his order made with prescience (*keshf*) and the knowledge of the divine will (*‘ilm-i ladun*). Therefore they did engage in prayer—and let it be known that the third category consists of the highest among the saints (*evliyā*) and their prayers are accepted.

Now that these three categories have made prayers for the accomplishment of the Ḥunkār’s wishes, no doubt their wishes will be accepted. Nor is there any doubt that the Exalted Qor’ān has manifested its influence.

However, in accepting a prayer, the divine habits and rules are fourfold, namely :

1 : that, (either the object) of the prayer is granted immediately after the prayer ; 2 : or, (only) some effect (of the prayer) is produced ; 3 : that (either) the prayer, as it is (*‘aynī*), is realized ; 4 : or that something more blissful takes place and thus the effect of the Exalted Qor’ān becomes apparent.

The presence of Alqāṣ in the lands of Islam is highly pernicious. He has been removed (*raf’*), and some delay has ensued regarding Tahmās (\*Tahmāsp).<sup>1</sup> The intention was that he should be removed from that kingdom and that Muhammad’s *sharī‘at* should be enacted. This too is expected to take place soon, and the Ḥunkār will see all his wishes realized.

Now let us report on those sons of Evil (*evlād-i shu‘m*) and it is a true report (for) we heard it from trustworthy people from among (?) the great community.

(They said) : Shaykh Ṣāfi [*sic*], who is the ancestor of this people of Evil, belongs to a ‘ chain ’ of shaykhs. In the ‘ chains ’ which we have seen he is mentioned as a sayyid. And it is mentioned (*qayd olunmush*) that some murshids recognized him as a sayyid. Sayyid or not, the faith of Islam should be respected.<sup>2</sup> In any case, it is known that Shaykh Ṣāfi is a Perfect Murshid

<sup>1</sup> The accepted Persian pronunciation is *Tahmāsi* (Turkish influence ?).

<sup>2</sup> Shaykh Ṣāfi was a highly respected shaykh, but proofs of his appurtenance to the children of the Prophet are lacking, see *BSOAS*, xvi, 3, 1954, 518. See recently N. Falsafi, *Zindagāni-yi Shāh ‘Abbās I*, 1332/1953, 3-4, 157-9.



and one of God's men (*ehl Allāh*). This is the true position and now we come to develop (*bayān*) the report (*khābar*).

One day Shaykh Şāfi invited some of his eminent murīds to his retreat (*khalvet-khāne*). On their coming they found their shaykh in tears. They made so bold as to ask: 'O shaykh, why are you weeping?' and he replied: 'I once saw a dream: that in my loins (*bel*) tiny puppies<sup>1</sup> were yapping and calling to one another. I did not pay any attention (*hiç qayırmadım*) and gave (my dream) a different interpretation. Yet what was going to happen proved to be coming and there was something to appear. I know now that (my dream) referred to the externally (existing world) (اولاجق اولور ایش وظهور ایده جک)

(ایمش شمدی بدم ظاهره متعلق ایش). And he cried: 'From the loins of a man like Mu'āwiya a Yazīd was born, and from the loins of a dog like myself a dog will come and it must come', and he wept again. 'Those dogs barking in my loins are a sign that from my descent a tyrannous band will rise and uproot the Muhammadan law. It will oppress the learned, the pious and the believers, and destroy them by the sword and by torture. May the Almighty let them perish, them and their followers.'

Now, my son, the effect and the requirement of that prayer is that it is necessary to defeat by the sword and to destroy by force (*qahr*) that tribe, its great and its small (*ulusunı kichisini*), its property and women, with the exception of the children (*şibyan*). There is no other means, for it is impossible to reform (*islāh*) this tribe by kindness and mercy.

Let us again proceed with our purpose. When Shaykh Şāfi approached his end, he convoked his friends and said: 'Agree all of you, and from among yourselves elect someone to be my successor (*qā'im-maqām*). My son is not worthy of my place. Let him go and acquire perfection and let someone else sit in (my) place. Let him not sit at my hearth (*ojaq*), for he is not suitable for my place'. Having thus proclaimed his will he departed to the other world.

They say, he had a son Muḥammad-shāh by name.<sup>2</sup> As he wanted to occupy his father's place, the şūfis split in two divisions (*bölük*): those who were licentious (*ehl-i havā*), together with (Muḥammad-shāh's) mother, went to one side and promoted him to his father's place and among the ignorant and the common he had a large following. The other division were the şūfis who are People of the Truth (*ahl-i haqq*),<sup>3</sup> and they did not accept (this decision) saying that it was contrary to the Shaykh's ruling. Each of them betook himself to a

<sup>1</sup> *Enjek*, see *Tarama sözlüğü*, I, 1943, 267, 269.

<sup>2</sup> This is pure invention. Shaykh Şāfi (1252–1334) was succeeded by his son, the highly respected Şadr al-dīn (1305–92). The latter's son Khwāja 'Alī acted as the head of the order down to 1427. His son and successor Ibrāhīm, known as Shaykh-shāh, died in 1447. During the minority of his son Junayd, his brother Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm became the *locum tenens*, and it was he who, in agreement with Jahānshāh Qara-qoyunlu, expelled Junayd from Ardabil.

<sup>3</sup> Probably in general meaning. But see below, p. 449, the particular sect designated by this name.

country and being occupied with his own plight (*hāl*) acted in conformity with the *sharīʿat*.

Muḥammad-shāh established himself in his father's place but his situation (*hāl*) became such that gradually his assembly (*majlis*) came to consist mostly of licentious men and heretics (*rawāfiḍ*), while learned and pious men shunned his assembly. Because of the multitude of the ignorant (in the assembly), the idea of a Holy War (*ghazā*) occurred to Muḥammad-shāh and moved by this mania (*savdā*) he several times led expeditions towards Georgia.

When he died his son Junayd <sup>1</sup> took his place, and those who loved Muḥammad-shāh crowded together (*choqdular*) <sup>2</sup> round Junayd, and he too several times set out on campaigns of Holy War, and as they were successful (*rāst geldi*), good and bad (*eyü-yatlu*) in great numbers joined him. They came and applied for permission to march on Georgia through Persia (*ʿajam*). The king agreed to this but one of his vazirs did not approve of it (and said): 'O my king, this lot does not enjoy a good reputation among people, let your slave go and see what kind of men they are'. With the king's order he went to discover that all that tribe had gone astray (*dalālat*) and came to report: 'Is this the way of a shaykh and the dervishes? Should there be (?) any clever men (*ehl-i ʿilm*) among them, much blood will be shed before we repel them'. The matter being so (*öyle olsa*?), the king forbade them (to go on) but they did not obey his order (*buyuruq*), saying: 'be it as it may, we shall not renounce this expedition' (*bu ghazādan rujuʿ etmeziz*).

In view of this situation, the king on his part sent a detachment of men and there was a great battle. Finally the army gone astray was put to flight. Junayd was beheaded and his people defeated and scattered.

The son of Shaykh Junayd, Ḥaydar, was brought to the king and the doctors of law issued a *fatvā* for his execution, but some of them intervened before the king saying: 'For the rebellion of the father the son cannot be responsible (*akhdh*)'. They did not leave him in Ardabil, but kept him prisoner in Tabriz. There was no means for him to study. He wandered, drunk, in the streets strumming his *ṭambūra*. The person who at that time was sultan had a widowed sister who did not enjoy a good name or good manners. By chance they fell in love, the pregnancy of the young woman became evident, and everybody knew that the cause of it was this young man. This was an undeserved shame for all the chiefs and nobles. Consequently they married (Ḥaydar to the widow) and sent him with his wife to Ardabil.<sup>3</sup> A short time passed (*sehl*

<sup>1</sup> As mentioned above, Junayd was the son of Ibrāhīm Shaykh-shāh, of whose *ghazā* nothing is known. When after a six years' absence Junayd returned to Ardabil, his position with Jahānshāh became again intolerable. He had to leave Ardabil and went on a *ghazā* to the Caucasus, but on 4 March 1460 lost his life in a clash with the troops of the shīrvānshāh Khalīl whose territory he was crossing.

<sup>2</sup> *Tarlama sozlügü*, I, 165: *üzüşmek*.

<sup>3</sup> Ḥaydar was born in Diyārbakr when his father had gone to Ardabil and Shirvan in 1459–60. Ḥaydar was brought up by his mother's brother Uzun-Ḥasan, who later gave him in marriage his own daughter (born of the princess of Trebizond)!

*zemān geçti*) and Ismā'il was born prematurely. The heretics said it was a miracle, while the doctors of law gave a decision proclaiming Ismā'il a bastard (*veled el-zinā*). This term acquired notoriety in those parts, and when Ismā'il grew up this was reported to him (*qulağına kodular*). When he asked: 'Who put out this talk about me?', the answer was: 'The doctors of the sunnis said so'. Ismā'il said: 'Should I find an occasion, I shall murder the doctors with various kinds of torture and then uproot the sunnis and, instead, I will spread (*yürüdüm*) the *shī'a* creed. I will avenge (*intiqām alam*) my father and grandfather'.

Now we return (*geldik*?) to the story of Ḥaydar.<sup>1</sup> When he went to Ardabil he took his father's place. All the ignoramuses, libertines and heretics gathered round him in masses (*bashına choğdular*) and he followed the path of the Holy War. He led several expeditions and overpowered (*choq kimesneye qādir oldu*) many people.<sup>2</sup> Once, with plenty of arms (*yaraq*), they marched as if against the Georgians, though their intention was to use the occasion for capturing the throne of Persia (*'ajem takhtinē*) by force (*basqun edip*). Someone came to report their secret to the king who got in readiness. When, coming from one direction, they were passing, the army collected by the king met them and said: 'Return to your place, there is no leave for you from the king'. The ill-starred lot resisted and a great battle began, which ended in Ḥaydar's head being cut off and his filthy lot being defeated, while in their saddlebags (*heybe*) were found 500 cuirasses (*jēbe*) and sets of plate-armour (*zirih*).

One of the murids of Shaykh Ḥaydar who took part in that battle (*jenkte bile imish*?) told me the details. He said: 'We were taken unawares (*ghafletde bulundug*): the cuirasses were not on our backs, or we would have accounted (*qaydın görürdük*) for that Persian lot'. Ismā'il (who) was still a child found himself together (*بـلـه bile*, with his father?).<sup>3</sup> The men fled with him and in Ardabil put him in his father's place. He suspended (*fāriğh*) the expeditions but ordered his friends to gather arms in secret and keep them in stores, his decision being to reappear at a (suitable) time. Thus they made their preparations and, when disturbances (*fitret*) broke out in the Persian country, he reappeared and it is common knowledge what he did.

Now, my son, the Persian country nurtured and favoured (*'ināyet*) that filthy tribe, and what loyalty (*vefā*) did they find? If on our part, we shower honours and favours on Alqās, or someone else, what will be the profit (*ne fayda bulavuz*)? They are the seed of error and sparks (*qūjūljīm*) of the infernal fire. Wherever you put them they will pass through the seven layers (of the

<sup>1</sup> A repetition, or an alternative draft kept in Bālī-efendi's papers.

<sup>2</sup> Ḥaydar was sent to Ardabil after Uzun-Ḥasan Aq-qoyunlu defeated Jahānshāh Qara-qoyunlu (on 17 November 1467). He led three expeditions to the Caucasus, and on the last of them (9 July 1488) was killed in a battle with the troops of his cousin Ya'qūb Aq-qoyunlu which were supporting the shīrvānshāh. See Minorsky, *Persia in 1478-90*, 1957, 117-19.

<sup>3</sup> Ismā'il was a child in the care of his mother in Ardabil.

earth) and return to their source. Alive or dead, in the Islamic territory they are nothing but harm, and their removal from it is very happiness ! <sup>1</sup>

After having been drafted (*tesvîd*), this letter has been sent to your Excellency that the position of this ill-starred tribe of evil should become known to you in detail.

And now, this is all (*bāqī wassalām*) !

#### 4. BĀLĪ-EFENDI'S REPORT ON THE FOLLOWERS OF BADR AL-DĪN

In his critical survey of F. Babinger's thesis on Shaykh Badr al-dīn, M. F. Köprülü-zade quotes another report by Bālī-efendi on the group of Badr al-dīn's (see above, p. 438) followers still flourishing at his time in Dobruja (Deli-Orman). Bālī-efendi pressed Sultan Suleyman to punish the heretics. He described Badr al-dīn as a dissolute drunkard recommending wine as the true nectar promised in the other world. In his view this world was God's open table (*süf're-yi Haqq*). Whoever knows 'the Man', knows God (*Haqq*), and 'I am God' (*anā'l-Haqq*). Badr al-dīn's ignorant followers performed *siġda* ('prostration') before him and called him 'God'. Having blown out the candles they performed abominations in darkness.

The author of the important 'Bemerkungen' somewhat cautiously admitted that Bālī-efendi's exposé might strengthen our knowledge of the tenets and practices of Badr al-dīn's sect.<sup>2</sup> In the light of Bālī-efendi's presentation of the history of the Šafavids this assumption loses much of its probability. The šūfī investigator, closely connected with the views of the government, was surely ventilating the hotchpotch of his recollections in order to support the interests of the centralized state. His writings are obviously not on the level of St. Augustine's views on Manichaeism.

#### 5. CHESHMĪ-EFENDI AND HIS REPORT ON HERETICS

As regards the other annexe to the MS of Pechevi, which was published by A. Danon (see above, p. 442), it claims to be a summary of the confessions (*i'tirāf*) made by some heretics (*malāḥida*) living in Constantinople, in the presence (*mejlis*) of the late Cheshmī-efendi, who was appointed by (the Sultan's) order (*fermān*) to conduct the investigation. As regards the person of the official inquisitor, A. Danon refers to his earlier article,<sup>3</sup> in which he mentioned Cheshmī-efendi as the qāḍī of Constantinople appointed after the murder of Sultan

<sup>1</sup> cf. Cheshmī-efendi's *dammara-hum Allāh*. See below, p. 450.

<sup>2</sup> 'Bemerkungen', 1922, 212-13: 'Die folgenden Zeilen Bālī-efendis, der bei Bekanntgabe dieser Ideen und Lehren dem Sultan deren Bestrafung rät, vermögen unsere obigen Darlegungen über Bräuche und Lehrsätze der Anhänger Bedr ed-dins sehr gut zu bekräftigen'. The author quotes Bālī-efendi's statement from a commentary on Yaziji-oğlu's *Muḥammadiya*, I, 58. The author of the commentary (Haqqi) calls Bālī-efendi a šūfī following the path of the shari'a (*mutasharri'*). See also this reference to Bālī-efendi and other shaykhs in M. Şerefeddin Yaltkaya's article in *İslam Ansiklopedisi: Bedreddin*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Contribution à l'histoire des sultans Osman II et Mustafa I', *Jour. As.*, 1919, juillet, 69-139, septembre, 243-310.

Osman II in 1622. We know some further stages in his career, for under Sultan Murād he acted as the supreme judge (*qāḍī-asker*) of Anatolia and in 1632 was transferred to the same post in Rumelia. However, before he arrived there, the judges of Anatolia accused him of venality (*irtishā*) in giving 100 distinguished appointments (*yüz güzide manşib*) to unworthy candidates. The qāḍīs of Rumelia joined their colleagues in their written protest submitted to the Sultan, and the latter cancelled the appointment and exiled (*nefy*) Cheshmī-efendi to Brusa.<sup>1</sup>

The document (four printed pages) is too short to be a complete account of Cheshmī-efendi's official inquiry and its form (even without the initial *basmala*) suggests that it is more likely a brief summary of the more interesting points, in which case it may include elements picked out from the allegations of some witnesses.

A. Danon refrained from defining more exactly the group to which the accused belonged and thought that they might have been affiliated to the Hurūfis or Bektashis. This surmise can hardly be accepted, for it would lead us to suppose that the Şafavid tendencies had penetrated into the circles closely connected with the janissaries.<sup>2</sup>

The fact that the accused confessed to their recognition of Shah 'Abbās (d. 19 January 1629) as their *murshid* points rather to their being Persians, or some Turkman adepts of the Şafavids. It is said that at their assemblies they recited the 'words' of *Shah Ismā'il Khaṭā'ī*, which they called *ma'nī*.<sup>3</sup> It is true that *Khaṭā'ī* was that shah's poetical *nom de plume*<sup>4</sup> and, on the other hand, we know that the Ātesh-begi branch of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq sect considered Shah Ismā'il 'the *pīr* of Turkestan'—in which case 'Turkestan' is supposed to refer to the Turkman tribes of Azarbayjan.<sup>5</sup> Even then the rôle of *Khaṭā'ī* in the syncretic and receptive system of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq religion was far from being outstanding. The reference to the fraternal unions between a man and a woman, whom the document calls *Ḥaqq qarīndash*, is also a practice of the Ahl-i Ḥaqq (*shart-i iqrār* 'the contract of recognition'), meant to conduce to the edification of the brother by the moral influence of his sister-elect.<sup>6</sup> The inquirer naturally uses this vulnerable point to introduce his ready accusations of utter immorality—an arm which at all times was wielded against heterodoxy, and from which even early Christianity was not immune. Having demonstrated the perversity of the contemptible sectarians, the document attributed to Cheshmī-efendi

<sup>1</sup> *History of Na'imā*, 1147/1734, I, 513; Hammer, *GOR*, 1829, v, 136 (or 1840, III, 102).

<sup>2</sup> See also Köprülü-zade's opinion in his 'Bemerkungen', 1922, p. 214, n. 1, and his *Les origines du Bektachisme*, Paris, 1926, 24.

<sup>3</sup> '(A saying full of) meaning', apparently in verse, cf. the present-day Turkish *mânî* (*ma'nî*) in the sense of 'song'.

<sup>4</sup> See Minorsky, 'The poetry of Shāh Ismā'il', *BSOAS*, x, 4, 1942, 1006a–53a.

<sup>5</sup> See Minorsky, *Études sur les Ahl-e-Haqq*, in *Revue du Monde Musulman*, 1920–1 (in book form, pp. 108–12), and Minorsky, *Ahl-i Ḥaqq* in *EI*.

<sup>6</sup> See loc. cit., 141–2; cf. *akhū wa ukhtu al-ākhira* of the Yazīdis.

ends with prayers to God to exterminate the heretics (*dammara-hum Allāh, qahhara-hum Allāh*).

If, at first sight, the heretics referred to by Cheshmī-efendi have some points in common with the Ahl-i Ḥaqq, there is no indication either of the connexion of this sect with Shah ‘Abbās, or of its expansion as far as Constantinople. The whole presentation of the official memorandum (or its abstract) is too patchy and vague. The official inquisitor displays too obviously his desire to condemn the sectarians on the traditional grounds of immoral practices. The document can hardly be placed above the level of Bālī-efendi’s letter, and we must not forget that the reputation of Cheshmī-efendi himself was far from immaculate.

The truth of the information contained in the two documents is suspect, but their interest consists in the light they throw on the complacency of the sunnite şūfīs and judges in supporting the interests of the Ottoman State.

*Additional note to p. 437.*

The varying Western attitude towards the *devshirme* would form a subject for a curious study. Few would go as far as Dr. Giese in his wholesale admiration (‘Das Problem d. Entstehung d. osm. Reiches,’ *Z. für Semitistik*, II, 1924, 268): ‘Die Devşirme und die Einführung des Janitscharenkorps ist also nicht die diabolische Erfindung Murads I, wie sie bisher in den europäischen Geschichtswerken dargestellt wird, sondern sie ist der Abschluss einer langen Entwicklung, die uns das Genie der osmanischen Sultane in der Zusammenfassung und Ausnutzung der vorhandenen Kräfte für ihre Zwecke zeigt’. However, even the latest authorities, far from displaying any token of *saeva indignatio*, bow to the inexorable idea of the Islamic *dār al-ḥarb*, or refer to the possibility of advancement for the young converts. On similar grounds the status of a eunuch was not devoid of certain privileges.



# BRILL

---

A New Book on the Khazars

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Oriens*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2 (Dec. 31, 1958), pp. 122-145

Published by: [BRILL](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1578929>

Accessed: 28/02/2013 15:16

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at  
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



BRILL is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Oriens*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



## A NEW BOOK ON THE KHAZARS

by

V. Minorsky  
Cambridge

Dr. D. M. Dunlop's book, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, Princeton University Press, 1954, XV + 293 pp.<sup>1</sup>) is a welcome accession to our stock of knowledge on the Khazars. The author admits (p. XI) that "there is little new in the way of sources" used in the book, and in fact the last discovery in this field seems to be that of the so-called "Cambridge document" found by Dr. Schechter in 1912. The book, however, gives a very careful and critical survey of the existing literature and contains a useful outline of the problems connected with the history of the still mysterious people.

The addition of "Jewish" to the title of the book, as a reviewer (*BSOAS*, 1955, XVII/3, 619) has remarked, seems to be due to some practical consideration on the part of the publishers. The propagation of Judaism among the Khazars had but a restricted scope and concerned only the top of the social pyramid, while the majority of the people must have stuck to the old nomad practices, and in general the Khazars showed great tolerance towards the different religions and races established among them. One third of Dr. Dunlop's book (pp. 89-170) is devoted to the controversy about the time of and reasons for the conversion, but the author pays due attention to the general history of the Khazars. In recent times several scholars have taken up a similar task but their efforts have not been crowned with complete success. In 1922 J.N. Simchowitsch presented to the University of Berlin a thesis under the title *Studien zu den Berichten arabischen Historiker über die Chazaren* (down to Hārūn al-Rashīd's time) which has not seen the light in printed form and is known only through a review by M. Palló in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1922, II, 157-60. M. Kmoskó<sup>2</sup> published two articles in *K. Csoma*

<sup>1</sup> By way of preparation for this book the author had published 'Aspects of the Khazar problem' in *Glasgow University Oriental series*, 1951, XII, 33-44. Cf. also his review of A. Z. V. Togan's *Ibn Fadlān*, in *Die Welt des Orients*, pp. 307-12.

<sup>2</sup> On his Nachlass see now K. Czeglédy in *Acta Orient. Hung.*, 1955 IV/1-3, pp. 19-90



*Archivum* under the title 'Araber und Chazaren', 1924, I/4, pp. 280-92, and 1925, I/5, pp. 356-68; this publication too had a restricted purview and is difficult to find nowadays. M. I. Artamonov's *Sketches of the oldest history of the Khazars* (in Russian), 1937, 136 pp., consist of three chapters (on the V.n.nt.r, on the Khazars and the Turks and on the origins of the Khazars) stopping short of the Arab period. Prof. A. E. Krīmski (Kiev) wrote a history of the Khazars which since his death in 1941 has remained in manuscript.

As a scholar to whom Hebrew, Syrian and Arabic sources are equally accessible, Dr. Dunlop went beyond the scope of those circumscribed researches. The lasting merit of his achievement is in his new translations from Arab geographers (Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhrī, Ibn Ḥauqal etc.), though it is a matter of some regret that he has strewn the quotations throughout the text, instead of giving them complete in an annex.

The main idea underlying the earlier part of the book (pp. IX, and 87) is that of the historical role of the Khazars who prevented the Arabs from extending their conquests on the Caucasian front, in the same way as the Franks of Charles Martel did on the westernmost front. Without the Khazar obstacle, the fate of Eastern Europe would have been very different. This idea seems to be constructive, though it might be argued that Eastern Europe, and the young Kiev state in the first place, should have been grateful to the Arabs for having shattered the power of the still very rough and primitive Khazars, and having thus checked at least one wave of nomad expansions across the southern Russian steppes.

The story of the Arab-Khazar wars will be a useful reminder at a time when there is a tendency to underestimate the Khazar contacts with the Slav tribes. The curtailing of the Khazar territory by the Kiev state must have proceeded gradually while the attention of the Khazars was diverted southwards to the lands of the Caliphate. The final blow dealt to the Khazars by Svyatoslav in 965 (of which Ibn Ḥauqal was a contemporary) will then appear as dictated not by a mere lust for conquest but by the necessity to eliminate a threat from the east, though the already weakened Khazars might have been of some use as a screen for stemming the fresh hordes of eastern invaders<sup>1</sup>. One might recall the destruction of the buffer state of the Qara-Khitay (and their successor Küçlük the Nayman), thus opening the door to the Mongol invasion which swept away the kingdom of the Khwārazmshāh, see Juvaynī, II, 80 and 87 (transl. by J. A. Boyle, I, 347, 357).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what the famous Russian historian Klyuchevsky, *Kurs russkoy istorii*, 1904, I, 151, says of the Pecheneg infiltration about 864: "the Khazar power apparently was no longer able to protect Russian merchants in the East".

It is not easy to systematize the remarks on D.'s book in which controversial points crop up incidentally at different places, and this will oblige us to follow the author in the order of his own chapters.

*Chapter I* (pp. 3-33) is a painstaking digest of reports on the probable time of the emergence of the Khazars. The revision of Greek, Syrian, Armenian etc. sources does not seem to lead to any final results. Even the Kidarites (p. 19) are suspected of having participated in the ethnogenesis of the Khazars. The *Šül* which *Ṭabarī* mentions in connection with the campaign of *Pērōz* (457-84) is not *Darband*, but the region of *Dihistān* in the S.E. corner of the Caspian, see *Marquart*, *Ērānšahr*, 55, 77. *Balaam* (p. 20) corresponds to Mt. *Balkhan* in the same region, whose name after the migration of the *Ghuz* was transferred to the *Balkans* (earlier *Haemus*) in S.E. Europe. The author (p. 32) comes to the conclusion that there is no positive trace of the Khazars before the 6th century, and in the first half of the 7th century they were still under the domination of the Western Turks (*T'u-Küeh*). *Grosso modo* these facts had been established by *Marquart*.

I think in future scholars will have to consider two problems.

(a) It is possible that the name *Khazar* has the same origin as the term *qaz-aq*<sup>1</sup>, which did not refer to any eponym, tribe or locality etc. but probably to some particular "way of life" of its principal bearers.

(b) It is unlikely that the advent of the Khazars amounted to a migration of any new large tribe. As in the cases of many other great Turkic federations, one should rather imagine that local tribes recognised a new leadership of a particular clan or family, just as it happened with the *Seljuks*, the *Qara-qoyunlu*, the *Aq-qoyunlu*, the *Uzbeks* etc. An instructive illustration of the fissiparous character of such organisations is the opposite case of the *Oghuz*, of whom a considerable part remained outside the control of the *Seljuk* family.

The complex character of the Khazar state is well established. The sources refer to a number of tribes belonging to it. The special and aberrant language of the Khazars was probably spoken only by one of them. This would explain the fact that it disappeared without trace, as soon as it lost political support. It is curious that the language of the

---

<sup>1</sup> *Pelliot*, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, 1949, p. 216: "en partant de *Hazar/-\*Qazar*, l'idée vient naturellement à l'esprit que le nom pourrait avoir la même racine que celui des *Qazaq* plus tardifs", after which follows a long and inconclusive search for an etymology. However, the likeness of the root is striking and the two different endings are explainable by Turkic suffixes.

Volga Bulgars, with which it was most probably cognate<sup>1</sup>, had long survived in tumular inscriptions and is still represented by its Chuvash offspring.

In *Chapter II* (pp. 34-40) the author considers, not without sympathy, the view that the Khazars were descendants of that clan of the Uyghur federation whose name the Chinese transcribed as *Ko-sa* (*K'o-sa*?). For the reader this short *précis* will be a hard nut to crack. The material found in Greek and Chinese sources concerning the remote areas, difficult to control from either end, is still debatable; and lumps of uncertainty, by being compressed, become less digestible. While dealing with the distinction between the ŠAZ and LIR groups of Turkic languages (so called after the main correspondences of their sounds) Dr. Dunlop comes up against the difficulty already experienced by Pelliot, *Notes*, 208, 223, namely that the Uyghur language attested in the Orkhon inscriptions was a ŠAZ language, whereas the “Khazar” language is presumed to have belonged to the opposite LIR group<sup>1</sup>. He then (p. 40) proceeds: “It is conceivable, however, that the ‘LIR’ Turkish at a remote period [?V.M.] was widely spoken, and if the Uigur/Khazar relationship was otherwise acceptable, the linguistic argument would not be determinative against it” (p. 40). In fact, we do not even know (see above) what part of the Khazars spoke the aberrant language. The whole combination of the views of Marquart, A. Z. Validi, A. Zajackowski etc. is not very convincing.

*Chapter III* (pp. 41-57) describes the first Arab-Khazar contacts (A.D. 642-52) beyond Bāb al-abwāb (Darband) which ended in the Muslim defeat at Balanjar<sup>2</sup>, but in the mean time led to the cautious removal of the Khazar centre from Samandar, or *Baršaliya*, to the estuary of the Volga. It is quite likely that *Baršaliya* is identical with Varač'an

<sup>1</sup> See the characteristic translation of the name Σαρκελ (Hebrew *Sharkil*) as ἄσπερον ὀσπίτιον Constantine Porphy., ch. 42 (ed. Moravcsic, p. 182), “White house”, and in Russian *Bela-veža* “White tent, White tower?”,—which can be explained only by a comparison with the Chuvash *shura* (older: *shara*) meaning “white”, see *Hudūd*, p. 453. Incidentally, the *de facto* identity of Ibn Khurdādhbih's \*Sārigh-sin “the Yellow tomb (?)” with the later Arabic *al-Bayḍā* “the White One”, see *Hudūd*, 452, ceases to be a puzzle, if we admit that *Sārigh-sin* is an Oghuz form, based on a mistaken interpretation of the original Khazar-Bulghar name, in which “white” was expressed by a form similar to that found in *Sarkel*, which an Oghuz would be tempted to interpret as “yellow (*sarigh/sarī*)”. Cf. Pelliot, *Notes*, 215.

<sup>2</sup> Has Balanjar any relation to the *nisba* of the amir Khāshbeg Arslan b. B.l.nk.rī of the Seljuk times, see 'Imād al-dīn, ed. Houtsma, p. 192, 198 etc., and to the name of the present-day bifurcation west of Baku, *Balajar*(ī)?

of the Armenian authors (p. 43). Barš-li (or Baraš-li) would be a Turkic construction with the suffix of appurtenance *-li*, while the Armenian form *Varač'an* represents the same basic name with the Iranian plural ending in *-ān*. I am inclined to locate Bar(a)š-li at the present-day Bašli (earlier *Baršlī*) in northern Daghestan<sup>1</sup>. The story of 'Abd al-Raḥmān (or Salmān)'s bones kept by the Khazars as a talisman for rain (p. 101) (which is also found in Ibn Qutaiba, 1850, pp. 221, and 266) can be illustrated by some survivals in the present-day Northern Caucasus (see the late A. N. Genko in *Trudi II sessii arabistov*, 1941, p. 101).

After a dark period lasting from 652 to 722 (on which somewhat unexpectedly see also pp. 171-7), *Chapter IV* (pp. 58-87) studies the history of the second Arab-Khazar war (A.D. 722-37). The Khazars may have taken advantage of the lull in the South to expand in the West. On the Darband front too, the initiative was taken by the chief of *Varač'an*, who, despite his reported conversion in A.D. 622 by the bishop of Caucasian Albania, Israel, seems to have carried on the forward policy as the lord of the southern Khazar march<sup>2</sup>. A series of raids into Transcaucasia had begun in 685, in the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik, and a quarter of a century later a regular war broke out between the Khazars and the Omayyads. D. does not seem to have seen F. Gabrieli's excellent work *Il califfato di Hishām, Mém. de la Société R. d'archéologie d'Alexandrie*, t. VII/1, 1955, 141 pp., in which a chapter, pp. 74-85, is devoted to the operations in the Caucasus, but he has made full use of the passage in the newly discovered Arabic text of Ibn A'tham quoted in A.Z.V. Toğan's *I. Faḍlān*, 296-8<sup>3</sup>. The name of the son of the "Khazar khaqan" (p. 63) should probably be restored as \**Barčing* (not *Barchyk*), in view of the place-name Barčing-ligh-känd, east of the Aral sea (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 79). I. A'tham's *Hiṣnayn* is compared (p. 63) with *Hamzīn* of other authors but the location of the latter is still uncertain and we can judge of it only indirectly<sup>4</sup>. In the course of his campaigns

<sup>1</sup> I cannot say whether the Karaite family name Baraš has any connection with this name.

<sup>2</sup> According to Moses Kalank., II, ch. 39 (Russian transl. by Patkanian, p. 190), the bishop Israel travelled to *Varač'an* in "the year 62 of the southern kingdom of the ferocious Muhammad". The year of the Hijra 62 corresponds to A.D. 20 Sept. 681-9 Sept. 682, and the journey must have taken place in the winter months of 681-2. The author of the special article on the mission, S. T. Eremian, *Zapiski Inst. Vost.*, 1939, VII, 135, wrongly converted the year to A.D. 683-4, and this made him alter the dates of other Armenian sources which seem to support the date of 62/681-2. Apparently the bishop meant to *forestall* the Khazar invasions which began a few years later.

<sup>3</sup> See now A. N. Kurat's articles in *Ankara Üniv. Dil-Tarih fakült. dergisi*, VI, No. 5 (1948), 385-430, and VII, No. 2 (1949), 255-82.

<sup>4</sup> See the *Derbend-nāmeḥ*, ed. Kazem-beg, 34: perhaps \**Jamri/Gumri*.

Jarrāḥ took Ḥamzīn, Targhū (Tarqū) and Balanjar. Thus Ḥamzīn should be to the south of Tarqu (later Tarqī). The governor of Balanjar fled to S.m.nd.r, which consequently should be located to the north-east of the above-mentioned places, on the way of a possible retreat towards the Volga. A.Z.V. Toğan identified it with Kizliar (\*Qizlar) on the Terek, which is tempting logically but does not agree with the distances given in Iṣṭakhri, 219, 227, namely, 4 days from Darband, 7 days to Atil (Ibn Ḥauqal, II, 398: 8 days to Atil) and 2 farsakhs (?) to the Sarīr,—which militates in favour of its location near Tarqu and not in Kizliar (Qizlar), see *Hudūd*, 452. Besides, according to the *Hudūd*, § 50, 2, and ancient maps. S.m.nd.r stood on the sea-coast. All this would rather indicate a position to the south of the Sulaq, somewhere near the present-day Makhač-qala (Petrovsk)<sup>1</sup>. As regards the name, were it not for the Greek name of a north-Caucasus tribe Ζαβενδερ, one would rather read it with the final *-dur* which often occurs at the end of Turkish tribal names (Onoγundur etc.).

In 726 the famous son of the caliph ‘Abd al-Malik, Maslama (who survives in the local Caucasian tradition as “Abū Muslim”), succeeded Jarrāḥ and the war flared up. Maslama had to retreat through the central pass of Darial *via* Masjid dhil-Qarnayn (a popular etymology for Georgian *Mtsxeta*). Then again Jarrāḥ reappeared on the stage only to be utterly defeated near Ardabil. The Khazars pushed forward as far as Mosul and Akhlāt. The situation was restored by Sa‘īd al-Ḥarashī (Jarashī?), but Maslama reproached him for the slackness he showed at Maymadh (now Ahar, see *Hudūd*, p. 395) and took over himself. The zenith of Arab successes was reached under (the future caliph) Marwān b. Muḥammad whose turn of office in the Caucasus lasted twelve years (A.D. 732-44). On his exploits Ibn A‘tham gives a number of new details, but some of them must derive from heroic legend. According to Ibn A‘tham, Marwān reached *al-Bayḍā* whence the khaqan fled to the mountains and then reached the *Nahr al-Saqāliba*. Marwān’s general Kauthar crossed the river using *aṭwāq* (perhaps some kind of swimming belts?) and killed the khaqan’s lieutenant Hazār-tarkhān (possibly the rank called by Ṭabarī *As-tarkhan*, by Moses Kalankatvats‘i *Raž-t‘arxan* etc.) and the frightened khaqan accepted Islam (cf. Balādhuri, 208). The name of the river and the 20,000 *Saqāliba* prisoners taken by Marwān might suggest that the operations were conducted *not* on the Volga but on the

<sup>1</sup> On the sea-coast and to the N.E. of Tarqī, which lies in the hills. In this case Semender might have been an embarkation port for the Volga capital, as Petrovsk has been in later days.

Don. The settlement of the Saqlab (Slav) prisoners in Kakhetia also links the operations with the Darial pass through which in fact Marwān is said to have entered Khazaria. In this case, *al-Bayḍā* might stand *not* for the Volga capital but for *Sarkel* (which in Russian was called *Bēla-veža*, “the *White Tent*” (see above) <sup>1</sup>.

This tentative reconstruction shows how uncertain are our texts. Ibn A‘tham’s list of stages of the column marching from Darband is hardly in one straight line. In any case the flight of the Khaqan to the Urals (!) and the crossing of the Volga by a “pontoon-bridge” (pp. 82-3) which Dr. Dunlop borrowed from A.Z.V.Toğan, pp. 299-300, remain uncertain. Nor do I find any trace of the *Burṭās* (p. 83 and note 119) either in Ibn A‘tham’s fragment or in Balādhurī, 208 <sup>2</sup>.

Two long *Chapters V and VI* (pp. 89-170) are devoted to the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism. For obvious reasons, the problem has made much ink flow in learned discussions, though from the point of view of the Khazar people it had only a restricted importance (see p. 122 above).

Dr. Dunlop examines first the Arabic sources—which in fact go far beyond the particular point in discussion—and, among them, the famous passage of the *Murūj al-dhahab*, II, 8-9, according to which the king accepted the new religion under Hārūn al-Rashīd (A.D. 786-809). Later the infiltration of the Jews into Khazaria increased in view of the persecutions instituted by the emperor Romanus Lacapenus (A.D. 919-44). Many authors, including Marquart, have analysed the Arabic sources but Dr. Dunlop’s translations of relevant passages from Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Faḍlān, Ibn Rusta etc. will be welcomed by future explorers.

The detailed discussion of Iṣṭakhri’s term *al-Khazar al-kh.l.s* (p. 94) leaves the question still in suspense, but the division of the Khazars into a “White” branch and a “Black” branch would suit the practice of Turkic names for the tribal and geographical divisions. It should be noted by the way, that after H. W. Henning’s article in *BSOAS*, 1952, XIV/3, pp. 501-22, the Middle Persian inscription of Paikuli should be excluded from the speculations of Turcologists.

Dr. Dunlop’s translation leaves out the final passage of Iṣṭakhri, 226, on distances fixing the position of Samandar (see above).

<sup>1</sup> Such a line of reasoning would be similar (though in the contrary sense) to Marquart’s surmise (*Streiszüge*, 3) suggesting that the term *Bēla-veža* might also apply to the Khazar capital called in Arabic *al-Bayḍā*. On p. 474 Marquart, for reasons which now appear unnecessary, abandoned his identification. On the confusion of the two colours (yellow/white) see above.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 72 read with the idāfat: *az ān-i khud*. On p. 77 read \*Khaydāq for *Khaydān*. On a similar use of campfires to deceive the enemy see Barthold, *Ulughbek*, 82 (*arghājūt*, in Mongol “wiles, stratagems”).



Dr. Dunlop does not express a firm opinion on the \*Arsiya guards (p. 94, but cf. p. 180), whereas a connection should be assumed between them and the Iranian Alān and Ās, who at an earlier date lived to the east of the Caspian, see Bīrūnī's *Tahdīd*, published by A.Z.V. Togan, *Memoirs of the Archeol. Survey of India*, No. 55, p. 56. The name \*Arsiya (Ās) is further to be linked with the ancient Aorsi (Alāns who lived south of Khwārazm, see *Tūrān* in *E.I.*).

For the *shamsa* which, according to Ibn Rusta, was carried before Ayshā (?), pp. 104-5, and which Dr. Dunlop translates as "a kind of disc", see the *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, 173, where a Daylamite compares the moon with "a gilded shield carried before the king on the march".

On the restoration of the name of the Khazar capital quoted by Ibn Khurdādhbih as \**Sārigh-sin* "Yellow tomb (?)", I expressed my views in the *Hudūd*, 453. Such a name referring to some funerary monument would be a parallel to the three towns in northern China called Khatun-sin (in Chinese *K'o-tun-ch'êng*), see Marvazī, p. 73. For the second element de Goeje's edition gives only the letters -s.n<sup>1</sup>, but the later and simplified name of the same place, *Saqsīn*, points to s.n/\*sīn. Another parallel to *Sārigh-sin* might be the former Russian name of Stalingrad: *Tsaritsīn*, said to be derived from a Turkic original *Sari-čin* (?) "Yellow island" (though I am unable to find such a word for an island). On the strange correspondence of *sārigh* "yellow" to Arabic *Bayḍa* "white", see above p. 125. Against the restoration of *H.b-baligh* as \**Khan-baligh*, Marquart had protested in *Komanen*, 71, and its identity with *Kh.mlīj* (*Kh.mlīkh*) is probable. The latter must have lain on the eastern bank of the Volga, for Ibn Khurdādhbih, 124, quotes it as the terminus of the road from Jurjān.

Barthold's assumption concerning Muslim al-Jarmī being the source of Jayhānī for northern countries (p. 107) should have only a limited effect. Although he is said to have reported on the Burjān, Abar, Burghar, Saqāliba, Khazar and others (*wa-ghayrihim*), see *Hudūd*, 419, we have to postulate some other (Persian) report on Daghestan and the Volga, in which such forms were used as *Bulkār* and *Burdās* (instead of Arabic *Bulghar* and *Burtās*), see *Hudūd*, 468.

An interesting fact about I. Rusta's tradition is that it names the *Tūlās* and \**Aughaz* (Abkhāz) situated on the western side of the Caucasian range as figuring among the Khazar dependencies. This detail suggests a period towards the end of the 8th century when the Khazars directly influenced the rise and the policy of the Abkhāz dynasty (which

<sup>1</sup> Arbitrarily changed by Marquart into *šahr*.

later ruled over most of Georgia), see Taqaishvili in *Jour.As.*, 1927, CCX, 357-68; S. N. Janashia 'On the rise of the Abkhazian kingdom' (in Russian), 1940, p. 152: "perhaps after A.D. 797"; C. Toumanoff, *Le Muséon*, 1956, 73-90.

D. thinks that Ibn Faḍlān's postscript on the Khazars (p. 109) has an indirect character and suggests that the traveller's information might have been derived from the Khazar Ibn Bashtwā (Bashto?) who was in the same party, although a Khazar would hardly be responsible for the "subjective colouring" which D. discovers in that part of Ibn Faḍlān's report. D. rightly stresses the coincidence of Ibn Faḍlān's statement that the khāqān is said to have 25 wives, "each a daughter of one of the kings who confront him", with the number of the kings subordinate to the khāqān, according to the Jewish sources (Eldad ha-Dani, 9th century).

The "Arabic" chapter ends (p. 115) with a reminder that Jewish influences in Khazaria had begun to be felt rather "before the middle of the 8th century", than only after A.D. 860 —the year in which the Slav apostle Constantine (Cyril) visited the Khazars. In fact Constantine's *Vita*, chapters VIII-X, Dvornik's transl. pp. 358-70, fully describes his discussions with learned Jews but seems to show the king as a kind of nondescript monotheist (cf. also the *Life of Abo*). D.'s conclusion is very cautiously formulated. In any case Judaism must have sat lightly on the Khazars if they were able to entertain friendly relations both with the Byzantines and the equally Christian Abkhazes.

On the Jewish side (*Chapter VI*) the chronology is still more shaky. Jehudah ha-Levi's claim that the conversion had taken place "four hundred" years before the date of his own book (written A.D. 1140) sounds neither "precise", nor "objective" (p. 119).

D. rather too willingly postulates the existence of Khazar "books" and quotes passages in the *Fihrist*, p. 20 (on the Hebrew script of the Khazars) and Fakhr al-din Mubārak-shāh, p. 46 (on twenty-one letters related to the script of the Rūs). There exists a one-page notice by Barthold (*Kultura i pismennost vostoka*, Baku 1929, IV, 17) in which he connects Fakhr al-din's statement with the script on the Greek [or runic? V.M.] basis which seems to have been used by the Russians before their conversion, and with St. Cyril's missionary activity among the Khazars. This hypothesis acquires importance in view of two recent discoveries of graffiti of Greek, or Cyrillic type. According to Artamonov (1952, p. 60) the original jug with inscriptions may hail from the Crimea, or the Taman peninsula, and the ductus of the script dates back to the



11th, or the end of the 10th century. The writing is pretty clear but still indecipherable! The other inscriptions which have been found on the Don are in runic script of a previously unknown variety. It includes 4 signs of the Orkhon alphabet and 4 signs of the type of the Pecheneg inscriptions of Nagy-Szent-Miklos. Whether the script can be attributed to the Khazars, or to some particular tribe of their federation, is still a guess, see Artamonov and Sčerbak, 1954. But all this is still a far cry from the existence of Khazar "books". (For references see below p. 144).

Most of *Chapter VI* is occupied with the controversy regarding the so-called "Khazar correspondence" between the Spanish scholar Ḥasdāy ibn Shaprut and the Khazar king of the time, which was published in a very careful edition by P. K. Kokovtsov, Leningrad 1932. "We shall not attempt a detailed criticism of the Correspondence", says D. (p. 125), though he presents a summary which is clear and courteous to the views of other scholars.

D. agrees with Kokovtsov's view (p. 131) that the Short and the Long versions of the Khazar king's letter are based on the same original text, which is "better preserved" in the Long version. He stresses the fact that the king's letter was referred to by Jehudah b. Barzillai (between 1090 and 1105), though this writer was clearly unwilling to commit himself about its genuineness. Having weighed all the *pros* and *cons* D. comes to the conclusion (p. 143) that Hasday's letter was actually sent to Khazaria some time between 954 and 961.

The chances of the authenticity of King Joseph's reply are also thoroughly explored. In the dual system of the Khazar kingship (p. 145) Joseph was rather the *khaqan* than the *bek*. Despite the credit which D. is disposed to give to the basic genuineness of the two replies, as against the objections formulated by Landau (p. 147), some inconsistencies (like the date of the conversion going back to A.D. 621!) are obvious (p. 151). The Arabisms used in the Hebrew text also render very likely its dependence from some written Arabic sources, at least in the interpolations (?).

The test to be applied to the Long Version would be a careful study of the 37 geographical names which are found in it, arranged in three groups (9 in southern Russia; 15 in the Caucasus and 13 in the Crimea). One wonders whether the Cheremis (Mari) whose name appears in the letter for the first time, could have paid tribute to the Khazars. The particularly careful indications concerning the Crimean south coast<sup>1</sup> have

<sup>1</sup> Vasiliev, *The Goths*, p. 132, finds that "Turko-Tatar" names in the Crimea are too early for the 10th century and believes that "the list of the thirteen geographic

several points of likeness with Idrisi's description (II, 395), see Kokovtsov's detailed commentary, pp. 103-12. The most difficult part of the Khazar frontier along the Caucasian range (15 names) remains extremely dark despite the comment by Kokovtsov, pp. 104-5.

Leaving aside the geographical analysis, D. applies to the text his own new test. The statistics of the two different syntactic constructions, namely "*waw* conversive with imperfect" and "simple *waw* with perfect", show an almost exclusive use of the latter in the Long Version (95 cases against one), in contrast to Ḥasdāy's letter (14 and 48), and the Short Version (50 and 37). Consequently D. claims first "a separate authorship" of the two royal letters, and then states (p. 154) that: "it is difficult to admit that the Reply of Joseph is in the main authentic". But if the Long and the Short Versions contain the same "basic" element, who is responsible for the different hands apparent in their style? D. quotes (p. 154) the astonishing reference to "Ḥasdāy b. Ishāq" 's authority found recently on a Map of Ibn Ḥauqal's work<sup>1</sup> though it does not make the matter much easier. The short note invokes Ḥasdāy's authority on what seems to be the Caucasian range which is connected with the mountains of Armenia and reaches *Khazarān*. The note adds that Ḥasdāy visited those parts and met their principal kings and notables. Despite the difference in the patronymics (*Ibn Ishāq*, instead of *Ibn Shaprut*), Ibn Ḥauqal, who in 361/971 visited Sicily, may have known the Jewish adviser to the Spanish caliph Ḥakam II (A.D. 961-6). However, Hasday ben Shaprut does not claim to have travelled so far east but only to have sent agents to get into touch with the Khazars.

As regards the additional "Cambridge fragment" discovered by Schnechter and referring to the conversion of the Khazars, D. (p. 156) is somewhat in two minds concerning Dubnow's hypothesis that it may correspond to the document mentioned by Jehudah Barzillai: "we have found a copy of another letter, which a Jew wrote in his own (*sic*) language in Constantinople . . . mentioning wars which occurred between the kings of Constantinople and king Aaron, likewise wars between the sons of the Gentiles and king Joseph, son of Aaron . . ." It should be added that Barzillai was hesitant about the letter: "but we do not know whether it was genuine or not", Kokovtsov, p. 129.

To the "Cambridge document" D. applies his syntactic test to find that its writer was different from the compiler of the Long Version, and he concludes the paragraph with a cautious statement that the document

---

points in Firkovich's MS. is really a later interpolation". The Crimea was the home of the discoverer of the MS., Firkovich!

<sup>1</sup> Ibn Hauqal, ed. Kramers, p. 193.

“appears to contain historical facts”. Kokovtsov’s expertise, p. XXXIV, was more definite, when he insisted on its being a later arrangement of Byzantine reports and of some facts culled from the Long Version, and quoted nine points of its stylistic similarities with *Josippon*. Of these counts only two are specifically considered by D. (pp. 162-3).

The name of the valley where, according to the “Cambridge fragment”, the Book of Law was found in a cave, *Tyzwl*, is restored by D. as *\*Tzur*, i.e. Bāb al-abwāb, Darband (pp. 158, 165). Indirectly such an interpretation might strengthen Dubnow’s reference to the report which, according to Barzillai, was written by “a Jew in his own language in Constantinople”, if the latter’s language was *Greek*. A letter-by-letter transcription of the Greek Τζουρ as *Tyzwl* would be likely. On second thoughts, I see, however, that Kokovtsov, p. 115, may be right in equating *Tyzwl* with *T.dlw* (*\*Tarqu*, *Tarku*) mentioned in the Long Version in connection with Semender, which was a Khazar town and lay very close to the Sarīr (see above). I think that this reference too was a part of Jewish speculations. Hasday rightly questioned the Khazar king on the location of Mt. Seir near Khazaria (Dunlop, p. 167). Such a misunderstanding with regard to a Biblical name is probably to be explained by the confusion of *Seir* with the *Sarīr*, Kokovtsov, 67.

In a long note (p. 160) *à propos* of the same document D. follows A.Z.V. Togan in attributing to the Khazar khaqan the origin from the Turkish family of Asena (Ashina). I must quote my *Addenda to the Hudūd*, BSOAS, 1955, XVII/2, 260-1, to explain why such a restoration seems to me impossible. *Ashina* is not mentioned in the better preserved parallel text and one can hardly expect such a revelation from the confused § 50 of the *Hudūd*. On the strength of the Arabic passage in Ibn Rusta, 139: *ولهم الملك يقال له ابشا* I think that the compiler of the Persian *Hudūd* misread the indistinctly written group *له* as *لد*, *walad* and translated it as *farzandān* “children”, while the original title of the Tarkhān-khāqān<sup>1</sup> should be composed with the rank of *shad* and read perhaps *\*Ay-shad*.

At the end of the chapter D. reverts to the theory that the first appearance of Judaism among the Khazars happened “some time before 112/730”. The date 112/730 is obtained by the arbitrary change of King Joseph’s “340 years ago” into \*240 years. Such alteration rather obscures the incongruity of the text.

<sup>1</sup> An improbable combination of a subaltern title (*tarkhan*) with the supreme title! *Shad* is also a rank of secondary importance.

In *Chapter VII* (pp. 171-221) the author goes back to the account of historical events interrupted on p. 87 and concentrates on the Byzantine-Khazar relations which began in the 7th century. The subject has been closely explored by Byzantine scholars, see e.g. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin*, 1933, pp. 148-211, and we shall mention here only a few details.

The name of the governor of Bosphorus (here the straits of Kerch) whom the Greeks called \*Βαλιτζις has been restored by Kokovtsov, XXXIV and 119, as \**baligčī* "the town warden" (from Turkish *balig* "town"). Such an interpretation, however, is not wholly clear in Turkish. With the same right, *balig* "fish" would be an appropriate candidate for the etymology *baligčī*, as "fisherman, someone having to do with fish"; even "the inspector of fisheries" would not sound out of place at the gate of the Azov sea. It is curious that the terms \*Βαλιτζις and *bulšatsi* (of the Cambridge document), whatever their phonetic differences, are referred to the same geographical area. On the other hand, *balgitzis*, in view of its topicality, seems to be different from the Khazar name (or title) of *Blučan* mentioned in Caucasian sources and in the *History of Bāb al-abwāb*. Finally the name of the king Bulan should not be connected (p. 161) with any of the just mentioned ranks. In Turkish *bulan* means "an elk", Budagov, I, 289; and Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 109, mentions a bearer of this(?) name among the Barghut.

Concerning the place where in 695 Justinian II sought refuge with the khaqan, D. quotes Theophanes, 547: "Phanagoria and the Jews living there", which passage contains a clue to the identity of Ibn Faqīh's (p. 271) *Samkws* (read: \**Samkars*) *al-Yahūd*. As *Karts* and *Samkarts* are quoted side by side in King Joseph's letter, *Karts* (Ibn Rusta, 143: the slave market of كرخ read \**كرج*) corresponds exactly to Kerch (old Russian *Korchev*), and *Samkarts* must be Phanagoria (or Tmutarakan) on the opposite side of the strait. The element *sam-* is still mysterious but can be compared with that found in several other names, as for example, in one of the numerous appellations of Kiev: *Sam-batas* (Const. Porphy., ch. 9).

The early dates of the first Byzantine-Khazar contacts are astonishing. Already in 705 a Khazar princess was crowned as empress in Constantinople. The name of her brother Ἰβουζήρος Γλιαβανος (several variants) is still a puzzle and the Turkish etymologies so far proposed for it are unconvincing. The sources show the Khazars fully controlling the Crimea. The explanation of the politics of Leo the Isaurian (p. 177) is somewhat involved. D. links up his persecution of the Jews with the conversion

of the Khazars to Judaism, but in the same breath reports that “some-what later” Leo married his son to the Khazar princess \*Čiček who arrived in 732. He adds that, when Theophanes says that “having learned the sacred letters, she became distinguished for piety”, it is probable that the reference is to the Hebrew Bible, though such atavistic fervour would be too early even in the light of the conversion date restored by D.

The attempt made after the advent of the Abbasids to mollify the Khazars (p. 179) ended unhappily and the Khazars under Ās (Rās)-tarkhan (*Hudūd*, 451), apparently the chief of the Arisiya (Arsiya) guards, invaded Daghestan.

There are several more recent translations of St. Abo’s Life (p. 181) <sup>1</sup>. The *Vita* does not contain any reference to the creed of the Khazars about 780, except that they “have no religion, though they recognise the creator God”. The distance of 3 days from the residence of the Khazar king to Abkhazia should be restored as \*3 months, see Kekelidze’s translation, p. 49.

In 786-7 the Khazars were active in the Crimea but kept quiet elsewhere till the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, when, with the connivance of a disaffected Muslim warden of Darband, they suddenly invaded Transcaucasia and in 799 caused formidable devastation in the lands of Islam. At that time (p. 185) the khaqan was still “represented apparently as a heathen, not a Jew”, but D. thinks that this is no evidence for the Khazar conversion “(having) not yet taken place”. It is interesting that at the same time the Christian ruler of Abkhazia, with the help of the Khazar khaqan (his mother’s father) proclaimed his independence (p. 185) from Byzantium. Such association would also be hardly compatible with the divisions obtaining among established religions, namely Christianity and Judaism.

Another astonishing fact is the help of the Byzantines in building for the Khazars (about 833) the fortress of Sharkil/Sarkel (see above). Its ruins have been identified near the estuary of a left tributary of the Don, whose Russian name *Sakarka* must have preserved the last echo of the ancient appellation.

Curiously enough even the story referring to the period of 813-33, which D. found in Tanūkhī’s *Mustajād* (end of the 10th century), “does not imply Khazar Judaism” (p. 188).

P. 187: it is difficult to understand how on palaeographical grounds *Qyzwy*, mentioned by Muqaddasī, 51, could correspond to the Kywān of the *Derbend-nāmeḥ* (the reference should be corrected: \*Kazem-Beg, p. 23).

<sup>1</sup> By Peeters (in French) 1934; by K. Kekelidze (in Russian), Tiflis 1956, and by D. Lang, *Lives and legends of the Georgian saints*, 1956, pp. 115-33.

P. 189. Afshīn was not a "Turk" of Ushrushāna but an offspring of the ancient local Iranian dynasty. Nor can the term *majūs* applied to the Northmen of Spain refer to their "Zoroastrianism", but to the popular explanation of their custom of cremating their dead, see Minorsky, *Rūs* in *E.I.*, Tāhir Marvazī, pp. \*22 and 117, and Melvinger, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident*, Uppsala 1955, corrections p. 3 (*ad* p. 81).

D. is right (p. 191) in doubting the authenticity of the report of the interpreter Sallām whom the caliph Wāthiq is said to have sent as a scout to the Wall of Gog and Magog (see I. Khurdādhbih, Ibn Rusta, Muqaddasī). The name of the governor of Tiflis is right but even within the limits of the Caucasus the movements of Sallām are somewhat erratic and may be based on hearsay. By "the Tarkhan, king of the Khazars" to whom the Filān-shāh wrote a letter of introduction (Muqaddasī, 362) the narrator probably means the Khazar lieutenant in Varač'an (Bashlī). The remainder of Chapter VII records a number of sundry references to the Khazars after the second Arab-Khazar war. The report of Tabarī, III, 80, on the flight (in 134/751) of an Arab governor in India (Hind) to the Khazars is very suspect. Quite probably خزر stands here for جر. Jurz, i.e. the Gurjara Pratihara dynasty of Qinnauj (Kanoj), cf. I. Khurdādhbih, 16, 67, I. Rusta, 135, *Hudūd*, 250.

The period of Arab flirtation with the Khazars was very short and Rās-tarkhan (\*Ās-tarkhān, cf. *Hudūd*, 451), presumably the eponym of the later *Astrakhan* (old Russian *Aztorkan*) invaded Daghestan. (Cf. above *al-Arisiya*).

P. 194. The enquiry made by the Khazars in Constantinople concerning Christianity and the sending of Constantine (St. Cyril) to Khazaria by the Patriarch Photius in 860 must be added to the series of the facts concerning Khazar broadmindedness (see above), but this time, the disputation with Constantine is conducted by the Jewish doctors from the entourage of the king. D. puts the case rather stiffly when he says (p. 194) that his investigation "has throughout tended towards the rehabilitation" of the Hebrew traditions and therefore up to 861 the cases of Abo and Constantine "are of little weight". In fact their weight is in showing that Judaism was not firmly established among the Khazars.

The payment of a tribute to the Khazars by the four Slav tribes: Polyané, Severyané, Radimichi and Vyatichi is referred to in the Russian Annals (under the years 862, 884, 885, 964) but D. rightly points out that Kiev is not mentioned in the list of King Joseph's tributaries



(hardly “possessions” as on p. 198). There has lately been a tendency on the Russian side (Prof. B. A. Rībakov) to tone down the record of the Annals, though it is important in explaining the resentment of Kiev against the pressure and encroachments of the eastern neighbours which led to the deadly blow dealt to them by Svyatoslav in 965.

The summary of the Khazar-Magyar relations (pp. 196-204) is a useful reminder of the considerable role played by the Khazars in the steppes of southern Russia down to the middle of the 9th century.

The conclusion of Chapter VII (pp. 204-21) consists of good translations of the basic texts of Mas‘ūdī and Ibn Ḥauqal, with references to some later and less instructive writers like al-Gharnāṭī, Benjamin of Tudela and Rabbi Petahiah. However, the picking out of special paragraphs without the supporting evidence of the context, especially in the case of Mas‘ūdī, has certain disadvantages, which are not compensated for by quotations from various commentators presented in a kind of peaceful coexistence.

The term *Saqāliba* (p. 205) has been dealt with rather one-sidedly by A. Z. V. Toğan and needs a complete re-consideration. There may have been some confusion in the minds of the Arabs concerning the nations of Eastern Europe, but among the eastern Finns they specially distinguished a number of tribes (Burtās, Visū, Yūra) <sup>1</sup>.

P. 207: in Persian, *ḥākīm* (*Ḥudūd*, § 50) had to be translated as “governor”. *Nahr al-Khazar* is better than *baḥr al-Khazar* and the ambivalence of *baḥr* in Arabic may be also responsible for the confusion in the Hebrew letter (Kokovtsov, 31, lines 9-10), where the king says that he lives “by the river called Itil, at the end of the *river* (read: *sea*!) of Gurgān.” Concerning the *al-Nm̄k.rda* (p. 212) it may be asked whether their origin should not be looked for in Novgorod <sup>2</sup>, rather than in Lombardy. The Arab superiority complex with regard to the Khazars etc. (p. 217) is reflected in Abū Dulaf’s derisive verse on the *Khalanjiya*, cf. V. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf’s second risāla*, Cairo 1955, p. 25. P. 218: on al-Gharnāṭī—who certainly visited Hungary, see Dubler, *Abū Ḥāmid el Granadino*, Madrid 1953; cf. now the pertinent remarks by I. Hrbek, *Ein arabischer Bericht über Ungarn*, in *Acta Orientalia Hung.*, V/3, 2-5-30. The parallel administrative employment of the Khazars and Farghānians (*al-Farāghina*) in Baghdad awaits further amplification (p. 219, cf. also 190 and 230).

<sup>1</sup> See in more detail V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvan and Darband*, 1958, pp. 108-16.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the role played in the steppes by the freebooters *brodniki*, at a somewhat later date.

In a field as wide and as little covered by the available sources, the smallest details need careful and independent investigation.

In *Chapter VIII* (pp. 222-36) the author gives a careful digest of the data on Khazar products, trade and revenue, and tries to elucidate the factors which led to the rapid disruption of the Khazar state, such as the variety of religions practised in the dominions of the Khaqan (p. 222), ethnical differences among the population (p. 224), open frontiers (p. 234), and limited material resources (p. 224), the principal kinds of goods (including slaves, p. 227) being of foreign origin. The Khazars do not seem to have been a maritime nation (p. 228), nor have any Khazar coins been found as yet (p. 233).

Going a stage further, we might say that the Khazar state, with few centres of population had a semi-nomad character. The balance of its component parts was unsteady. The central dominant kernel (the *White* or the *Black* Khazars?) was not strong enough to control the fissiparous nature of a loose federation. Still less had the Khazars elaborated any national culture which might have served as an attraction and a unifying influence for their subjects. The time itself (the 9-10th century) when various peoples and tribes were moving westwards across the plains of Southern Russia, with the inevitable frictions and struggles accompanying such migrations, was unfavourable for the survival of the groups which could not be considered as the fittest.

This brings us to the concluding *Chapter IX* (pp. 237-63) in which the shrinking and the collapse of the Khazar state are traced.

To the statement (p. 237) that the beginning of the Russian raids down the Volga "cannot be stated positively", we may add that the only Russian expedition, of which we have a detailed record in Mas'ūdī, did not come from the Upper Volga but from the Azov sea and the Don. In fact we enter here a much debated field which requires competence in special sources.

D. dismisses (p. 237) the story of (pseudo-) Wāqidi, according to which the Slavs, under the Russian (Rūs) king called *Qanātīr*, fought on the Greek side in the battle of Yarmūk (A.D. 636). In itself the presence of a Slav contingent in the Byzantine army is not impossible and only "the Russian king" must be a later interpolation. D. rightly confronts the name of *Qanātīr* with that of the Russian king *Qintāl* figuring in Persian poetry (Nizāmī, *Iskandar-nāma*). I think that all these variants are mere mis-readings of the original *qinnāz*, *qināz* i.e. князь (from Scandinavian "cunningen") which figures in Ibn Khurdādhbih, 17.



D. enumerates the oldest records of the Russian raids on the Caspian in the reign of Sayyid Ḥasan (A.D. 864-884) and in 297/910, see I. Isfandiyār, ed. A. Eghbal, p. 266. It is better, however, to distinguish the reconnaissance of 910, with 16 ships, from a more serious expedition of 298/911 which was destroyed by the Gilanians and the Sharvān-shāh<sup>1</sup>. It is noteworthy that the expedition "some time after 300/912", so dramatically described by Mas'ūdī, II, 19-24, was organised in connivance with the Khazars. Mas'ūdī attributes its destruction to the zeal of the Khazar Muslims who wished to avenge the sufferings of their co-religionists of the south coast of the Caspian, but the attraction of the booty brought away by the Russians must have also played its part in the undoing of the previous agreement with the king. It is not correct to say that on this expedition the Rus "got as far as Ardabil" which lies too far inland (compare pp. 210 and 239). The next invasion of 943 is fully described in Miskawayh, II, 62-7, whose report cannot be weakened by the statement attributed to King Joseph, namely that he "denies the passage to the Russians . . . who (Short Version) would destroy all the country of the Arabs as far as Baghdad". Whether this boast of the Khazar king would have impressed the Córdoba court is a matter of some doubt. In any case the role of the Khazars as protectors of Baghdad is entirely opposite to what Mas'ūdī says in a passage (II, 72), which seems to have escaped D.'s notice. In it Mas'ūdī puts his trust in Bāb al-abwāb (Darband), but for which "the kings of the *Khazar*, the Allān, the Sarīr and the Turks would invade Transcaucasia and even Iraq", the latter being mentioned perhaps in recollection of the events of 730 (p. 69). D. assumes (p. 241) that after 943 the Khazars "may have decided" to close the river to Russian war-fleets and thus provoked Svyatoslav's blow some 20 years later, but this is only a hypothesis begging the question.

D. very closely follows the implications of the record of the Russian Annals which for 965 is unluckily very brief. There is, however, a serious misunderstanding in his quotation. The Laurentian Codex of the Annals, written in 1377, (see the new edition, Moscow, 1950, I. 47) has: "and the battle took place and Svyatoslav defeated the Khazars and took their town *and* (sic) Bēla-Veža" (*not*: their city *of* Bēla-Veža)". The text suggests that two centres (one on the Volga, and one on the Don) were taken (cf. *ibid.*, II, 311). This version brings the testimony of the Russian Annals closer to Ibn Ḥauqal's report and thus renders unnecessary

<sup>1</sup> The surmise (p. 247) that in Ibn Isfandiyār Shirwan Shah stands for the "king of the Khazars" is a misunderstanding. Ibn Isfandiyār, ed. A. Eghbal, 266, definitely wishes to say that it was the "Sharvānshāh pādshāh" who in 298/910 destroyed on the sea the remnants of the Rūs retreating from Gilan along the coast.

Marquart's contradictory commentaries in *Streifzüge*, pp. 3 and 474.

A curious side of Khazar politics is seen in their relations with Khwārazm (p. 244). Barthold has drawn attention to the passage of Miskawayh, II, 2-9, in which under 354/965 it is said that the Khazars being attacked by the "Turks" sought the help of Khwārazm, whose ruler requested them to become Muslims. There is no doubt that in this case "the Turks" stand for "the Russians", who in Arab classification figure among the northern "Turks". The date 965 is decisive for Svyatoslav's expedition. We know that the Khazar guards (*\*al-Arsiya*) were recruited from a class of natives of Khwārazm, but the conditions set by the Khwarazmians as a price for their help at a critical moment indicate that in general the relations between them and the Khazars were not very sincere.

It was Barthold again who (against Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 3) explained that "Ma'mūn", mentioned by Muqaddasī, 361, as having led an Islamic expedition (*ghazw*) from Jurjāniya (Gurgānj in Khwārazm), was not the homonymous caliph but the amir of the left bank of the Oxus. D. rightly recalls a variant in the same author, (p. 370-1, note) where it is stated that the *ṣāhib al-Jurjāniya* frequently overpowered Khazar towns (p. 247). "Ma'mūn" is also mentioned in a third passage of Muqaddasī, 288, recorded by Barthold. D. (p. 247, n. 57) is slightly surprised at the reference to "Ma'mūn" some time before he attained the dignity of Khwārazm-shāh. In fact the genealogy of the "Ma'mūnids" of Khwārazm is little known before 382/992 when Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī is stated to have assisted the Samanid Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr, see M. Nāzīm, *Sulṭān Maḥmūd*, 1931, 56. It is not impossible that "Ma'mūn" in Muqaddasī refers to the family, in which the name *Ma'mūn* occurs several times and the succession does not seem to have been in a direct line.

In any case Svyatoslav's attack apparently eliminated the Khazar khaqans, and their capital was later re-born under the simplified name of Saqsīn. Judaism is mentioned no more at the estuary of the Volga, and the Khazar Jewish doctors mentioned at the time of the acceptance of Christianity by the Russians must have been emissaries from the Khazar group surviving in the Crimea (p. 251). *Mutatis mutandis* the whole story of the religious debates in Kiev is strangely reminiscent of the disputation of several creeds in the presence of the khaqan before he accepted Judaism, see Kokovtsov, pp. 78, 95.

After 965 the attention of Svyatoslav was diverted towards the Danube, and we cannot say which group of tribes, whether connected with Khwārazm or not, lorded it over the estuary of the Volga. Barthold's doubts concerning the "Khazars" who were among the aggressors defeated by

the Sharvān-shāh (possibly A.D. 1174), as stated in an ode of Khāqānī, need not disturb us, for the term was naturally applied to the remnants of the earlier Khazar federation (especially to the rulers of Qaydāq in Daghestan). Moreover, we now know much more about the struggles going on between the amirs of Darband and the rulers of Sharvān and about the repeated Russian raids from the north registered under A.D. 987, 989 and 1030, and linking up with the time of Khāqānī, see Minorsky, *Rus v Zakavkazyé* in *Izvestiya na instituta za Bulgarska istoriya*, 1954, V, 377-80, and *A History of Sharvān and Darband*, 1958, p. 108. These facts show that either the new masters of Saqsīn were not unfavourable to the Rūs, or that the latter had a base of their own in the north-western corner of the Caspian.

The prince Georgius Tzulos (p. 257) against whom a Byzantine-Russian expedition was sent to Khazaria (Crimea?) in 1016 (?) is still a mysterious figure. The element *Tzul* of his name sounds like the Turkish title *čur/čor*, which is possibly reflected in one of the names of Darband: Č'or (in Armenian), though there is no need whatever to connect Georgius with Darband (p. 252).

The prince of Upper Media whom Cedrenus (II, 464) mentions immediately after the episode of Georgius Tzulos, has no connection with the Tsanars, or the Khazars, as suggested by D. The text is clear: Σεναχηρείμ ὁ τῆς Ἀνω Μηδίας ἄρχων, ἦν Ἀσπουρακανίαν ὀνομάζουσι i.e. Senek'erim of Vaspurakan who in 1021 ceded his possessions to the emperor Basil. Cf. Baron Rosen, *Imperator Vasiliy Bolgaroboytsa*, 1881, p. 62, and the annexed Arabic text of Yahyā al-Anṭākī, p. 52.

Indeed some confusion might result from the fact that at the same period there existed another, and more illustrious, Giorgi, king of Abkhazia (in this case western Georgia), who was trying to recover some districts in Armenia annexed by the emperor, which fact led to a Byzantine expedition against him. This Abkhazian Giorgi was the son-in-law of the above mentioned Senek'erim. In the two principal sources the order of events is different: Cedrenus, II, 464, speaks first of Georgius Tzulos, then immediately after of Senek'erim, and then rather briefly, II, 477, 478, of Giorgi of Abkhazia; on the other hand, Yahyā gives a detailed account of Giorgi (*Jirjīs*), then mentions Sanḥarīb, and keeps silent on Georgius Tzoulos. In any case, the item in Cedrenus is very circumstantial. He says that the expedition sent to Khazaria was under the command of Mongus, son of Andronicus, duke of Lydia, who was assisted by Sfengus, brother of Vladimir of Kiev. Though Sfengus is otherwise unknown, the expedition seems to have pursued the common interests of the two brothers-in-law, the emperor Basil and Vladimir; and this

could have happened only in the neighbourhood of the Crimea, see A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in Crimea*, 1936, p. 136.

These details show the pitfalls to be met with within the vast range of problems connected with the Khazars.

D. (p. 253) is unnecessarily cautious about the clash of Faḍlūn al-Kurḍī (of Ganja) with "the Khazars" in 421/1030, for the historical background shows that in this case not the Khazars (خزر) but the Georgians (جرز *Jurz*) are meant, cf. Minorsky, *Studies*, 1954, p. 42.

P. 253. In 1078 the ruling Russian prince in Tmutarakan, on the eastern side of the strait of Kerch, was Roman, son of Svyatoslav. His brother Oleg sought refuge with him. In 1079 Roman with the Polovtsi (Comani) marched on Kiev but had to return and was killed by the Polovtsi. Meanwhile the "Khazars" seized Oleg and sent him to Constantinople. Whether in this case the obsolescent term *Khazar* stands for Polovtsi, is not clear, for in 1083 Oleg returned and slew the *Khazars* who had taken part in his brother's murder (*beše svetnitse na ubienie*), while we know that he had been slain by the *Polovtsi*, see the Russian Annals, 1950, p. 135.

Of the two generals sent by the Kiev prince against the Polovtsi in 1106, one in fact was called "Ivanko Zakharyč, the Khazar". He was surely a fully Russianised man, though his father's name, Zachariah, might suggest some complications in his ancestry. However, the appellation "Khazar" might be a merely traditional name for a native of the Azov region.

A little-known Genizah document (p. 255) speaks of a Jewish pretender who arose in the mountains of "Khazaria" (?), in the days of the ruler called Afdal. Leaving aside the identification of the prophet, one must admit that by a "ruler" some prince, and not a vizier, must have been meant, and in these conditions the name of Afdal Nūr al-dīn 'Alī of Damascus (1186-96) might be considered<sup>1</sup>. The other similar document (p. 256) is too vague, and in general, the reference to "Khazaria" may point only to the direction in which the believers, recalling the fame of the Khazar kingdom, were turning their eyes. One remembers the geographical vagueness of the Christian expectations of help from Prester John.

While the Volga Khazars must have been submerged by the newcomers (Polovtsi?), in the Caucasus a Khazar island may have survived among the Khaydāq (Qaytaq), north of Darband, cf. Minorsky, *History*

<sup>1</sup> I learn from BSOAS, 1955, XVII/3, that this conclusion had been already arrived at by Prof. S. D. Goitein.

of *Sharvan*, 1958, p. 32. Now that we know of several Russian raids on the Caspian sea in the 10th century, there is nothing extraordinary in Khāqānī's praise of the Sharvānshāh (see above) who repulsed the Russians and Khazars, in which case the latter might have been connected with Khaydāq. Nizāmī (whose recently found tombstone gives the date of his death as 4th Ramadan 605/12 March 1209) <sup>1</sup> was a romantic poet and described Alexander the Great as fighting the Russians in the Caucasus! His mentioning the Russians and the Khazars (p. 256) has no historical importance, except perhaps as an echo of the event referred to by Khāqānī.

P. 258, read \**Sanjar* for *Sinjar* (which is a place name). The story of the eponym of the Seljuks, *Sarjuk*, who assaulted the Khazar khaqan (reported by Ibn Ḥassūl), is a legend which may have a grain of truth in it: the ancestors of the Seljuks lived on the lower course of the Sīr-darya whence to reach the Volga was as easy as from Khwārazm, and the Ghuz, pushing westwards, were the nearest neighbours of the Khazars; see *Hudūd*, § 19 <sup>2</sup>.

The suggestion that the biblical names of the early Seljuks may have a Khazar origin (p. 261) is interesting and is not controverted by the existence of a later Turk Ḥājji Isrā'īl discovered by Cl. Cahen. Concerning the choice of the name Isrā'īl it may be remarked that three of its consonants correspond to those in *Arslan* (the original name of Ḥājji Isrā'īl). To postulate the existence of a "synagogue" among the Ghuz on the ground of a vague reference to a "house of worship" which they had seems to be going too far.

The likely connection of the Crimean Karaïtes with the Khazars, if my recollections are correct, was particularly stressed by Prof. V.D. Smirnov. The similar origin of the Polish Karaïtes cannot be contested by references (p. 262) to the characteristics of eastern Yiddish, for a Turkish dialect (apparently of Qipchaq origin) has survived among them. Even somatically many Karaïtes would not be easily confused with Semites.

As already stated, Dr. Dunlop in his work has not proposed to reveal any striking new facts. Regarding the Hebrew documents, he himself acknowledges the excellence of the late P. K. Kokovtsov's edition, and

<sup>1</sup> See Berthels, *Nizami*, 1956, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> On this episode, apparently derived from the *Malik-nāmeḥ*, see Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-nāmeḥ*, in *Oriens*, 1949, II/1, p. 42, who does not wish to attach to the term *khazar* a too strict meaning: "on peut admettre qu'il s'agit géographiquement d'un chef de ce territoire entre la Basse Volga et la Mer d'Aral, naguère sous la vague dépendance des Khazars, et socialement d'un chef turc non-musulman, peut-être semi-sédentaire".

it does not yet seem possible to go beyond the dispassionate conclusions of that distinguished scholar. For all that, we should be grateful to Dr. Dunlop for his painstaking and conscientious digest of the scattered material in many languages. The earnestness and patience with which he has reviewed the opinions of his predecessors are also praiseworthy. No other contemporary work treats the Khazar problem in such detail. The texts translated by Dr. Dunlop will be welcomed by interested researchers and historians. He may have been eclectic in his notes, but he has also made some useful suggestions.

The bibliography at the end of the book is comprehensive and one should add to it perhaps only the popular lecture on the Khazars by the late J. M. Kramers, included in his *Analecta Orientalia*, Leiden 1954, I, 130-43. For the special Karaite point of view see now S. Szyszman, *Les Khazars, Problèmes et controverses*, in *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, oct.-déc. 1957, pp. 174-221. Archeology is not treated in Dr. Dunlop's book and as, on the other hand, he himself (p. 237) complains of the difficulty of finding Russian literature on the subject, I wish to complete his list by a few additional articles in Russian which have seen the light in recent years, especially as they mostly bear on archeology.

- V. Parkhomenko, 'The Kievan Rus and the Khazars', *Slavia*, 1927, VI, 380-7.  
 M. I. Artamonov, 'Sarkel and some other fortified places in north-western Khazaria', *Sov. Arkheologiya*, 1940, VI, 130-67.  
 B. T. Goryanov, 'Vizantiya i khazari', *Istor. zapiski*, 1945, vol. 15, 262-77.  
 A. Yakubovsky, 'On Russian-Khazar and Russian-Caucasian relations in the 9th-10th cent.', *Izvestiya Akad. Nauk*, histor. series, 1946, No. 5, 461-72.  
 V. V. Ginzburg, 'Some anthropological data on the ethnogenesis of the Khazars', *Soviet. ethnografiya*, 1946, No. 2, 81-5 (a preliminary communication on the results of the excavations of 1934-9).  
 A. Yakubovsky, 'On the historical geography of Itil and Bulgar in the 9th-10th cent.', *Soviet. Arkheologiya*, 1948, X, 255-70.  
 M. I. Artamonov, 'On excavations in Sarkel', *Voprosi istorii*, 1949, No. 10, 138-43, and 1951, No. 4, 147-51.  
 M. I. Artamonov, 'Belaya Veza (Sarkel)', *Sov. Arkheologiya*, 1952, XVI, 42-76.  
 M. I. Artamonov, 'Inscriptions on the flasks of the Novocherkassk Museum', *Sov. Arkheologiya*, 1954, XIX, 263-8; followed by A. M. Ščerbak, 'On the modes of reading the Runic inscriptions found on the Don' (first essay of decipherment), *ibid.*, 264-82.  
 K. F. Smirnov, 'The burial of Aghač-kala near Buynaksk as a record of Khazar culture in Daghestan', *Krat. soobsč. Instituta mater. kul'turi*, 1951, XXXVIII, 113-9.  
 B. A. Ribakov, 'Russians and Khazars', in *Sbornik B. D. Grekovu*, 1952, 76-88.  
 B. A. Ribakov, 'On the role of the Khazar kaghate in the history of Russia', *Soviet. Arkheologiya*, 1953, XVIII, 128-50 (cf. also his preliminary report in *Izv. Akad. Nauk S.S.S.R.*, historical series, May 1952, IX/3, 309-10). The author

diminishes the political role of the Khazars and the extent of their territories. In his geographical exposition he uses K. Miller's reconstruction of the map of Idrisi. The latter wrote in 1154, nearly two centuries after the collapse of the Khazar kingdom and the genuineness of the available maps is questionable. Besides the readings of the place-names by K. Miller are imperfect.

- A. M. Ščerbak, 'Znaki na keramike iz Sarkela', *Epigrafiika Vostoka*, 1958, XII, pp. 52-8. (The signs found on the ceramics from Sarkel appear to have an alphabetic character, many of them belong to the type used in the inscriptions found on the Don and the Talas, and also in the "Pecheneg" inscriptions of Hungary.)



## *Ahl-i Hakḳ*\*

\* This material, which is presented solely for educational/research purposes, appeared in *The Encyclopedia of Islam* 1(1960), pp. 260-263.

[Page 260]

religious life of the Muslims by ridding it of its innovations, superstitions and unnatural accretions, (2) their active promotion of the study of Ḥadīth literature, the importance of which had already been recognized by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Muḥaddith of Delhi [q.v.], and (3) their polemics against the Ārya-Samādjist Hindus, the Christian missionaries and the Aḥmadīs (Kādiyānīs).

**Bibliography:** Şiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Tardju-mān-i Wahhābiyya*, Agra 1300; Muḥsin al-Mulḳ Sayyid Maḥdī 'Alī Khān, *Ta'riḳh-i Taḥlīd awr 'Amal bi 'l-Ḥadīth*, Aligarh 1906; M. Ṭhanā Allāh, *Ahl-i Ḥadīth kā Maḍḥhab*, Amritsar 1926; Abū Yaḥyā Imām Khān, *Tarādjīm-i 'Ulamā'-i Ḥadīth-i Hind*, Delhi 1356; idem, *Ahl-i Ḥadīth kī 'Ilmī Khidmāt*, Delhi 1937; Naḍīm al-Ghānī Khān, *Maḍḥāhib al-Islām*, Lucknow 1924, 611-22; Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Hindustān mēn 'Ilm Ḥadīth* in the *Ma'ārif*, xxii, Azamgarh 1928; Maṣ'ūd 'Ālam Nadwī, *Islām kī Pehlī Siyāsi Tahrik*, Rawalpindi 1368, 21-31; S. M. Ikrām, *Mawḍi Kawḥar*, Bombay, 48-55; M. Ibrāhīm Mīr Siālḳotī, *Ta'riḳh-i Ahl-i Ḥadīth*, Lahore 1953; *Falāwā Ṭhanā'iyya*, ed. M. Dā'ūd Rāz, Bombay 1372. (All the preceding works are in Urdu.) Shāh Walī Allāh, *Hudūd al-Allāh al-Bāliḡa*, Cairo 1352, i, 147-62; Şiddīḳ Ḥasan Khān, *Hidāyat al-Sā'il ilā Adillat al-Masā'il*, 1292 A.H.; Shaykh Aḥmad al-Makkī, *Ta'riḳh Ahl al-Ḥadīth*, lithographed at Lahore; Murray Titus, *Indian Islam*, 1930, 187-9; H. A. R. Gibb (editor), *Whither Islam?*, London 1932; W. C. Smith, *Modern Islam in India*, Lahore 1947; H. A. R. Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam*, Chicago 1946. (SH. INAYATULLAH)

**AHL-I ḤAḲḲ**, "Men of God", a secret religion prevalent mainly in western Persia. Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ would seem to be a rather imprecise name for this sect, because it is used, for example, by the Hurūfīs (see Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hurūfīs*, 1909, 40), and because it has an affinity with such ṣūfī terms as *Ahl-i Ḥaḳīqa*, a term which is also used by the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. In the strict sense, however, Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the name properly given to initiates of the religion described in the present article. The name 'Alī Ilāhī [q.v.] applied to them by their neighbours is an unsuitable title, because 'Alī is not the dominant figure in the religion of the Ahl-i Hakḳ, and further because the term 'Alī Ilāhī

still limited (besides being often in dialect and bristling with abstruse terms) and secondly from the existence of numerous subsects. The Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ church has no canonical unity, but resembles rather a federation of associated movements (see a provisional list of these subdivisions in Minorsky, *Notes*, 46 [33]). There are twelve main *khānadāns* or *silsilas* (v. infra), but there are branches which are not included in this list, cf. the Sayyid Djalālī (Minorsky, *Notes*, 48 [35]) and the Tūmārī (a highly abnormal group) (Minorsky, *Études*, I). The account by Gobineau, the *Firḳān* and the text published by W. Ivanow reveal a religious system more philosophical than the naive legends of the *Sarandjām* (in the Ātash-begī version). Since, at the moment, however, this branch is better known to us, the following account will be based primarily on the Ātash-begī documents, to be supplemented later by material from the *Firḳān*, the author of which was a *Khāmūshī* (?).

The Dogmas. The central point in the dogmas of the Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ is the belief in the successive manifestations of the Divinity, the number of these being seven. The manifestations of God are compared to garments put on by the Divinity: "to become incarnate" means "to come (to dwell) in a garment" (*libās*, *djāma*, *dūn* < Turk. \**don*).

On each occasion the Divinity appears with a following of Four (or Five) Angels (*yārān-i Ār-malak*) with whom he forms a close group.

The table of theophanies according to the MS. of the *Sarandjām* is given below.

In pre-eternity (*azal*) the Divinity was enclosed in a Pearl (*durr*). He made his first external appearance in the person of Khāwandagār, the Creator of the world. The second avatar was in the person of 'Alī. From the beginning of the third epoch the list becomes quite original and typically Ahl-i Ḥaḳḳ. The first four epochs correspond to the stages of religious knowledge: *sharī'a*, *ṭarīqa*, *ma'rifa* and *ḥaḳīqa*. According to all branches of the sect, the representative of the last and the highest stage is Sulṭān Şohāk. On the other hand, several differences of opinion regarding the successors of Sulṭān Şohāk are recorded.

Just as the divine essence reappears in each of the seven "garments", the angels (cf. the vertical columns in the table) are avatars of one another.



is also used in relation to sects whose connection with the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ has not yet been established.

The only reliable method is to describe the sect on the basis of the authentic sources, supplemented by material drawn from the narratives of travellers. The difficulties of this task arise firstly from the fact that the number of texts available is

For this reason their names are interchangeable and Salmān is often spoken of in the epoch of Sulṭān Ṣohāk or Benyāmīn in the epoch of Khāwandagār. The angels are emanations of the Divinity: the first of them was produced by Khāwandagār from his armpit, the second from his mouth, the third from his breath, the fourth and

	I	II	III	IV	V
1. Khāwandagār	Djibrā'il	Mikā'il	Isrā'īl	'Azrā'il	?
2. Murtaḡā 'Alī	Salmān	Ḳanbar	Ḥaḡrat-i Muḥammad	Nuṣayr	Fāṭima
3. Shāh Khoshīn	Bābā Buzurg	Kākā Redā (Riḡā)	Kore-Faḡl	Bābā Ṭāhir	Māmā Djālāla
4. Sulṭān Ṣohāk	Benyāmīn	Dāwūd	Pīr-i Mūsī	Muṣṭafā Dowdān	Khātūn Dāyira
5. Kīrmīzī (Shāh Ways Ḳulī)	Kāmarīdjān	Yāridjān	Yārall	Shāh Sawār Aḡha	Razbār
6. Mamad-beg	Djamshīd-beg	Almās-beg	Abdāl-beg	?	Parī-khān-i Shart
7. Khān Ātash	Khān Djamshīd	Khān Almās	Khān Abdāl	?	Dūstī Khānum

[261]

# AHL-I ḤAḡḡ

261

fifth from his perspiration and his light respectively (cf. the *Sarandjām*). According to another version, Benyāmīn was created from the perspiration, which is characteristic of modesty; Dāwūd — from the breath (anger); Mūsī — from the moustache (pity); Razbār — from the pulse (charity). The angels play the part of ministers to the Divinity: Benyāmīn is the deputy (*wakīl*) and the *pīr*; Dāwūd is the overseer (*nāzīr*) and judge (?); Pīr Mūsī is the *wazīr* who records good and evil; Muṣṭafā Dowdān (= Nuṣayr) is the Angel of Death.

The angels are usually said to be four in number (in some lists and in certain periods this number is reduced to three) but in fact a fifth angel is especially charged with the supervision of worship. This angel's symbolical name is Razbār, Razbār or Ramzbār ("entrusted with mysteries") and her feminine character is indisputable; but the sex in Razbār is not emphasized. One of the informants even alleges that Razbār is a hermaphrodite (*khunthā*). Razbār is the mystical name of Khātūn Dāyira, mother of Sulṭān Ṣohāk, and the compiler of the list quoted above is wrong in relegating her to the fifth epoch.

Metempsychosis and Eschatology. The belief in the reincarnation of the theophanies finds its parallel in the general belief in metempsychosis. "Men! Do not fear the punishment of death! The death of man is like the dive which the duck makes".

Human beings must pass through the cycle of 1,001 incarnations, in the course of which they receive the reward of their actions (*Notes*, p. 131 [251]). According to the *Firkān* (i. 32. 35. 57. 68).

(raw offerings, uncooked, including animals of the male sex, oxen, sheep, cocks, intended for sacrifice) or *khayr wa-khidmat* (cooked or prepared victuals, like sugar, bread, etc.). The *Firkān*, i, 74 counts fourteen kinds of bloody or bloodless sacrifices (*ḡurbānī-yī khūndār wa-bi-khūn*). The ritual of sacrifice is regulated and the flesh is separated from the bones, which are buried. The boiled meat and the other offerings are distributed among those present and dedicatory formulae (*khutba*) are repeated. The term *sabz namūdan*, "to render green, i.e. living, to reanimate", is applied to the ceremony (*Notes*, p. 210 [90]).

4. "Just as every dervish must have a spiritual director (*murshīd*) so the head of every Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ has to be commended to a *pīr*". In the course of this ceremony (*sar sipurdan*) the persons symbolising the "Five (sic!) Angels" stand round the infant. A Muscat nut (*djawz-i buwā*) is broken by the celebrant as a substitute for the head. It is then worn as an amulet, with a piece of silver called *hawiza* bearing the Shī'a form of the profession of faith (*hawiza* from the Shī'a town of Hawiza in Khūzistān; cf. *Notes*, p. 227 [107], and W. Caskel, *Ein Mahdī des 15. Jahrhunderts*, in *Islamica*, 1931, 48-93, and the art. *MUSHA'ASHA'*). Links recalling blood relationship are established between him whose head is commended and the line of the *shaykh* to whom the head has been commended. This spiritual relationship carries with it the prohibition of marriage between the individual dedicated and the family of the *pīr*.

5. With the object of attaining moral perfection

however, the possibilities of purification are essentially limited by the very nature of beings; of whom some, created out of yellow clay (*zarda-gil*), are good, and the others, created out of black earth (*siyāh khāk*), are evil. "The more (the former) go through the world of garments and the more they suffer, the more they approach God and the more their luminous state increases", while the "Dark ones" shall never see the Sun. As a complement to these beliefs, the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ eagerly await the advent of the Lord of Time who shall come "to accomplish the desires of the Friends and embrace (*iḥāṭa*) the Universe". There are a number of prophetic *kalāms* which announce the coming of the Messiah. The scene of the Last Judgment, (*sān*, "review") will be the plain of *Shahrizūr* [q.v.] or that of *Sultāniyya* [q.v.] where the "sultāns shall be exterminated" (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). According to the *Firḥān*, i, 57, the Good shall enter Paradise (which is the contemplation) of the beauty of the Lord of Generosities, while the Wicked shall be annihilated (*ma'dūm*).

Rites. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ have a number of practices which are quite original.

1. We find little mention of individual prayer; on the other hand, the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ attach tremendous importance to assemblies (*djam < djam'*) in which "all difficulties find their solution". The life of the community is eminently collective and the assemblies are held at fixed intervals and in connection with all important events. *Kalāms* are recited at them to the accompaniment of music.

2. On solemn occasions sessions of *dhikr* [q.v.] are held. Specially qualified darwishes to the sounds of music (*sāz*) enter into a state of ecstasy, accompanied by anaesthesia, which enables them to walk over burning coals, to handle them, etc.

3. The indispensable features of these assemblies are the offerings and the sacrifices: *nadh'r wa-niyāz*

special unions (nuclei) are formed between a man (or several men) and a woman who are called brother and sister (*sharṭ-i ikrār*). The union is said to be formed in anticipation of the Day of Resurrection: *Notes*, p. 230 [110]; cf. the *akh wa-ukht al-ākhirā* among the Yazidis [q.v.].

6. Fasting is rigorously observed but lasts only for three days, as among the Yazidis [q.v.]. It takes place in winter and is followed by a feast. Among the divisions of the sect, only the *Ātash-begī* do not observe the fast "for the days of the (final) advent are near" and instead of fasting they say one ought to feast.

For the other rites and customs see the *Notes* by Minorsky (*Bibl.*).

*Firḥān al-Akhbār*. The author of this treatise was Hādījī Ni'mat Allāh of *Djayhūn-ābād* near *Dīnawar* (1871-1920) who belonged to the *Khāmūshī* division and who believed the time had come to reveal the Real Truth (*ḥaḥīqat*). His son Nūr 'Alī Shāh (b. 1313/1895) wrote the biography of his father and an introduction to the *Firḥān* under the title of *Kashf al-Hakā'ik*. While confirming much that was already known, the *Firḥān* represents a tradition different from that of the *Ātash-begī* in as much as it makes no mention of "seven" epochs and reserves a special position for *Khāwandagār* and *Sultān Shohāk* while the number of manifestations of less importance is increased (*Bābā Nā'ūth*, etc.).

The *Firḥān* consists of 4 parts. The first deals with the fundamental principles of the *ḥaḥīqat* established in pre-eternity by the Divinity who in the stage of "*yā-yi ghaybat*" became externalised in the garment of *Khāwandagār*. The law remained concealed till the coming of *Sultān Ishāk* (*Shohāk*). Then the *daftardārs* recorded these doctrines but each in his own way and according to the sources which were accessible to him. As a result the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ community has no [single?] sacred book and

its divisions are distinguished by different views. The Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ required a *ḥuṭb-i kull* which would be unique. So after 1324/1906 Ni'mat Allāh, by God's command, abandoned the world and became the "messenger of the Lord of the Hour", i.e. of *Pir Benyāmīn* (explained as *bin + yā + amīn* "faithful son of Yā"). Then comes the explanation of metempsychosis (*gardish-i dūn bi-dūn* = "going from one garment to another").

The creatures of the world are divided into two distinct categories according to their original element (*zarda-gil* or *khāk-i siyāh*). To the first belong the Saved and Luminous beings whose respective *sardārs* are *Benyāmīn* and *Sayyid Muḥammad* (in his avatar of *Buzurg-sawār*). To the other category belong beings of Fire and Darkness whose respective *sardārs* are *Iblīs* and *Khannās*, with whom are

ment, the geographical nomenclature showing an excellent knowledge of the localities of *Luristān*. One of the angels of *Khoshin* is *Bābā Tāhir* [q.v.] whose quatrains in dialect are quoted. The fourth epoch is placed in the land of the *Gūrān* close to the river *Sīrwān*. The sayings attributed to *Sultān Shohāk* are in *Gūrānī*, which is the sacred language of the Ahl-i Ḥaḥḥ (cf. *Firḥān*, i, 3; see Minorsky, *The Guran*, BSOS, 1943, 77-103). The greatest sanctuaries of the sect: *Bābā-Yādegār* and *Perdiwar*, are situated in the same region. In the later epochs the scene is transferred to *Ādharbāyḍjān* and the *kalāms* relating to these epochs are in *Ādharī* Turkish. From these facts it may be concluded that the stages of propagation and development of the religion have been: *Luristān* — land of the *Gūrān* — *Ādharbāyḍjān*.

Exact dates are naturally difficult to obtain and

associated the first three caliphs, Mu'awiya, 'A'isha, etc. The intermixture of the two categories of beings produces combinations which may be recognised even externally.

The second part of the treatise is mainly concerned with the correspondence of the avatars through the ages. Thus the manifestations of Benyāmīn are Noah, Jesus and provisionally (*mihmān*) Rustam of the Persian epic; those of Razbār: Bilkis, the queen of Saba, Mary, etc.; those of Sayyid Muḥammad: Zoroaster, the prophet Muḥammad, etc. Next we are given the history of Sulṭān Ishāk (Shōhāk) and of his successors.

The third part relates the personal experiences of Ni'mat Allāh and the commandments which he received from God during his journey "to the beyond" (*saḡar-i 'uḡbā*), notably his mission to unite the *khānadāns*, to give absolution from sins (*az khīyānat pāk namūdān*) and to intercede (*shifā'at*) with the Lord of Time.

The fourth part is the very full description of the rites and customs (*amr wa-nahy*), with the Gūrānī text of the formulae recited on each occasion.

Distribution. The principal centres of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ are in the west of Persia, in Luristān, Kurdistān (land of the Gūrān east of Zohāb, town of Kerend) and in Ādharbāyḡdīān (Tabriz, Mākū, with ramifications in Transcaucasia especially Karabagh). Little colonies of Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ are found almost everywhere in Persia (at Hamadḡhān, Teheran, at Māzandarān, Fārs and even in Khurāsān, to which, according to tradition, one of the brothers of Khān Ātash had gone). In 'Irāk there are Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ among the Kurd and Turkoman tribes of the region of Kirkūk, of Sulaymāniyya and probably at Mosul.

Very little is known of the connection between the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ and the sects popularly known under the name of 'Alī Ilāhī or by contemptuous terms like *ṡirāgh-sōndūren* ("extinguishers of lights"), *khurūs-kushān* ("slaughterers of cocks") etc. [see BEKTĀSH, KIZIL-BASH, SĀRLI, SHABBĀK]. In any case, it is a striking fact that the direct influence of Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ preachers of the district of Zohāb could be traced among the 'Alawī (Kizilbash) of 'Ayntāb; cf. Trowbridge, *The Alevis, Harvard Theol. Review*, 1909, 340-55, repr. in *MW*, 1921, 253-66.

Religious History. The Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ possess a wealth of legends arranged according to the manifestations of the Divinity. The collections of these legends are known as *Sarandīām*. The epoch of Khāwandagār is interesting only for its cosmogonic myths. The traditions relating to the epoch of 'Alī (which does not in any way form the central point) are inspired by the extreme Shi'a. The epoch of Khoshīn is placed in a typically Lur [*q.v.*] environ-

we shall endeavour to proceed from the known to the unknown. Khān Ātash, born at Adjari (north of Marāgha) and buried in the village of Ātash-beg in the district of Hashtarūd, northeast of Mount Sahand, is said to have lived at the beginning of the 18th century (*Notes*, p. 41 [27]). This line was continued by his direct descendants of whom the seventh was called Sayyid 'Abd al-'Azīm Mirzā (Aghā-bakhsh) and lived at Garabān (also called Dorū) on the Gāmāsāb to the south of Bisūtūn, where O. Mann visited him. He died in 1917 and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad Ḥasan Mirzā. The popularity of the Turkish poems of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafawī is significant; the *kalām*, known as *Kuṡb-nāma*, calls Shāh Ismā'il the "pir of Turkistān" (= Ādharbāyḡdīān where Turkish is spoken). The spread of Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ doctrines among the Turkoman tribes seems in any case to go back to an earlier period, that of the Kara Koyunlu rulers. The remnants of these Turkomans who live in a district in the centre of Mākū are Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ. Similarly in Transcaucasia the Kara-Koyunlu in the region of Gandja live in the close neighbourhood of the G'ōran (< Gūrān!). Shāh Ibrāhīm, whom many of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ regard as the successor of Sulṭān Shōhāk, and who lived in Baghdād and whose acolyte angel was Kuṡhṡi-oghli (author of Turkish *kalāms*), is perhaps responsible for the dissemination of Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ teaching among the Turkomans north of the Tigris.

Tradition places immediately before Shāh Ibrāhīm the famous Sulṭān Shōhāk who (outwardly) was the son of Shaykh 'Isi and Khātūn Dāyira (Dāyarāk), daughter of Ḥasan Beg Djalā, chief of the tribe of Djāf-i Murād. His real name is said to have been Sayyid 'Abd al-Sayyid. Barzindja, north of Sulaymāniyya, is said to have been his birthplace. He is said to have had seven sons from his wife Khātūna Bashīr, who are named *hafttan*. His tomb is at Perdiwar (in Awramān-i luhūn, see SENNE), on the right bank of the Sirwān.

The Kākā'i chiefs of Ta'ūḡ claim to be his direct descendants (see al-'Azzāwī, *al-Kākā'iyya*). Shaykh Maḡmūd, who after the World War proclaimed himself "King of Kurdistān" [cf. the article KURDS], claimed to be descended from the brother of Sulṭān Shōhāk in the twelfth generation. At Kirkuk Minorsky found a MS containing a genealogy of that family.

The only definite indication of Bābā Khoshīn's date would be his association with the poet Bābā Ṭāhir (11th century) but here tradition is on very uncertain ground.

The Elements of the System. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ is typically syncretist. At its foundations we find Shi'a extremism. It should be

noted that the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ always speak of the 12 imāms and as a result ought not (at least directly) to be connected with Ismā'ilism. According to the

who was in direct contact with the representative of the sect in Teheran, see Schemann, *Gobineau, die Bismarck'sche Staatslehre*, 1895, 1, 266, and

to be connected with Ismā'īlism. According to the *Firḡān*, the "religion of Truth" simply re-establishes the contents of the 10 *djuz'* which were suppressed in the received text of the *Qur'ān*, but in fact the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ deviate from the orthodox *Shī'a* to the extent of forming a separate religious system. The religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ has in common with those of the Druzes and the Nuṣayris the worship of 'Alī, but 'Alī is completely overshadowed by Sulṭān Ṣoḥāk.

The other obvious element in the formation of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ is the rites of the Ṣūfī darwīshes: election of the *pīr*, agapes with *dhikr* and distribution of food, brotherly unions.

From the social point of view, the religion of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ is professed particularly by the lower classes, nomads, villagers, inhabitants of the poorer quarters, darwīshes etc. From this probably comes the hope that on the day of the last judgment "the sulṭāns" will be punished (*Notes*, p. 44 [31]). On the other hand, the eminently popular character of the religion is apparent in the exuberance of the miraculous and folklore element in the traditions of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ. Amid the country people in the remote provinces which have at all times been outside the control of central governments, it is natural to expect to find survivals from olden times. The Divinity enclosed in the Pearl is a Manichaean idea (personal communication by Th. Nöldeke), like the belief in the purification of the "Luminous" in the course of their transigrations. The belief in metempsychosis cannot be directly Indian for it was already in existence in Ismā'īlism. The division of beings into two distinct categories is perhaps a later development of Zoroastrian ideas. The sacrifice of the cock has been several times connected with the corresponding Jewish rite (cf. I. Scheftelowitz, *Das stellvertretende Huhnopfer*, Giessen 1914), while the Biblical names (Dāwūd, Mūsī) may have come through the intermediary of the *Qur'ān*. The alleged Christian influence ought not to be exaggerated: if the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ in their conversations with missionaries talk of Jesus and Mary, it should be remembered that, apart from these possibly being simply reminiscences of the *Qur'ān*, the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ regard them merely as avatars of their own pantheon. For the agapes it is not necessary to go farther back than the known darwīsh practices (e.g. the Bektāshī). The elasticity of the system of metempsychosis is responsible for the appearance of unexpected names in the myths. W. Ivanow has called attention to the name of Malak Ṭā'ūs [cf. *vazīfīs*] in a fragment containing traditions, found at *Shīrāz*.

**Bibliography:** The first references to the genuine Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ are found in the European travellers at the beginning of the 19th century: Macdonald Kinneir, *A geographical memoir of the Persian Empire*, 1813, 141; G. Keppel, *Personal narrative of a journey from India to England*, 1817, ii, 61 ff. H. Rawlinson, who commanded a regiment recruited from the tribe of Gūrān (Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ), was the first to give any reliable information about the sect, *Notes on a march from Zohab*, JRGS, 1839, 36, 39, 53, 57, 95, 97, 99, 105, 109. The Baron de Bode visited the shrine of Bābā Yādegār, *Bibliotheca dī'a ġeniya*, St. Petersburg 1854, t. cxxiii, p. 45, cf. also his *Travels in Luristan*, 1845, i, 371-8, ii, 180. The first general outline of the doctrines of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ is in *Trois ans en Asie* by Gobineau, Paris 1859, 338-70,

*enne Graphie*, Strasbourg, 1913, i, 500-7, and Minorsky, *Gobineau et la Perse*, in *Europe*, Paris, Oct. 1923, 116-27. A very interesting anonymous article (signed: Sh.) on the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ of Tabriz appeared in the journal *Kavkaz*, Tiflis, 1876, nos. 27, 29 and 30. The first authentic document of the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ (a *Kalām* of 34 verses, "the Credo") was published with important notes by V. A. Žukowsky in the *Zap.*, 1887, 1-25. The American missionary S. G. Wilson, *Persian Life and Customs*, 1896, collected a certain amount of information at first hand. In 1902 Minorsky acquired in Teheran an authentic Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ MS., dated 1295/1843 and containing a collection of religious legends listed under epochs (see above), (*Kitāb-i Sarandjām* "Book of the End, or Fulfilment") in Persian, and also a number of *Kalāms* in Turkish (translated and published in Russian with a French summary: V. Minorsky, *Materiali dī'a izučeniya persidskoy sekti "L'udi Istini ili "Ali-Ilahi"*, Moscow, 1911, published as fasc. xxxiii of *Trudi po vostokovedeniyu izdavayemye Lazarevskim Institutom*; id., *Notes sur la secte des Ahle-Haqq*, in *RMM*, 1920, 20-97 (p. 61-84: detailed bibliography containing 54 items), and *RMM*, 1921, 205-302 (also published in book form with certain additions); a review by F. Cumont in *Syria*, 1922, 262; V. Minorsky, *Un traité de polémique Béhai-Ahle-Haqq*, in *JA*, 1921, 165-7; D. Saeed-Khan, *The sect of Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1927, 31-42; Gordlevsky, *Kara-koyunlu*, in *Izv. Obščestva izučeniya Azerbaydjana*, Baku, 1927; Ajarian, *Gyorans and Toumaris, a newly found religion in Persia*, *Bull. de l'Université d'Erivan*, French translation by F. Macler in *RHR*, 1926, 204-307; Minorsky, *Études sur les Ahl-i Haqq*, i, "Toumari" = *Ahl-i Haqq*, *RHR*, 1928, 90-105; F. M. Stead, *The Ali-Ilahi sect in Persia*, *MW*, 1932, 184-9; Y. N. Marr, *Radeniye sekti L'udi istini* (in Y. Marr. *Statyi i soobščeniya*, ii, 1939, 248-54); Ch. P. Pittmann, *The final word of the Ahl-i Haqq*, *MW*, 1937, 147-63 (makes use of a text of the *Sarandjām* which corresponds closely to that translated by Minorsky); W. Ivanow, *An Ali-Ilahi fragment*, *Collectanea* (The Ismā'īlī Society), I, 1948, 147-84, idem, *The Truth Worshippers of Kurdistan, Ahl-i Haqq*, Texts, Bombay 1953, (a third version of the *Sarandjām*); 'Abbās al-Azzāwī, *al-Kāhā'iyya fi'l-Ta'rikh*, Baghdad 1368/1949 (the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ of Kirkūk considered jointly with various 'Alī Ilāhī; cf. *Oriens*, 1953, 407 ff.); Minorsky, *Un poème Ahl-i Haqq en turk*, *Westliche Abhandlungen R. Tschudi*, 1954, 258. The results of the researches of Minorsky amongst the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ (Teheran, Tabriz, Mākū, Kurdistan) and of his visits to the sanctuaries of the sect (Bābā Yādegār, Perdiwar) have been set forth in his *Notes* (see above). In the same work there is a translation of the Bahā'ī polemic tract directed against the Ahl-i Ḥaḡḡ. Minorsky's other materials comprise numerous *Kalām* (in Gūrānī and Turkish), and the important account of the collection of dogmas *Firḡān al-Aḡḡār* (see above), as well as an account of his visits to the sanctuaries of Kirkūk and Kirind (1934).

(V. MINORSKY)

**AHL AL-HALL WA'L-'AḤD** (this, though illogical, is the normal order of the words), "those who are qualified to unbind and to bind", the representatives of the community of the Muslims who act on their behalf in appointing and deposing a caliph or

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Vīs u Rāmīn, a Parthian Romance

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (1946), pp. 741-763

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608589>

Accessed: 17/03/2013 07:26

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



# Vis u Rāmīn

## A Parthian Romance

By V. MINORSKY

- § 1. Texts and references
  - § 2. Plot of the poem
  - § 3. Dramatis personæ
  - § 4. Geographical background
  - § 5. Political organization
  - § 6. Conclusions
- Appendix : Lāmi's *Vis u Rāmīn*

### § 1. TEXTS AND REFERENCES <sup>1</sup>

THE romance of Vis and Rāmīn has many claims to our attention. Fakhr al-dīn As'ad Gurgānī wrote his version of it some time between A.D. 1040 and 1054, almost nine centuries ago, and only half a century after Firdausī completed the *Shāh-nāma*. The poem is based on an old "pahlavī" tale vaguely reminiscent of Tristan and Isolde, King Mark and Brangane. Many of its episodes echo feelings and attitudes dissonant with the post-Islamic ideas of marriage, women, and love. The poetic gifts of Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī are also beyond doubt. Whatever the inconsistencies in the presentation of characters, whatever the length of the dialogues and soliloquies of the two lovers, these defects are redeemed both by the purity of diction of the poet and by his truly humane understanding of men's passions, soarings, and failures.

Possibly in the early thirteenth century Gurgānī's poem was translated into Georgian.<sup>2</sup> This is a significant fact, for it shows that both the theme and its Islamic *rifacimento* possessed some merits which equally appealed to two such dissimilar audiences as the Muslim readers and their Christian neighbours of Transcaucasia.

There are several old records relative to Vis and Rāmīn in Persian literature. The anonymous author of the *Muǧmal al-tawārīkh* <sup>3</sup> locates the story in the time of the second Sasanian king Shāpūr, son of Ardashīr, assuming that "king Mōbad" held Marv under that sovereign (?). 'Auḡī (thirteenth century) <sup>4</sup> knows that Gurgānī wrote *Vis u Rāmī* (*sic*). Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī (A.D. 1330) quotes the story under the reign of the Arsacid Bēzhan (spelt: *Bīrī*) b.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wherever convenient I have tried to maintain in this article the sounds *ō* and *ē* which in Modern Persian (as spoken in Persia) are no more distinguished from *ū* and *ī*. I have made some exceptions for the names too familiar, such as Rāmīn (better \**Rāmēn*), Vis (possibly *Vēs*), etc.

<sup>2</sup> The translation, slightly abridged, follows the Persian original very closely. It is attributed (with what reason ?) to Sargis T'mogveli, who wrote under Queen T'amar (1184–1213). The Georgian *Visramiani* has been done into English by Sir Oliver Wardrop, 1914 (reviewed by I. Guidi, *Rivista S.O.*, 1917, 754–6, and N. Marr, *Zap.K.V.*, i, 1925, 118–138). On the late Turkish translation see Appendix.

<sup>3</sup> He was a native of the region of Hamadān and wrote in 520/1126. Ed. Bahār, 1318/1939, p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Lubab al-albāb*, ed. Nicholson, ii, 98.

<sup>5</sup> This misspelling already occurs in some MSS. of Ṭabarī, i, 707.

Gōdarz b. Balāsh b. Ashgh<sup>1</sup> and mentions Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī as the author of the poem. Mirkhond (d. A.D. 1498), in the same connection, refers to the time of an Arsacid king whom he calls Shāpūr b. Ashk.<sup>2</sup>

In later years the poem was seldom copied. The famous bibliophile Mīr ‘Alī-shēr Navā’ī wrote in 896/1490–1<sup>3</sup> that in his time Gurgānī’s poem was unobtainable (*mahjūr u nā-yāb*). At present there are known to exist four copies of the poem, and two extracts from it. In the fifties of the last century A. Sprenger discovered the first copy in India (*ZDMG.*, 8, 1854, p. 608), and this led to the publication of the text by Nassau Lees in *Bibliotheca Indica* (1864–5). The edition, although based on one unsatisfactory MS., elicited much interest in Europe.<sup>4</sup> Only recently the Persian Ministry of Education charged one of the best scholars of the younger generation, Muḥtabā Minovī, to bring out a new edition based on all the available texts. In 1314/1935 the first volume appeared in Tehran with a promise of a companion volume containing an introduction, a commentary, and the critical apparatus.

The final conclusions must be reserved to the editor, but an excellent article on *Vīs u Rāmīn* in its new shape has been already contributed by F. Gabrieli<sup>5</sup>, and this must needs open the door to further discussion. The Italian scholar has some good remarks on the history of the poem, but he concentrates his attention on the artistic problems, which he treats with great taste and acumen. The present article has a more limited task: to examine the historical and geographical background of the poem, in the hope of assigning to the story a more definite position in time and space.

Let us see first what Fakhr al-Dīn himself says about the circumstances in which he undertook to reduce the ancient tale to Persian numbers. His patron, the governor of Isfahān, ‘Amīd ‘Abdul-Faḍl Muẓaffar b. Ḥusayn Nishāpūri<sup>6</sup>, spoke to him of the story of Vīs and Rāmīn (p. 26, verse 29–p. 27, verse 59):—

“They say it is a very beautiful story and in these parts everybody loves it.”

I said: “It is a very beautiful story put together by six wise men.

I have not seen a better one, it is exactly like a garden in bloom,

But its language is *pahlavī* and the readers do not know its meaning.

Not everybody reads that language well; nor, even if he reads it, does he understand the meaning.

<sup>1</sup> *Ta’rikh-i guzīda*, G.M.S., 103, 824.

<sup>2</sup> *ZDMG.*, xv, 665.

<sup>3</sup> *Majālis al-nafā’is*, in Persian translation, edited by A. A. Ḥekmat, 1945, p. 333. ‘Alī Shēr speaks of Gurgānī as “a paragon of his time”, and says that his *Vīs u Rāmīn* gives the measure of his “perfection and discernment”.

<sup>4</sup> Graf, *ZDMG.*, 1869, 375–433; Ethé, *Essays und Studien*, 1872, 295–301, and *Grundriss der Iran. Phil.*, ii, 240; R. v. Stackelberg, *Neskolko slov o persidskom epose Visa i Ramin in Drevnosti vostochniye*, Moscow, 1896, ii (this article of my old teacher is inaccessible to me); N. Marr, *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, 1925, i, 118–138. E. G. Browne, *LHP.*, ii, 274–5, has only a few words on the poem.

<sup>5</sup> Accademia dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Scienze morali, Serie VI, vol. xv, fasc. 3–4, 1939, pp. 168–188. Also *Annali dell’Istituto . . . di Napoli*, 1940, I, 253–8.

<sup>6</sup> See Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23 (year 456).

(The story) contains abundant descriptions of everything, but, as you read it, it does not make much sense,

Because in those days poetry was no professional art and there were no sages of quick wit.

Where are the sages of yore to see how nowadays speech is produced,  
How meanings are elucidated, and metre and rhymes are superimposed on them ?

In this clime that book (*daftar*) was read in order to learn *pahlavī* from it. There have ever been people in this clime eager for the sweet words, (and) If the speech has metre and rhymes it is better than (the pretence) to embrace too much ;

Especially when clever conceits (*ma'ānī*)<sup>1</sup> appear in it, they stand their reader in good stead.

However good and sweet be the story, it becomes refreshed by metre and rhyme :

Like a kingly pearl (which needs to be) set in gold, a story needs abundant conceits and words,

Strewn here and there and shining like stars on that background,

So that the clever and the great read it and learn from it many conceits,

While men of low and middle state swallow it for the sake of the story. Speech must be such that when it leaves the mouth (*kām* 'palate') of the poet, it should travel throughout the world ;

Not such as should stay at home and be recited only by its author.

Now, those ancient experts (*sukhan-dānān*) told the legend of Vīs and Rāmīn ;

They strove to say it in *fārsī*, for they *were* masters of *fārsī* !<sup>2</sup>

Thus they produced a poem in which there were strange terms of every language (style ?).

They did not trouble about conceits and proverbs, and did not embellish (the story) with these two.

But should an expert (*dānanda*) take trouble about the story, it will acquire beauty as a treasure full of jewels,

For this is a renowned story, with innumerable wonders in its details."

When my master had listened to these words of mine, he placed on my head the crown of glory :

He requested me to embellish the story as a garden in April (*Naysān*).

I should tell it to the best of my ability, and wash it of those senseless terms,

For those terms have become obsolete and their days of glory are gone.

Resuming the story, the poet adds : " I have found written in the collections of tales<sup>3</sup> from what the story-tellers said according to records (*khavar-hā*), that there was a king," etc.

This exordium indicates that the story had existed in *pahlavī* ; that it was translated into Persian (*fārsī*) by some experts (*sukhan-dānān*), of whom Fakhr al-Dīn speaks with definite irony. It is probable that they were identical

<sup>1</sup> In the Georgian translation all such " conceits " are presented in special paragraphs headed *araki* " parable ", *hukumati* (\**hikmat*) " moral ", *shegoneba* " admonition ".

<sup>2</sup> Irony : " were they not ? "

<sup>3</sup> *Samar* means " an evening conversation, or entertainment ". The poet apparently has in view the stories written to be recited for the evening audiences.



with the “Six Men” (v. 31), and it is likely that they were Zoroastrians,<sup>1</sup> for no one else would have found his way about *pahlavī*. This also would be the explanation of the archaic language they used in their translation. From the term *pēshēn* applied to the translators it would seem that their work was completed some considerable time before A.D. 1054.<sup>2</sup> In any case it is clear that Fakhr al-Dīn worked on a Persian translation which he undertook to prune of obsolete words and to embellish with the frills of the literary taste of his time. Fakhr al-Dīn seems to suggest that he himself had some smattering of Pahlavī.<sup>3</sup> He was a native of Gurgān, and the fragment of a satire which ‘Aufī, *Lubbāb*, ii, 98, attributes to him suggests that his earlier patron was a Thiḡat al-Mulk Shahriyār. The name *Shahriyār* is special to the Bāvandid rulers of Māzandarān. Although in *Vīs u Rāmīn* Gurgānī hints at his mature (old ?) age,<sup>4</sup> it is rather unlikely that he could have been active at the court of Shahriyār III b. Dārā (A.D. 969–1006), after whom there was a long interregnum (A.D. 1006–1073). More probably he refers to one of the minor Bāvandids (*kiyā*-s) who remained in their mountainous haunts and who left a few interesting monuments bearing inscriptions both in Kufic Arabic and in the Pahlavi script. They confirm the fact that some knowledge of Pahlavi was still spread in the region of which Gurgānī was a native and where he spent his young days.<sup>5</sup>

A comparison between *Vīs u Rāmīn*, *Tristan and Isolde* and tales of other similar couples of lovers is a tempting literary problem. Similarities in characters, episodes, dramatic attitudes, and even the basic idea of love sweeping away all obstacles are obvious both in the Iranian story and its western counterparts. But even if one admits that a similar feudal background was responsible for parallelism in the sentiments of the heroes and in the attitude of the poets towards them, such comparisons do not go beyond vague generalizations. Khorasan and Cornwall are too far apart geographically to allow it to be taken for granted that any direct, or even indirect, contacts existed between them. The dependence of the Russian popular story of Yeruslan Lazarevich on the *Shāh-nāma* can be traced, because of the identity of names, as well as because of the likely ways of communication.<sup>6</sup> Such

<sup>1</sup> Similarly to the four Zoroastrians who in 346/957 compiled the *Shāh-nāma* in prose, at the request of Abū Maṣṣūr b. ‘Abd al-Razzāq. See Nöldeke, *Grund. d. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 104; Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bist maḡāla*, ii, 24; Taqizadeh, *Shāh-nāma va-Firdausi*, Tehran, 1244, p. 59. Cf. Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly some time round A.D. 950, when translations into Persian and compilations in Persian began to appear.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his explanation of the “pahlavī” terms *Khorāsān* and *rām*, pp. 177 and 505.

<sup>4</sup> P. 460: “Oh, how many days since I experienced love. . . . Time (*zamāna*) has changed its former course; indeed its days of prosperity are gone.”

<sup>5</sup> The monuments are at Rādkān-i Nikā (Ispahbad Abū Ja‘far Muḥammad b. Vandarīn, year 411/1020), Lājīm (Kiyā Abul-Favāris *Shahriyār* b. ‘Abbās b. *Shahriyār*, year 413/1022) and Razget (same epoch): see A. Godard, in *Āthār-e Īrān*, 1936, i/1, 109–121; Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt. aus Iran*, iv, 1932, pp. 146–7; viii, 1936, pp. 72–81.

<sup>6</sup> Yeruslan Lazarevich = Rustam, son of Zāl-i zar. See Minorsky, “L’épopée persane et la littérature populaire russe,” *Hazār-sāla-yi Firdausi*, Tehran, 1944, pp. 48–57. I now think that the likely channels of transmission passed through the Northern Caucasus. The Osset nurses (ясыня) may have introduced them into the nurseries of Russian boyars.

direct guides are unfortunately absent in the case of the stories of Vīs and Isolde, and the comparisons are bound to remain uncertain and inconclusive.

On the other hand, the obvious prerequisite of any deeper study of *Vīs u Rāmīn* is to examine all the tangible facts in the poem likely to give us a clue to the historical and geographical milieu in which the poem was born.

As late as 1936 Christensen expressed the view that *Vīs u Rāmīn* was a pure fiction.<sup>1</sup> There is a grain of truth in this assertion, but the poem should by no means be regarded as being outside space and time. Those Muslim writers who tried to locate it under some Arsacid ruler were certainly on the right path, though between a pure surmise and a reasoned conclusion there lies a long road of research. The poem certainly goes back to Parthian lore, and our task will be to examine in detail whatever internal evidence, or even mere hints, we can find in the poem, capable of shedding light on its origins. Should we prove that the romance is Parthian, we shall know something of the life and feelings of an epoch which, even in its simplest elements, is still wrapped up in uncertainty and darkness.

First of all we shall have to condense the story to its main features by stripping it of the purely poetical and rhetorical embellishments of its present version.

## § 2. PLOT OF VĪS U RĀMĪN

1. Once upon a time there was a king (*shahriyār*) in Marv whose name was Mōbad Manikān (?). Other shahs owed him allegiance (p. 28). In spring he held a festival which was attended by dignitaries from Ādharbāyagān, Rayy, Gurgān, Khorāsān, Kuhistān, Shīrāz, Isfahān, and Dihistān, whose names and those of their ladies are enumerated (*vide infra*). The most beautiful of the ladies is the Shahr-bānū Shahrō. Charmed by her appearance, the king offers to make her his queen, but she replies that she is married and has such children as the noble Vīrō, and already her hair is turning grey. Then the king makes a pact with her that, should she ever have a daughter, she will give her to him. After many years Shahrō gave birth to Vīs and entrusted her to a nurse, who carried her to her own home in Khūzān. The nurse had also in her care the baby Rāmīn, Mōbad's brother. Ten years later Rāmīn was taken back to Khorasan, and the nurse wrote to Shahrō saying that she could no longer cope with Vīs's fancies. Thus the young beauty was brought from Khūzān to Hamadān. On seeing her the mother said: "Thy father is a *khusrau*, thy mother a *bānū*, in Iran thou hast no match except Vīrō, thy brother." At the sixth hour of the day Dē, in the month of Ādhar,<sup>2</sup> the mother joined their hands saying that the high priest's (*mōbad*'s) seal on the contract was not necessary.

<sup>1</sup> *Les Gestes des rois dans les traditions de l'Iran antique*, 1936, p. 61: "... cette œuvre a son caractère spécial: elle ne relève pas de l'histoire ou de ce qu'on croyait être de l'histoire; c'est une épopée de pure fiction."

<sup>2</sup> All the three days called *Dē* in the month Ādhar (namely the 8th, the 15th, and the 23rd) are classed as "middling" in the list of lucky days. Cf. Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 231-2.

2. Suddenly there arrived from Marv the king's half-brother Zard mounted on a black horse with a letter from King Mōbad reminding Shahrō of the pact once concluded. He did not want the bride to remain any longer in Māh-ābād, where people dally with women (*zan-bāragī*) and are addicted to pleasure. To this request Vis objected by quoting a custom of Marv, where women choose their husbands out of two suitors ; besides, the wedding was already in full swing, and she preferred her young brother to the old king.

Zard reported to the king the situation in Māh, where Virō assumed the title *Rūhā* (?), whereas the people called the king *mōbad* (priest) and *dastūr* (minister). Mōbad, in great wrath, called in his army from Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Kuhistān, Khwārazm, Khorāsān, Dihistān, Sind, Hind, Tibet, China, Soghd, Tūrān, and Māchīn.

At the same time, Virō was entertaining his friends from Ādharbāyagān, Rayy, Gīlān, Khūzistān, Iṣṭakhr, and Isfahān, and they all summoned their troops to the plain of Nihāvand. Especially conspicuous was the Daylamān infantry.

In the battle that followed Vis's father Qārin was killed, but at sunset Virō put Mōbad to flight. The king turned away from the road to Khorāsān and from Dēnavar retreated to Isfahān. Yet Virō's triumph was short-lived. An army from Daylam advanced to the plain of Tārom, whence Virō's representative fled. No sooner did Virō march against the Shah of Daylam than Mōbad retraced his steps to Gūrāb, where Vis sojourned. To the king's envoy Vis declared that she belonged to her brother and did not want the "decrepit" Mōbad who had killed her father. But Mōbad was inflamed by the report that Virō's wedlock had not been consummated.

He consulted his two brothers, Rāmīn and Zard, but in Rāmīn's heart a seed of love for Vis was sown since childhood. He tried to draw Mōbad's mind away from Vis by pointing to the king's age and the bride's youth. Zard, on the contrary, advised the king to try two means on Vis's mother : gifts and persuasion. So Mōbad wrote to Shahrō insisting on the original pact and sending her rich presents, and Shahrō opened the gate of Vis's castle. Thus the king carried Vis to Marv before Virō could return from Tārom. On the way to Marv Rāmīn happened to see Vis's beauty and fainted struck by love.

3. Vis was disconsolate and did not show her face to the king. When her nurse heard what was happening, she loaded thirty swift camels (*jamāza*) and in a week's time reached Marv. She did her best to make Vis submit to her destiny, but Vis remembered Virō and said : " If I need a husband for love's sake it is better for me to remain without love." She consented to dress up and put on the jewels, but she wept and made a vow that for a year she would continue mourning her father and would abstain from intercourse with Mōbad.

To frustrate the king's desires the nurse prepared a talisman of copper and brass fixed with iron. She buried it on the bank of the river to keep it in dampness, as " cold stops man's strength ". She intended to unlock the

talisman a month later by burning it on a fire, but a storm burst suddenly over Marv and the flood carried the talisman away. Thus the spell kept the king bound forever and Vīs, twice married, remained husbandless.

Rāmīn, still a beardless youth, was roaming in the garden, longing for Vīs, when he met the old nurse (*dāya-yi pīr*). He besought her for help, while she exhorted him to give up his love. Then the boy overcame the nurse with his caresses and, in view of this new link, she promised him to carry out all his desires (p. 122).<sup>1</sup>

Vīs was dreaming of her brother when the nurse spoke to her of Rāmīn's beauty and valour. Vīs rejected any disloyal suggestions and called down maledictions upon the nurse's town (or "land", *shahr*) Khūzān, which brings forth "only ill-starred sorcerers". The nurse persisted and finally let Vīs see Rāmīn's beauty at a banquet held on the day of Rām.<sup>2</sup> After the king had gone to Gurgān, Rayy, Sāva, and Kuhistān the nurse introduced Rāmīn into Vīs's pavilion and here the two lovers exchanged oaths of fidelity and became united.

4. The king ordered Rāmīn to come to the hunting-grounds at Mount Arvand (Alvand, west of Hamadān) and to bring Vīs with him. They spent a month together, and then the king wished to move to Mūqān for sea-hunting (fishing ? *nakhchīr-i daryā'ī giriftan*).

Rāmīn's camp was in the plain of Māh, and he was about to move towards Armenia to hunt and to combat enemies (p. 163). The nurse secretly urged Vīs to take a last look at Rāmīn from the roof, but the king, who was awake, overheard her. He cursed the nurse and "the town of Khūzān" producing only evil-doers (pp. 163-4), and ordered Vīrō to punish Vīs and the nurse, for he himself, in his anger, might exceed the measure. Suddenly Vīs rose and confessed her love for Rāmīn: "you and Vīrō are my sovereigns (*pādshāh*) . . . but should Vīrō burn me or put me in fetters . . . I am not afraid of pain and death." Vīrō shut up Vīs in a house and strove to blacken Rāmīn's reputation by saying that he was fond only of music and wine; his clothes were pawned at the wine merchants; Jews<sup>3</sup> were his friends. All was of no avail. So Vīrō joined the king on the polo ground. Rāmīn<sup>4</sup> and Rafēdā played on the side of the king, and Arghish and Sharvīn on the side of Vīrō. Vīs looked from the roof on Vīrō and Rāmīn and wept from anxiety. She said to the nurse: "Had my fate been propitious, my beloved would have been none but Vīrō (p. 170, cf. 174, 185), for Rāmīn's tongue is not consorted with his soul, and Mōbad's tongue and soul are equally rude."

5. Rather abruptly the story reports Mōbad's return to Khorāsān.<sup>5</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> The Georgian version (p. 105) paraphrases the realistic hints of the original, pp. 160-1.

<sup>2</sup> The 21st day of any month. Here probably the 21 Mihr, when the Great Mihragān festival was held.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Jewish wine merchants.

<sup>4</sup> Surprisingly after what had happened.

<sup>5</sup> The poet explains (p. 171) that Khorāsān means "Orient" for *khur āsad* in Pahlavi means *khur āyad* in Persian. The etymology is correct, but the form *āsad* seems to have been restored theoretically from *-āsān*.

praises the beauty of Marv, but Vīs repeats that “ her only solace is Rāmīn ”. In anger Mōbad reviles Shahrō, declaring that her thirty children are illegitimate, and tells Vīs to leave his court by one of the three roads : that of Gurgān, that of Damāvand, or that of Hamadān and Nihāvand (p. 174).

With joy Vīs sets free her slaves, returns the keys to the king, and leaves for Māh. Rāmīn is disconsolate and asks his brother to let him go hunting to Gurgān, Sārī, and Kuhistān, but the king sees through his intentions. Rāmīn swears not to meet Vīs, adding that Mōbad is to him “ both a sovereign and a God-like (being) (*chūn-khodā*) ”; but then makes straight for Māh and again the lovers become united for seven months.

Mōbad unbosoms himself to his mother and imparts to her his intention of killing his brother. To calm the king the old lady tells him that, according to reports, Vīs’s real love is Vīrō.<sup>1</sup> Why should the king visit his wrath upon the brother who is destined to succeed him, as he is childless ? Mōbad writes an abusive letter to Vīrō, calling him a mule born of a mare (Shahrō) and an ass (Qārin). Let him not be conceited, let him not put his trust in the armies from Iran, Ādharbāyagān, and Dasht-i Gilān (p. 187).

The king moved his army towards Māh, but half-way thither was stopped by Vīrō’s letter. The ruler of Māh refuted the hints at his relations with Vīs. He reminded Mōbad of the issue of the battle of Dēnavar, and parried the unpleasant reference to his birth by saying that a man’s value (*gōhar*) depended on his valour and intelligence.<sup>2</sup>

6. Peace was made and, for a second time, Vīs was carried from Māh to Marv. This time the king wanted to test her loyalty by making her take an oath before a pyre. The flame was flaring up towards the Pleiades when Vīs persuaded Rāmīn to flee from Marv. In ten days they crossed the desert and reached Rayy, where they were hidden by the local nobleman Bihrōz.

The king entrusted the kingdom to Zard and started on a search for his wife. He visited Rūm (Roman or Byzantine West), India, Iran, and Turan. During his absence Rāmīn communicated with his mother, and when Mōbad returned in a conciliatory mood she put in a word for Rāmīn and Vīs and brought them back to Rayy. Immediately after the reunion banquet Rāmīn came to the roof of the royal bedchamber. Vīs put the nurse in bed with the king, who was drunk and fast asleep, and rushed to join her lover. Suddenly Mōbad awoke and asked the nurse who she was. Vīs hurriedly came back and placed her hand in the hand of Mōbad, who craved her pardon for the misunderstanding.

7. A report reached Marv that the emperor of Rūm, having spurned the treaty, was leading an army from Rūm towards Iran (p. 229). Mōbad called in the troops from every town and made ready to march two hundred stages (p. 232). He left the kingdom to Zard and locked Vīs up in a castle built on a high mountain called *Ashkaft-i Dēvān*, “ the grotto of devīs ” (p. 233). Rāmīn

<sup>1</sup> In fact, there are some indications of love for Vīrō lingering in Vīs’s heart.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Nādir Shāh’s calling himself “ the son of the sword ”.

followed the army, but he was love-sick, and at Gurgān<sup>1</sup> fell so ill that the courtiers pleaded for him to be left behind. Immediately he recovered and hurried back to Khorāsān. From Marv he followed the road to the mountain of Ashkaft-i Dēvān, shot an arrow into Vis's apartments, and by aid of a rope made by Vis and the nurse climbed up to the "king's palace" (p. 246). There he remained nine months with Vis. In Marv only Zarrēn-gēs, daughter of the khāqān, versed in the arts of sorcery, guessed his whereabouts.

By that time Mōbad had visited Armenia and Arrān, and obtained tribute from the Cæsar. On his return Zarrēn-gēs informed him of what had happened, and he immediately set out for Ashkaft-i Dēvān. There he rebuked Zard for negligence and told him to unlock the doors of Vis's quarters. As the nurse heard the noise, Rāmīn had time to climb down, yet on entering the king caught sight of the rope made of garments. In his wrath he beat his wife and her nurse nearly to death, left them in the castle, and returned to Marv.

Here Shahrō plied him with questions and reproaches saying: "in the mountains of Ghōr in Ashkaft-i Dēvān they killed my Moon. . . . O Marv, pride of Khorāsān, . . . if thy water comes from the mountains of Ghōr, it will turn to blood."

The king was impressed by these lamentations, as he was also apprehensive of Virō. He ordered Zard to fetch Vis from the castle, and he did this in a month's time (p. 272). In the meantime, at Zard's prayer, Mōbad pardoned Rāmīn.

8. [At this point there seems to be an interruption in the story. We only learn that] when in the spring the king returned from Gurgān and Sārī he had his palace fortified. He entrusted the keys to the nurse on the plea that former thieves make the best jailers. He then went to Zāvul, hoping to return within a month. On the first night Rāmīn escaped from the army camp to revisit Vis. He roamed in the garden and Vis, sensing his presence, implored the nurse to let her out, but the old woman was firm. Left alone, Vis leapt out of the window on to a tent pitched under it. When the moon came out Vis found her lover asleep among the flowers.

Meanwhile the king hurried back to Marv: the locks were all safe, but the bird had flown from the cage.<sup>2</sup> As he entered the garden, Rāmīn jumped over the wall, and only Vis was found on the ground. The king caught her by her tresses, and he would have killed her but for Zard's intervention. Mōbad cut off but a few locks of hers and told her to explain her adventure. She said that an angel (*sarōsh*) brought her from her chamber and placed her on Rāmīn's breast, but that this was only a dream.

The king forgave Vis and the nurse, and on the Khordād day of the month

<sup>1</sup> The climate of Gurgānī's native land is described as poisonous, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> Somewhat strange is the king's exclamation (p. 285): "Has she gone to Dummāvand? Why has she gone while she is herself dignified and has a thousand managers (*pēshkār*) like Zohhāk". Cf. also p. 174, where Mōbad offers Vis the choice between three roads, of which the middle one is that of Damāvand. See below, BSOAS, XII/1, p. 11.



Ardībihisht<sup>1</sup> he was sitting in the garden with Shahrō, Vīrō, and Rāmīn. A minstrel (*kūsān*) sang a song of a mighty tree shading the world ; under it flowed a crystalline stream, while a Gilān bull now drank of the water, and now took a bite at the leaves.<sup>2</sup> The king, though he was drunk, understood the hint and sprang to his feet to kill his brother, but Rāmīn disarmed him (p. 295).

9. As things had gone too far, the sage Bihgōy advised Rāmīn to quit the capital. “ With your brother you hold the world : India and China ; Rūm and Berberia. . . . Is there no country but the march (*marz*) of Khorāsān ? Is there no beauty but Lady Vīs ? ” In the meantime the king admonished Vīs to behave in a way not to shock her brother Vīrō. Vīs complained of her past misfortunes and swore fidelity to Mōbad. Rāmīn, too, expressed his desire to be appointed sipāhbad of Māhābād, and the Shah assigned to him Ray, Gurgān, and Kuhistān. At the last meeting Vīs showed some coldness towards Rāmīn, but then exhorted him not to visit Gūrāb, fearing he might meet there another beauty.<sup>3</sup> Rāmīn swore he would never forget Vīs.

In his new quality Rāmīn put his provinces in order : Gurgān, Sārī, Āmol, Kōmish, the “ march of Gūrāb (Gōrāb ? ) ” and, the best of them all, Isfahān. When the affairs from Gurgān to Ray, Ahwāz, and Baghdād were well in hand, Rāmīn paid a visit to Gūrāb. He was received (p. 317) by local notables (*sarafrāzān*), Shāpūr (cf. *infra*, p. 14) and Rafēdā (v. *infra*, p. 16). One day on the road he met a beauty and immediately fell in love with her. She explained that her name was Gul and that she was born to Rafēdā (of Hamadān) and Gōhar (of Gūrāb), that her brother was “ a marzubān, namely the pahlavān of Ādharbāyagān ”, and that she herself was the Lady (*bānū*) of Gūrāb. She was fully aware of Rāmīn’s love affairs and bade him abandon Vīs.

To the wedding feast Gul invited her relations from Gurgān, Ray, Qum, Isfahān, Khūzistān, Kuhistān, and Hamadān (p. 324). For a distance of forty farsangs there were displays and celebrations (p. 324). But no sooner had the newly married couple adjourned to the castle of Gūrāb than Rāmīn rashly compared Gul with Vīs. Gul cursed Vīs and her nurse. Rāmīn felt the offence done to Gul, and so he dispatched a letter to Vīs to tell her how happy he was with his wife Gul. Mōbad took the letter from the messenger and handed it to Vīs. Seeing her lady’s pain, the nurse undertook to travel to Gūrāb, but Rāmīn, whom she found on the hunting-ground, bade her tell Vīs that husbands are the best for wives and sent the old woman away.

10. In despair Vīs ordered the scribe (*dabīr*), the noble (*āzāda*) Mushkēn, to write a letter to Rāmīn. This he did in an epistle consisting of an “ address ”, ten discourses, and a special “ praise ” (*durūd*) of the fickle-hearted lover

<sup>1</sup> I.e. on the sixth day of the second month, which is but a “ middling ” day (Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, 219). Festivals come in Ardībihisht only on the 3rd and the 26th day.

<sup>2</sup> Similarly Khusrau Anōsharvān saw in his dream that a boar thrust his muzzle into his goblet ; Christensen, *Les gestes des rois*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Vīs may have seen Gul during her stay in Gūrāb (p. 66). The original story may have had more details.

(pp. 347–383). One of Mushkēn's similes is noteworthy: "If they call Ārish an able archer (*kamān-gīr*) because he shot an arrow from Sāri to Marv, you send every hour one hundred far-flying arrows from Gūrāb right into my soul" (p. 366).

Vis sends the letter to her lover by Ādhēn, to whom she says: "until this day you have been a servant (*chākar*); henceforth you will be my noble (*āzāda*) brother."<sup>1</sup> The oral message which Ādhēn was told to deliver (pp. 384–6) was very different from the lofty contents of Mushkēn's letters. Vis accused Rāmīn of perjury. She astutely praised Mōbad, whose power is but nominal, while the treasury is under her orders, and asked if she has ever refused anything to her lover. Gul ("the flower") will last but a moment, and in Marv there is a rose-garden with a rose more beautiful than the moon on the fourteenth night.

Meanwhile Rāmīn grew homesick and weary of Gul. His father-in-law Rafēdā overheard his lamentations and warned his daughter. As Rāmīn was riding his Rakhsh on the road to Khorasan (p. 404), to breathe the aroma<sup>2</sup> wafted by the eastern breeze and reminding him of Vis, suddenly Ādhēn appeared before him and handed him the letter together with Vis's veil and shift.

Ādhēn took Rāmīn's answer to Marv, and Rāmīn himself hurried after him. When the watchman (*dāda*) announced the coming of Rāmīn, the nurse, using a charm, put the king to sleep, and Vis went to the window. It was winter, and Rāmīn remained in the snow and rain, while Vis, seeming to address his steed Rakhsh, spoke out her reproaches to the unfaithful lover. Rāmīn replied [and the verbal duel goes on to the length of 550 verses (pp. 416–447)].

Rakhsh stood up to his knees in the slush (p. 424) until Rāmīn lost patience and rode away (p. 448). Then Vis sent the nurse to stop him, and herself hastened to join him in night and storm. [The outpouring of reproaches and explanations continues for another 267 verses, pp. 452–463.]

The lovers were reconciled only towards the morning, when they repaired to the castle (*kūshk*), and there Rāmīn remained hidden with Vis for a month. The king did not know that Rāmīn was in the palace "drinking from the same goblet as himself and dissecting his good name with the sword of vilification" (p. 468).

As the days of spring were drawing near, Rāmīn came out of his retreat and from the nearest stage re-entered Marv openly. He greeted the king, saying that he had put in order the affairs of Gurgān and Kuhistān and had destroyed the king's enemies throughout Mosul, Syria, and Armenia. The king bade Rāmīn stay in Marv, and after three months (p. 471) wanted to take him to the hunting-places in Gurgān. The thought of this new separation upset Vis. Rāmīn feigned an attack of gout and at the first stage stayed in bed.

11. Left alone in Marv, Vis plied the nurse with the story of her woes. The

<sup>1</sup> But on p. 29 Ādhēn is already called *nāmī*.

<sup>2</sup> P. 404: the aroma of Khirkhīz (= musk), Samandūr (= aloes), and Fanchūr (= camphor).



old woman told her to be happy so long as she had in her house (*andar khāna*) a mother like Shahrō and a brother like Virō. It was true that the king was full of wrath and enmity and at any moment might come out of his ambush, but one day the king and the *sālār* (Zard) might disappear; then Virō would be the best helper, and along with him the other “shahs” dissatisfied with Mōbad. The king and the army were gone from Marv. The keys of the treasury were in Vis’s hands; let her buy kingship and power with the *dīnārs*. Let her recall Rāmīn, and, when he comes, oust the king. So Vis wrote a letter to Rāmīn calling him back to Marv.

At night Rāmīn left the camp in Gurgān with forty stalwarts, and in a week arrived in Marv. His messenger, disguised as a woman, went to see Vis. The commandant of the palace<sup>1</sup> was the sipāhbad Zard, the king’s brother and minister. Vis told him of her desire to visit the fire-temple built by Jamshēd for a thanksgiving ceremony, as she had seen in a dream that Virō was restored to health after an illness. At the temple she was joined by Rāmīn and his forty men, who in women’s attire followed her into the citadel (*kundiz*). At night Rāmīn stealthily slipped to Zard’s bedside, but Zard awoke in time. Rāmīn implored him to surrender, but Zard, with curses, struck him with his sword. Then Rāmīn killed his half-brother and seized the castle.

The treasure was loaded on camels, and doubling the stages Rāmīn and Vis had arrived in Qazvīn when the king first heard what had happened. From Qazvīn Rāmīn entered Daylam. This country possessed an army of Daylamites and Gēls, all mighty archers and javelin-throwers. On a dark night they slay from far by the sound of (their victims’) voices. They are like *dēvs* at the moment of attack and “the world is still in ruins from their violence”. They have huge shields painted in a hundred colours. Urged by ambition, they fight among themselves continuously. “From Adam’s times until now” no king has ever conquered them, and their march (*marz*) has remained “virgin”.

Rāmīn met in Daylam only goodwill and sat on the throne of happiness. He had spread a cow’s hide and on it placed fifty bags (*badra*) of silver and gold, and an innumerable army was attracted by his gallantry and his *dīnārs*. He was obeyed by the notables of his entourage such as \*Kishmēr, Ādhēn, Virō, Bahrām, Ruhhām, Sām, and Gēlō.<sup>2</sup> Other shahs sent him armies from every part. Rāmīn’s great *sipāhdār* was Virō; his vazir and steward (*qahramān*) was Gēlō.

The army did not like Mōbad, but he decided to fight Rāmīn, and from Gurgān moved to Āmol. One night, as he was banqueting with his chiefs and distributing money to the men, a wild boar appeared from the bank of the stream and the king attacked him on his polo-horse. He used a short lance (*khisht*), but missed the beast, and the boar brought down the horse and the rider and gored the king to death.

<sup>1</sup> *Kōtvāl*, an Indian term possibly reflecting the time of Mahmūd’s conquests.

<sup>2</sup> *Var.* \*Kishmēr-yal, Ādhēn, Virō, his kind vazir Sām and Gēlō.

Rāmīn thanked God that war and bloodshed were avoided and swore to be a good ruler. From Daylam he came to Āmol, where the chiefs proclaimed him *shahinshāh*.

12. He gave Ṭabaristān to Ruhhām, who was a noble man of Kayānī origin ; he gave Rayy to Bihrōz, who was his well-wisher and adviser (*nēk-āmōz*) and who had given asylum to him and Vīs ; he gave Gurgān to his old friend Ādhēn. At headquarters Vīrō became *sipāhbad*, and his brother Shērō the mayor of the palace (*sarhang-i sarāy*). Each town was given to a shah, and a protector (*niḡāhbān*) was sent to each march (*marz*).

Rāmīn's dominion extended from China to Berberia. Order and happiness obtained everywhere. The world was rid of Kurds and Lūrs, highwaymen and rogues. The shah visited now Khorāsān, now Kuhistān, now Ṭabaristān, and now Khūzistān and Baghdād (*sic*).<sup>1</sup> Among the cities built by him was Ahwāz, which was called *Rām-shahr*, as it appears in the registers ; it was pleasant to live in and had a pleasant name, for " in their language *rām* means *khush* " (f. 505). Rāmīn also improved the harp, which was called *chang-i Rāmēnēn*.

Rāmīn and Vīs had two sons, Khurshēd and Jamshēd. To the former the East (*khāvar*) was given, namely Soghd, Khwārazm, and Chaghān ; to the second, the West (*bākhhtar*), namely Syria, Egypt, and Qayruwān. All the world was in the hands of Vīs, but her household domain (*khāṣṣ*) was Ādharbāyagān, Arrān, and Armenia.

Rāmīn lived 110 years, out of which 83 years he ruled in his own right (*shāh-i zamān*). With Vīs Rāmīn lived 83 years<sup>2</sup>, and when she died he had a *dakhma* built for her, erected over the fire-temple Burzīn.<sup>3</sup> On the Naurōz day he put on the throne his son Khurshēd and crowned him with the *tāj-i Kayānī*. He lived three more years under the shadow of Vīs's *dakhma*. In it he was finally buried, and the souls (*ruvān*) of the ancient lovers went to Mīnō.

The poet concludes by saying that God gave kingship to Rāmīn only when he ceased to be a slave of his passions (*āz*).

### § 3. DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

As can be seen, the main groups of the *dramatis personæ* centre round Marv and the region called Māh (Media).

To the former group belong the king of kings Mōbad, his brother Rāmīn (*alias* Rāmīna and Rām), and his half-brother Zard. The unnamed mother of Mōbad and Rāmīn appears on the stage at critical moments to pour oil on the troubled waters (pp. 183, 208). Zard was born of an Indian mother (p. 206), and he more often appears as Mōbad's *vazīr* and *sipāhbad* than as a prince. He himself says (p. 50) : " I am one of the shah's men ; at his court I am one

<sup>1</sup> N. Lees, 395 : " now to the Shūristān of Baghdād " (read : \**Sūristān* " Assyria ").

<sup>2</sup> Thus in N. Lees : " eighty-three " ; Wardrop and Minovi : " eighty-one."

<sup>3</sup> p. 508 : *bar-avardā az ātash-gāh-i Burzīn* (?). From the following verses it appears that Rāmīn built both the *dakhma* and the fire-temple.

of the army leaders.” Mōbad’s queen, Sahī, is quoted only once, at the bottom of the list of the invited guests!

The king’s name, Mōbad, is unexpected, for no other source supports the idea that kingly and priestly functions in Marv were confused.<sup>1</sup> We have to take it for a personal name, although bearing in mind that the discontented people of Māh called the king *mōbad* and *dastūr*, here definitely “the priest—minister”. This might suggest some flaw in Mōbad’s pedigree, although his ancestors are said to have been kings since Adam’s time (p. 128).<sup>2</sup> The king’s title is *shahinshāh* “king of kings”, lord of Iran and Turan, whose dominions, in his mother’s words, extended from China to Qayruwān (in Northern Africa). In the new edition the name of the king is followed by the patronymic *منیه‌کان*,<sup>3</sup> *Manīkān* or *Manēkān*, i.e. descended from Manik (Manēk), a name not directly attested either in Persian history or in epic tradition. In any case, it is an important indication, and we shall fully discuss it in our conclusions.

The text gives also a list of Mōbad’s knights, and later enumerates those who passed over to Rāmīn.

p. 29	pp. 495-6
Bahrām	Bahrām
Ruhhām Ardabīlī	Ruhhām
Gushāsp Daylamī	
Shāpūr Gēlī	
*Kishmēr-i yal	Kishmēr
Ādhēn	Ādhēn
Virō (son of Shahrō)	Virō (sipāhbad)
Rāmīn (the king’s brother)	
Zard (ditto)	
	Sām
	Gēlō (vazīr, son of Shahrō ?)

In the *Shāh-nāma* the name Ruhhām (Rahām ?) is borne by a famous son of Gōdarz; and the fact that our Ruhhām is said to be of Kayānian origin seems to be a hint at his connection with the hero of the lore of Kay Khusrau (*vide infra*). The name *Kishmēr-i yal*, i.e. “Kishmēr the hero” (or *Kishmēr-yal*, “the hero of Kashmīr”) sounds epic as well (*vide infra*, p. 759).

The list of the beauties who attended Mōbad’s festival is also characteristic, though it has considerable variants in the manuscripts and in the Georgian translation.<sup>4</sup> Mīnovī, 31, quotes :—

Shahrō Māh-dukht, *alias* Shahr-bānū  
Sarr-i Āzād of Ādharbāyagān  
Āb-i Nōsh of Gurgān

<sup>1</sup> It is true that in *Vend.*, i, 6, Marv is called *Mourum sūrēm artāvanēm* “the strong, the righteous”. In *Ayāt-kār-i Zarērān*, ed. Pagliaro, Roma, 1925, § 19, it is called Zaratustrian *Murv-i Zaratuštān*. For an explanation of the king’s name see below, vol. XII/1, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> On p. 29 the poet says that at the celebration of the Naurōz “the divine halo” (*farr-i khudā’ī*) was flashing from Mōbad’s countenance, but this may be but a common formula carrying no special weight in a general description of the festival.

<sup>3</sup> In N. Lees: *niyāgān* “ancestors” is surely a mistake.

<sup>4</sup> See N. Marr’s collation of N. Lees with the Georgian, p. 34.

Nāz-i dilbar of Dihistān  
 Dīnār-gēs of Rayy  
 Zarrēn-gēs (daughter of the khāqān ?, cf. pp. 252-4)  
 Shīrēn (from Būm-i kōh)<sup>1</sup>  
 Parī-Vīs (ditto : different from Vīs)<sup>1</sup>  
 Āb-nār (of the family of the vazirs of Isfahan)  
 Āb-Nāhēd (ditto)  
 Dukht-i Kanārang (from Sāva ?)  
 Sahī, wife of the shah

*Kanārang* is a purely Khorasanian title. Therefore *Sāva*, in the Teheran text, is impossible. The Indian edition, p. 31, has

ز رسنوں نامور دخت کنارنک

which also needs correction (*vide infra*, p. 18). Between *dukht-i kanārang* and the “wife of the shah” the Indian edition inserts: Shakarlab Nōsh (or, Nōsh-with-sugar-lips) from the land of \*Humāvan :—

شکرلب نوش از بوم هماون \* سمن رنگ و سمن بوی و سمن تن

The genuineness of the verse is supported by the Georgian translation (p. 6). The highlands of \*Humāvan are known in the *Shāh-nāma* (Tehran ed., iii, 450 ; iv, 895-906 ; v, 1431) as the place of many famous battles between the Iranians and Turanians under Kay Khusrau (*vide infra*, p. 760).

The second princely family is that of Māh (Media). Its head Qārin is not mentioned among Mōbad’s guests (p. 29), and he falls in battle at the beginning of the story. He appears chiefly as his wife’s husband. The latter calls him a *khusrau* (p. 42), yet his son Virō does not rebut Mōbad’s allegation that his “mother is of better origin than his father” (p. 191). The name Kārēn is that of a noble Arsacid family, connected with Media (see vol. XII/1, p. 10), although in later times many persons called Qārin were found among the princely families of Ṭabaristān (*see ibid.*, p. 11).

Qārin’s wife Shahrō was descended from the ancient Pēshdādiān king Jamshēd (p. 118), and she is referred to (pp. 32, 36) as *Shahr-bānū* “royal princess”, or even “queen”, *Māh-dukht* “princess of Media” (p. 31) and *Māh-i bānuvān* “the Moon of the Ladies”. Her name stands at the head of the list of Mōbad’s guests (p. 31). The foul-mouthed Mōbad, in a fit of anger, insinuates that Shahrō’s “thirty” children are all illegitimate,<sup>2</sup> and among them names Īzad-yār, Ērān-shah, Rōyēn, Nār, Āb-i nāz, Vīs (and ?) Shīrēn. The Indian edition (p. 121) quotes moreover Ādharbād, Farrukh-zād, Virō, Bahrām, Sāsān, and Gēlō.<sup>3</sup> Of these only Virō and Gēlō take an active part in the story.

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether Būm-i Kōh stands here for Kuhistān (= Media), or for some other Kuhistān (Southern Khorasan, or the highlands of the upper Murghāb, cf. p. 54). The two brides might be Shahrō’s elder daughters referred to by Mōbad (p. 121), although Shahrō herself (p. 35) denies having borne any daughters.

<sup>2</sup> He forgets that he himself had applied for Shahrō’s love without any success. On p. 201 he blesses Vīs as the offspring “of Qārin’s loins”.

<sup>3</sup> The Georgian version (p. 116) reduces the list to Adrabād, P’araxzād, Vipronḍ, Abanoz, Vīs, and Shirin. The additional names of the Indian editions are possibly a later addition. The

Virō, who succeeded his father Qārīn, is spoken of as “shah and shah-zāda” (p. 94). With his usual malice Mōbad says to him (p. 186): “thou art a lion in the region of Māh, outside it a fox would humble thee,” and challenges him to call troops from Iran, Ādharbāyagān, and the plain (lowlands?) of Gilān.

The youngest daughter of Shahrō is Vis, or Visa. In a MS. her name is spelt *Vaysa*, i.e. \**Vēsa*, but the form Vis is supported by the rhyme *Iblīs* (pp. 142, 229), and the Georgian translator (who distinguishes between *ē* and *ī*, *ō* and *ū*) spells it with *i*. The name does not occur elsewhere in Persian tradition, but *Vēsa* is known as a man's name in Turan.<sup>1</sup>

An episodic rôle is assigned in the poem to the notables (*sarāfrāzān*) of Gūrāb, Shāpūr, and Rafēdā (رفيدا) in the Georgian version: *Rafeda*. The latter's wife is Gōhar from Hamadān and their daughter is Gul<sup>2</sup>, whom Rāmīn marries during his separation from Vis. In the polo-match Rafēdā plays in a team of twenty with Mōbad and Rāmīn, against the team of Virō comprising Arghish and Sharvīn. The name *R.fyrdā* is a complete puzzle. It may have been misread by the “six translators” of the story from Pahlavi into Modern Persian (*vide supra*, p. 744).<sup>3</sup>

Another lesser chief is Bihrōz b. Shērō of Rayy. The text does not suggest that he was governor before Rāmīn's enthronement. In Parthian times Rayy was the fief of the Mihrānids.

Among the courtiers of Marv the story mentions Bihgōy, a clever adviser, as his name suggests; the noble scribe Mushkēn, whose name may contain a hint at the blackness of the ink he uses; and Ādhēn, who is not so noble, but whom Vis ennobles for being her confidant and messenger. All these names are purely conventional and unimportant.

In a story so avowedly belonging to the class of court-poetry and never descending from the level of kings and princesses, the sole representative of the lower classes is the nurse. She is known only by her name of origin (*nīsba*), Khūzānī. The sinister part she plays in the events, and especially her sorcery, are, however, attributed not to her low station but to her origin from Khūzān. In fact, she is an expert in witchcraft, as illustrated by such episodes as the preparation of the charm to render Mōbad impotent.

Apart from the heroes and the lesser personages of the story, Gurgānī quotes a number of names taken from the general stock of Iranian history and

name “Sāsān” would suggest some relations between the house of Māh and Fārs. One remembers that Ištakhr is one of the places from which Virō draws his auxiliaries, *vide infra*, p. 35.

<sup>1</sup> *Vēsa*, father of Pīrān, was apparently the ruler of Khottal (ختل), which name was later confused with Khotan (ختن). *Vēsakirt* is a town in Khuttal, but in the *Shāh-nāma* the residence of Pīrān, son of *Vēsa*, is at Khotan! Cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 227.

<sup>2</sup> Her rôle is similar to that of Isolde-the-White-hand of the story of Tristan (Éthé).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Avestan *rapitwā* “midday, south”, *rafədra* “support” (in Pahlavi translation *rāmishn, rāmēnītarīh*). It is also possible that the name, or a part of it, was originally spelt in Aramaic, meant to be pronounced in Pahlavi. The *Frahang-i Pahlavik* gives *lpyt'* (\**r.pētā*) in the meaning “a girl”, and *lpy'* (\**r.pyā*) “a boy” (H. W. Bailey).

mythology.<sup>1</sup> Only a reference to the famous archer Ārish has a claim to our attention (*vide infra*, p. 20).

#### § 4. GEOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

1. The empire of Marv
2. Western Khorāsān (Parthia)
3. Media, Gūrāb, Daylam, and the West
4. Geographical similes

1. The most obvious and striking fact in the background of *Vīs u Rāmīn* is that the action unfolds exclusively in Northern Iran. The events take place in an area extending from Eastern Khorāsān to Media, or more exactly from Marv to Hamadān, with a stress on the former. The south is out of the picture, except for some casual references to Fārs, Shīrāz (an Islamic creation!), and Kirmān (pp. 57, 29, and 402). It is the house of Māh which has more connections with the south (pp. 57 and 324).

The great king's residence is in Marv-i Shāyagān, or Shāhijān ("Marv-the-palace"), p. 205. Khorāsān (p. 171) and Marv (p. 413) have special praises. If in their moment of despair (pp. 126, 207) the heroes call Marv "dirty" (*ganda* "stinking"), its usual epithet is (p. 90) "select" (*guzīn*), and on p. 50 the poet quotes a praiseworthy custom of Marv. The river of Marv is said to come from Ghōr<sup>2</sup> and to flow past the castle of *Ashkaft-i Dēvān*. This latter detail seems to refer to one of the numerous artificial grottoes found in the hilly reaches of the Murghāb (in Pandjih, Marūchāq, Singlak, etc.).<sup>3</sup> In fact these caves are still known as *dēv-kan* "dug by the devs".

To the north-west of Marv, in the Caspian region, lie the hunting-grounds whither the *shahinshāh* repairs in spring. On a special expedition he pushes forward into Sārī (p. 273) and Āmol (p. 497), belonging to Ṭabaristān.

In the west Isfahān seems to be under Marv (pp. 31, 69), and it is praised (p. 316) as the best of Rāmīn's fiefs.

In the south Zāvul is within the radius of King Mōbad's activities, although the hint is left undeveloped (p. 274). Originally this name belongs to Ghaznī, but eventually may be taken for Sistān.

The outer ring of the king's eastern vassals appears in the list of places from which he draws his troops before marching on Māh (p. 54): "Ṭabaristān, Gurgān, Kuhistān, Khwārazm, Khorāsān, Dihistān, as well as Sind, Hind, Tibet, China, Soghd, and the confines of Tūrān and Māchīn (Mahāchīna)." In this list Kuhistān possibly refers not to Media but to the highlands of the upper courses of the Murghāb and the Heri-rūd (*vide supra*, p. 755). The second part of the list looks fantastic, but finds some explanation in the light of our general conclusions (see vol. XII/1, p. 6).

<sup>1</sup> Hūshang (130), Jamshēd (118, 438, 491), Zohāk (285, 430), Bēzhan (230), Khusrau Nūshīrvān (129, 184, 395, 472, 504, 506), Ārish (255, 322, 366, 398).

<sup>2</sup> It would be more exact to say "from Gharchistān, bordering on Ghōr".

<sup>3</sup> Supposed to be of Buddhist origin, see de Lassoë, Talbot and W. Simpson, "Discovery of Caves on the Murghāb," *JRAS.*, 1885, 92-102.



A purely imaginary note is struck in the strange episode of Mōbad's search for Vis throughout the world (p. 203), "both inhabited and uninhabited."<sup>1</sup> No better is the assertion that the king's sway in the west extended down to Qayruwān and Berberia (pp. 209, 300, 506). Qayruwān (south of Tunis), which was built in 50/670, figures here only in view of its notoriety, as a stronghold of Islam in the Far West, in the time of Gurgānī. Berberia is the westernmost point recorded in Muslim geographers.<sup>2</sup>

2. Somewhat apart in the story stands a series of unusual terms and names pointing to the territory of the original Parthia (Western Khorāsān). Such are (a) the Burzīn fire, (b) the daughter of the *kanārang*, (c) the native place of the nurse (Khūzān), (d) the hero called \*Kishmēr-yal, and (e) the land of \*Humāvan. These somewhat obliterated terms need a careful examination.

(a) The famous temple of Burzīn-Mihr is possibly identical with the national fire of the Arsacids which Isidore of Charax mentions in connection with the province Astauēnē. The temple lay at Rēvand, to the west of Nīshāpūr<sup>3</sup> (the latter being a Sasanian foundation). Vīs was buried close to the Burzīn fire and Rāmīn retired there in his old age (p. 508).

(b) Both the Indian and the new editions mention among Mōbad's guests (p. 31) a daughter of the *kanārang*. The indication of this dignitary's fief is faulty in the two editions. *ساوم* (Minovi) is impossible, for no *kanārangs* have ever been known in Sāva, which regularly comes under the Rayy region (p. 155). *Kanārang* is a Khorasanian title. At the time of the Arab conquest a *kanārang* (*kanarē*) was ruling over Nīshāpūr, Tūs, Nīsā, and Abīvard, i.e. over the nucleus of Parthian territories, cf. Balādhuri, 405. Marquart, *Ērānšahr*, 75, thought that the title belonged to the hereditary rulers of pre-Sasanian times. Both the noblemen on whose initiative the prose version of the *Shāh-nāma* was compiled in A.D. 957, namely Abū Maṣṣūr b. 'Abd al-Razzāq of Tūs and his deputy Abū Maṣṣūr al-Ma'mari, claimed to be descendants of the *kanārang*.<sup>4</sup> The Indian edition (p. 31) reads the name of the *kanārang*'s fief *رسون* which has no meaning. I should restore it as *\*استون* Astū(n) and identify it with *استوا* as the early Muslim geographers call the region of Qūchān (the ancient *Ἀσταυηνή*).<sup>5</sup>

(c) In connection with *Astauēnē*, one should consider the difficult question of Khūzān, the native place of Vīs's wily nurse, which is also called *shahr-i Khūzān* "town (or country ?) of Khūzān" (p. 163). Both Mōbad (p. 163) and Vīs (p. 138) are equally loud in their curses of this home of impudence, sorcery, and evil. It is a puzzle how the scions of two noble houses could have been entrusted to a Khūzānī and sent to Khūzān. Khūzān cannot be identified with Khūzistān, if only for the simple reason that the latter was

<sup>1</sup> Georgian translation: "India, the lands of Turks, Greece, China, Arran, and Iraq."

<sup>2</sup> See the old Preface to the *Shāh-nāma*, ed. Qazvīnī, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> See Hoffmann, *Persische Märtyrer*, pp. 290–1, and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 326. Rēvand may be a later home of the fire.

<sup>4</sup> See the old Preface to the *Shāh-nāma*, pp. 52, 57.

<sup>5</sup> Nuzhat al-qulūb, 150, speaking of Khabūshān (= Qūchān) says: "in the government books the name of this district is written *\*استو* \*Astū." Juvayni, ii, 13: *Khabūshān-i Ustuwā* (or *Ustū*). Probably "a hearth, a home" = Turk. *ojaq*.

known for its particularly unhealthy climate.<sup>1</sup> It is futile to postulate a royal baby being sent from Marv to the other end of Iran. Khūzān should be looked for somewhere halfway between Marv and Hamadān for Rāmīn and Vīs to have met at the same nurse's. One detail confirms this view. The distance from Marv to Gūrāb (or, for that matter, to Hamadān) was covered both by the nurse and Ādhēn in two weeks' time (pp. 332, 386). Rāmīn and Vīs, fleeing from Marv, reached Rayy in ten days (p. 198). On the other hand, it took the nurse only a week to join Vīs in Marv, travelling on swift camels (*jamāza*) and starting, as it seems, from her home (p. 93). A *Khūzān* exists in the district of Mārbīn of Isfahān.<sup>2</sup> It is also possible to imagine Khūzān (\*Khūzhān) as a parallel form of *Khūjān* (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, fol. 19b), i.e. the present day Qūchān<sup>3</sup> on the upper course of the Atrak (in Astauēnē, *vide infra*, p. 27). The fact that the villages Khūzān were known in Herat and Panjdih<sup>4</sup> and that a district Khujistān (although with a short *u*) existed on the upper Heri-rūd suggests that there may have been in ancient Khorasan some tribe *Khūz/Khuz* whose name has survived in local toponymy.<sup>5</sup> One might notice that Vīs reproaches Rāmīn (p. 430) for having treated the nurse as "an ignorant *gharcha*". This word is of distinctly Eastern Iranian origin ("a mountaineer"), and even now a considerable tract of the highlands separating the Murghāb from the Heri-rūd is called Gharchistān.<sup>6</sup> In the tenth century A.D. it possessed its own rulers with the title *shar*. However, the term *gharcha* in common Persian speech means only "rustic, boorish".

The choice between the possible identifications of Khūzān is embarrassing, but both the village of Isfahān and especially the highlands of Murghāb lie off the axis Marv/Hamadān, along which one would expect to find the roof under which both Rāmīn and Vīs met in their childhood. Therefore, and especially in view of the distances, it is safer to seek Khūzān (\*Khūzhān) at Qūchān (< Khūjān). Even admitting that Astauēnē was a home-land of the Arsacids, one could imagine that Khūzān was an enclave or colony of some particular (and more ancient) tribe at which the Parthians looked askance.

(d) The name of the hero *K.šmyr-yal* or *K.šmyr* is very strange. Although the Indian Kashmīr is mentioned in the *Bundahishn*<sup>7</sup> and several times in the *Shāh-nāma*, it is no part of Iranian lands and would be entirely unexpected in our "Khorasanian" context. Therefore I should rather connect Gurgānī's *K.šmyr* with the village of Kishmar, famous for a cypress which Zoroaster

<sup>1</sup> Qazwīnī, *Āthār al-bilād*, 102: "the people (of Ahwāz, which is Khūzistān) are the most miserable of all men. You do not see there a ruddy cheek. Its air is fatal (*qattāla*) to men, especially to strangers."

<sup>2</sup> Yāqūt, ii, 494; *Nuzhāt*, 50. One of the Khūzān worthies (d. 533/1138) lived in Marv. Another celebrity was Amīr Yār Aḥmad Khūzānī Isfahānī, surnamed Najm-i Thānī, who took an active part in Shah Ismā'il's operations in the region of Marv (in 916/1510), and was known for his ruthlessness.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, p. 758, note 5.

<sup>4</sup> According to Yāqūt, the latter abounded in amenities (*kathīrat al-khayr*).

<sup>5</sup> Yāqūt avers that a colony of Khūz (of Khūzistān) occupied a special quarter in Isfahān. The same may be true of the Khūzān of Mārbīn. But whether a similar migration can explain the names in Eastern Khorāsān is more doubtful. In our case no great weight can be put on the well-known similarity of the *prehistoric* pottery of Anau (in the present day Turkmenistan) to that of Susa in Khūzistān.

<sup>6</sup> See Longworth Dames, *Gharčistān*, in *E.I.*

<sup>7</sup> Gr. *Bundahishn*, 197, 2: *kšmyr i andarōn*, and 199, 1: "Kashmīr in the mountains of India" (H. W. Bailey); cf. *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 254.



had brought from paradise (*Shāh-nāma*, vi, 1499). It lies at one day's journey to the east of Turshīz (Sultanabad), in Southern Khorāsān.<sup>1</sup> According to lexicographers the name appears also as Kishmār and Kishmīr (\**Kishmēr*). In fact such an early author as 'Abd al-Malik Tha'ālibī (d. 430/1037) spells the name *K.shmyr* (\**Kishmēr*), and so does the *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 122, 143. Among the kings on whom the Sasanian Ardashīr conferred titles, I. Khurdādhbih, p. 17, mentions a Q.shmīrān-shāh. As the kings named are mostly those on the immediate periphery of Iran, it is possible that the Q.shmīrān (\**Kishmērān*)-shāh was connected with the district of Turshīz. This would explain Gurgānī's reference to *Kishmēr-yal*, and add one more detail to the Khorasanian frame of the story.

(e) The land of \**Humāvan* mentioned in the Indian edition (and in the Georgian translation, p. 6) as the home of one of the ladies at Mōbad's festival is very curious, as it belongs to the geography of the contested Irano-Turanian borderland.

*H.māvan* (\**Humāvan*) is a mountain particularly associated with the second Irano-Turanian war under Kay Khusrau (*Shāh-nāma*, iv, 895–940), which, it is not unlikely, reflects some real struggles between the Arsacids and the invaders from Central Asia. The Iranians commanded by Tōs and Gōdarz marched against the Turanian army led by Kāmūs-i Kushānī. The campaign begins on the river which Firdausī calls *Shahd*. Marquart, *Wehrōt*, pp. 6–7, has shown that this name should be restored as \**Sīnd* (Tac. ann. 11, 10: *Sīndes*; Yāqūt, iii, 167). The river apparently corresponds to the lower course of the Heri-rūd, which in ancient times was lost in wooded marshes between Sarakhs and Abīvard. After the Iranians lost the first battles they took up a position on Mount Humāvan, where they were besieged by the Turanians. This height can only correspond to one of the eastern peaks of the Northern Khorasanian range (Kopet-dāgh). In the course of the first two campaigns under K. Khusrau the Irano-Turanian boundary is definitely placed on the Heri-rūd, and I am disposed to identify Humāvan with Mount *X<sup>v</sup>anvand*, which (Yasht, 8, 38) was struck by the arrow of the Aryan archer Erexsā (Ārish). The object of his shot was to mark the farthest frontier point of Iran, and, in view of the position of the river "Shahd" and Mount Humāvan, the *original* version of Erexsā's exploit can be located there. The identity of the names *X<sup>v</sup>anvand* and \**Humāvan* is very probable, in spite of some phonetic difficulties, as is common in geographical names.<sup>2</sup>

As the frontier of Iran moved forward in the direction of the Oxus, the geographical interpretation of the legend naturally tended to follow the existing conditions, or even claims.

To conclude the commentary on Humāvan one should put on record the

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that originally Kishmar was the name of the cypress *itself*. According to the *Shāh-nāma*, vi, 1499, the Kishmar cypress was planted by Gushtāsp at the gate of the Burzīn-mīhr fire (the latter being situated at Rēvand, *vide infra*, p. 32). Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-qulūb*, Cambridge Or. 828, fol. 158b, says that King Bīstāsf planted it at \*Kishmēr in the rustaq of B.st (\*Pusht) of Nishāpūr. According to the *Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq*, Tehran, 1938, p. 281, two cypresses were planted, one at Turaythīth (Turshīz) and another at Faryūmad. The *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 122, 143, speaks of the two ancient cypresses, one in Balkh and the other in Kishmar (var. \**Kishmēr*), the latter planted by Gushtāsp's minister Jamāsp. That Kishmar was once a place of some importance is shown by the large tower standing in it and apparently belonging to the thirteenth century, Diez, *Churasanische Baudenkmäler*, 1918, p. 46, but nothing is known on its earlier history.

<sup>2</sup> Rather unexpectedly Herzfeld locates *X<sup>v</sup>anvant* in the West (!) between Hamadān and Zagros, *Mitt. aus Iran*, ii/2, pp. 83–4.

curious reference of Gurgānī to the shot of Ārish (p. 366 and the allusions on pp. 255, 322, 398).<sup>1</sup> According to him,<sup>2</sup> the arrow flew from Sāri to Marv. Should this detail belong to the original Pahlavi source, the target is taken on to the following river, the Murghāb, but is still short of the rivers of Gōzgānān, and especially of the Oxus, where the legend was located under the Sasanians. See *Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, pp. 330–2.

Although the five Khorasanian terms just analysed have something vague about them, their appearance in Gurgānī’s text is significant. They seem to belong to the dust of local traditions, semi-forgotten, but still taken for granted. They may represent the oldest layer of recollections forming the background of the romance of Vīs and Rāmīn. The hints at the Kay Khusrau lore are also interesting from the point of view of the imaginary connection of this king with the Parthian heroes (*vide infra*).

3. The second pivot of the poem is the capital of Māh, Hamadān, in Western Iran. Already Rayy (Rhages) belongs to the orbit of Māh (pp. 57 and 199). The extent of the connections of Hamadān appears from the list of friends on whom Virō relies in the hour of danger from the East. His auxiliaries (vassals ?) come from Ādharbāyagān, Rayy, Gīlān, Khūzistān, Ištakhr, Isfahān, and partly from Daylam (pp. 57–8). The mention of Ištakhr is curious as a hint at the relations of the Māh family with Fārs. West of Hamadān, Nihāvand and Dēnavar are repeatedly referred to in connection with the affairs of Māh.

Gūrāb (Georgian transl. *Gorab*), which holds a prominent place in the story, is a small fief entirely submissive to Māh. Its chiefs are described not as princes but as notables (*sarafrāzān*), and, of them, Rafēdā has close relations with Hamadān (pp. 168, 321). The range of friendships of the Gūrāb family appears from the list of guests whom Gul, the Lady of Gūrāb, invited to her wedding. They came from Gurgān, Rayy, Qom, Isfahān, Khūzistān, Kuhistān (here Media !) and Hamadān (p. 324). Gul’s brother was the governor (*pahlavān*) of Ādharbāyagān.

The position of Gūrāb is clearly to the south of Hamadān. When Mōbad led an army against Māh, Virō concentrated his men in the plain of Nihāvand (p. 58), but then must have moved them northwards to Dēnavar (lying on the highway from Mesopotamia to Khorāsān) where the king’s army was defeated (p. 65, and again p. 190). In his flight Mōbad left (to the north) the road to Khorāsān and retreated (south-east) to Isfahān (over Nihāvand ?). As Virō’s attention was distracted by the Daylamites, Mōbad retraced his steps to Gūrāb, where Vīs was staying.<sup>3</sup>

The descriptions leave no doubt that Gūrāb is identical with *Jurāb*, which Arab geographers place at the crossing of the roads from Nihāvand and Hamadān to Karaj (at 14 farsakhs east of the former, and at 12 farsakhs south

<sup>1</sup> The Avestan archer *θraxša* seems to have been confused with the Kayānid Kavi Arshan (Tab. *Ash al-Jabbār*), under the common Modern Persian form Ārish/Arish, cf. Marquart, *ZDMG.*, 1895, p. 634.

<sup>2</sup> Only the historian of Tabaristān Zahir al-Dīn, who wrote A.D. 1476, has a similar statement.

<sup>3</sup> That Mōbad carried Vīs from Gūrāb does not mean that this was Vīs’s home, but rather that she temporarily sojourned in the castle (*diz*) while the situation was unsettled.

of the latter, cf. Qudāma, 199). Even now the village Jūrāb (< Gūrāb) occupies that position (to the south of Daulat-ābād-Malāyīr).<sup>1</sup>

The origin of the name Gūrāb (as indicated by the Georgian transcription) is not clear. For گورابه and گوراب dictionaries give the meanings “salt marsh, a dome over a tomb, cemetery, hippodrome, a stocking (\*jōrāb), etc.” Possibly two different words (*gūr-* and *gōr-*) have been run into one in the same paragraph.<sup>2</sup> In the *Shāh-nāma*, i, 228, *gurāba* seems to stand for “borough, suburb” (?) (in Sīstān), and i, 267, Zāl is said to have built for his father “a *dakhma* within the *gūrāba*”. As a place-name *Gūrāb* is very frequent in Gīlān.<sup>3</sup> Originally the names may have referred to sacred tombs, but at present these *gūrābs* are only hamlets with market-places. In Central Persia the Jur-āb/Gūrāb/Jūrāb, to the south of Hamadan, stands isolated, but, in view of the general meaning attested in the *Shāh-nāma*, it is difficult to draw any special conclusions from the similarity of its name with the *gūrābs* of Gīlān.

The special position of Daylam (i.e. the highlands of Gīlān) is very clear in *Vis u Rāmīn*. When Mōbad attacks Vīrō some Daylamites come to the latter's help, but immediately after (p. 66) the shah of Daylam stabs Vīrō in the back by sending his troops to Tārom (on the middle Sefīd-rūd, see *E.I.*), where Vīrō has a representative. Daylam does not figure in the list of Rāmīn's conquests on behalf of Mōbad (p. 316), but when he seeks a refuge for himself and the treasure seized at Marv he penetrates into Daylam *via* Qazvīn (p. 494), famous in Muslim annals as the bulwark against the Daylamites. This time the wild mountaineers are impressed by his personality and largesse and help him. The description of the Daylamites is very vivid, and may be based on Gurgānī's own observations.<sup>4</sup> In the tenth century A.D. these highlanders played in Iran a rôle similar to that of the Norsemen in Europe. Gurgānī wrote at a time when the Būyid rulers were living their last days in Baghdād and Fārs. Possibly to please his Seljuk patrons, Gurgānī refers to the world being still in ruins from “the Daylamite violence”.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand he states that since Adam's time no king had ever conquered Daylam, and “down to our time this country has remained virgin (*būm-i dūshīza*, p. 495)”. It is known, however, that a Sasanian prince Kayūs b. Qobād had established himself in this region for some time. In the legend of Bahrām Chōbēn the remnants of his troops led by his sister Gurdiya find asylum in Daylam, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte d. Perser*, p. 479. This episode may have influenced the report of Rāmīn's adventures in Daylam.

<sup>1</sup> I passed it in 1905, on my way from Hamadān to Burūjird. [According to the *Gazetteer of Persia*, 1905, ii, 270, there are some ruins at Jurab and an old fort. My former pupil, R. Savory, writes to me (Hamadan, 25, I. 1946) that the ruined fort stands in a very prominent position on an (artificial?) eminence, on the northern side of the village.]

<sup>2</sup> Dr. W. Henning admits the possibility of an Aramaic etymology for *gūrāb* “a sepulchre”.

<sup>3</sup> In the region of Rasht one finds Gūrāb-sar, Gūrāb-jir, Lūcha-gūrāb, Aḥmad-gūrāb, another Gūrāb-sar, Gūrāb-pas, Gūrāb-Našīr, Kuhna-gūrāb, Khatma-gūrāb, see Melgunov, *O yuzhnom berege*, 1869, pp. 226, 228, 232, 237, 239.

<sup>4</sup> Very similar to the statements in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 306, and Muqaddasī, 368. See Minorsky, *La domination des Daïlamites*, Paris, 1932.

<sup>5</sup> To Gurgānī's honour, he does not gloss over the Seljuk destruction of the countryside of Isfahān, pp. 18, 23.

The overlords of Marv are paramount not only in Māh but far beyond it. From Hamadān, Mōbad plans an excursion to Mūqān, on the lower Kur, within the limits of Arrān, whereas Rāmīn is about to visit Armenia (pp. 162–3). Later Mōbad leads an army against the Emperor of Rūm (p. 229), but seems to operate chiefly in Arrān and Armenia (p. 253). Rāmīn, in his quality of sipāhbad of Māh, descends down to Khūzistān and Baghdād (p. 316) and destroys the king's enemies between Mosul, Syria, and Armenia (var. *Arrān*) (p. 470). Finally he succeeds Mōbad in the empire extending “from China to Berberia” (p. 504). Of his sons, one receives the East, with Soghd, Khwārazm, and Chaghān (north of the middle Oxus), and the other the West (*bākhṭar*) with Syria, Egypt, and Qayruwān. Vis's personal fief comprises Ādharbāyagān, Arrān, and Armenia.

4. There may be some obscurities in the toponymy of *Vīs u Rāmīn*, but, on the whole, its geographical frame is solid <sup>1</sup> and does not belong to the category of poetical ballast carried to steady the metre. The basic names are definitely part and parcel of the original version of the story. Nor does the poet Gurgānī handle them mechanically. Throughout his poem are strewn numerous geographical epithets astonishing for the correct use made of them. Suffice to notice :—

Abkhazian archers (*tīr-afkan-i Abkhāz*, p. 317), beauties of Khallukh (i.e. Turkish Qarluq, p. 79); beauties compared to pictures of Qandahār (i.e. frescoes of Gandhāra?) (407) (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, iv, 1076: *lu'bat-i Qandahār*). Chinese “icons” (*qibla-yi Chīn*) (328) and Chinese “culs-de-lampe” (*shamsa*) (407).

Bulls of Gilān (294), deer (*gavazn*) of Rūdbār (32), elephants of Tokharistān (*fīl-i Tukhāra*?), scorpions (*jarrāra*) of Ahwāz.

Alanian padlocks (*qufl-i Alānī*) (274), referring probably to the work of the locksmiths of Zirih-garān in Dāghestān; Greek keys (274) (cf. *Shāh-nāma*, iv, 1089: *band-i Rūmī* “fetters of Rūm”); Indian steel and blades (*pūlād* and *firand*) (274, 294); textiles of Rūm and China (310), brocades of Shūshtar (325), silk (*harīr*) of Astarābād (40).

Aloes of Khmer (*ūd-i Qimarī*) (32) and Samundūr (Samudra) (346), musk of Khirkhīz (Qirghīz) and Tibet (406, 409), camphor of Panchūr (*Fanšūr*) (404); pomegranates of Berberia (318), etc.

Only in one point has Gurgānī been carried away by his imagination. According to him (p. 505), one of Rāmīn's foundations was Ahwāz, which still figured in the registers as *Rām-shahr*. In fact, the old name of Ahwāz was Hormuz-Ardashīr (> *Hurmūshūr*), and it is said to have been built by the Sasanian Ardashīr, Ṭabarī-Nöldeke, p. 19. More likely Rām-shahr is meant to stand for the town Rām-Hormuz (> *Rāmīz*) lying 60 miles east of Ahwāz, but this town, too, is ascribed either to Ardashīr or to his grandson Hormīzd b. Shāpūr, see Ṭabarī-Nöldeke, 46; Ḥamza, 46; Marquart, *Provincial Capitals*, § 46 and p. 96.

<sup>1</sup> This fact was already noticed by Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.*, ii, 27: “fast ganz klar sind dagegen die geographischen Verhältnisse in *Vis und Rāmīn*.”

(To be continued)

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Vīs u Rāmīn: A Parthian Romance (Conclusion)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (1947), pp. 20-35

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608981>

Accessed: 17/03/2013 07:27

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

## Vīs u Rāmīn A Parthian Romance

By V. MINORSKY

(Conclusion)

### § 5. POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

SOME scheme of political organization can also be detected in the text of *Vīs u Rāmīn*.

The capital Marv is definitely considered the centre of a world monarchy, within the limits which we have tried to elucidate.<sup>1</sup> Mōbad is the king of kings, *shahriyār*, to whom all the shahs owe obedience (*banda būdand*) (p. 28). His personal dominions lie in North-Eastern Iran and are surrounded by a belt of vassal territories (Tabaristān, Gurgān, Dihistān, Khwārazm, etc.), but politically his authority extends to Media and beyond it to Transcaucasia (Arrān) and Armenia, reaching even the Mediterranean and North African territories.

It is true that Media formed a special self-governing body, but Mōbad led his armies against it, or marched through it, whenever he liked. The wars between Marv and Māh were those of a suzerain against a vassal. Zard reports to Mōbad as an indication of Vīrō's rebellious spirit that he assumed the title which apparently was tantamount to local sovereignty. Very curiously the youthful Rāmīn is described (p. 109) as "brother and child<sup>2</sup> to Mōbad, but shah and lord (*khudāvand*) to Māh". This suggests that Media may have been earmarked as a particular appanage of a younger member of the Marv dynasty, similarly to what Ādharbāyjān was to the Qājār heirs to the throne. Rāmīn's mother (p. 212) calls him *sipāhbad* endowed with a margravate (*marzubānī*) in Khorāsān, but when Rāmīn expresses his desire to go to Māhābād he asks Mōbad for an appointment as sipāhbad in that region (*kishvar*), and this is granted.<sup>3</sup>

One must not be led astray by Shahrō's words to Vīs (p. 42): "thy father is a *khusrau*," and the epithets which the nurse applies to Vīrō (p. 94): *shāh* and *shāh-zāda*. These seem to be titles of politeness possibly reflecting Vīrō's distinction on the distaff side. His father Qārin (p. 56) is called *gurd* ("hero"), which is a usual appellation of knights and paladins surrounding a throne. Thus it appears that Qārin and Vīrō were vassals receiving assignments from

<sup>1</sup> This is the weak point in the Muslim authors who tried to fit Mōbad into the reign of *other* great kings. *Vide* instalment A, *Bull. S.O.A.S.*, XI/4, 741.

<sup>2</sup> It has been suggested to me by a keen reader that this may be another hint at the Zoroastrian practice of *xvētōkdas* (marriage within the family), but I doubt whether we can go so far on the strength of an epithet which finds an easy figurative explanation.

<sup>3</sup> Some time before this happens we see Shahrō (and possibly Vīrō) in Marv (pp. 265, 271), which may be a foreboding of the coming change of administration.



Marv, perhaps pending Rāmīn's majority. The appointment of "Shahrō's husband" (*shūy-i Shahrō*, p. 52) to Hamadān may have been due to the nobility of this lady, issued from Jamshēd. [But cf. p. 33].

If Virō was not originally connected with Hamadān, the title which he assumed to the displeasure of Marv is very likely to be that of the ancient rulers of the place. *Rūhā* (روحا) is definitely impossible, and the original form might be restored as \*روجا *Rūjā* with the meaning approaching "Serenissimus" (cf. *rušš* "splendour", *rōšan* "clarus").<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the ancient title of the rulers of Media has not been recorded in the sources<sup>2</sup> and we have only a vague idea of the older dialects of that country.

Even though the rulers of Māh were dependent on Marv, it did not impair their authority over their own vassals ("vavasours"). Such seem to have been the notables of Gūrāb. Ādharbāyagān is a province from which Virō called in his allies (p. 57), and we also know that the governor of Ādharbāyjan was brother to Gul, Lady of Gūrāb (p. 320).

The administrative terms figuring in the poem are :—

*dastūr*, an equivalent of Islamic *vazīr*; the office was held by Mōbad's half-brother Zard;

*sipāhbad* "generalissimo"; this title is applied to Zard, to Rāmīn (first in Khorāsān and later in Māh) and to Virō (after Rāmīn's accession to the throne); of the lower ranks in the army are mentioned (pp. 195, 504) *sarvarān* and *gahbadān*, possibly "officers and pay-masters" (cf. Arab. *jahbadh* "a banker").

*marzubān* "warden of the march": Rāmīn (in Khorāsān and in Māh, p. 316); Gul's brother in Ādharbāyagān (p. 320);

*pahlavān*: Rāmīn (at Mōbad's court, p. 316); Gul's brother (in Ādharbāyagān); no great stress can be put on this general term (in Firdausī: "a hero"), although it is quite probable that originally it was connected with the noble Parthian families, such as Kārēn, Sūrēn, and Aspāhbadh, *vide infra*, p. 29, and cf. Christensen. *L'empire des Sasanides*, p. 23;

*sarhang-i sarāy* "mayor of the palace", Georgian transl. *msaxurt uxutsesi*: Shērō, another brother of Vīs;

*kanārang* (Byzantine *χαναράγγης*): father of one of the "beauties" at Mōbad's court. As stated above, A, 758, the title belonged to the warden of the Khorasanian march (Ṭūs, etc.). Firdausī quotes separately the *kanārangs* of Marv and of Ṭūs. [On *kōtwāl*, *vide supra*, p. 12, note 1].

On the whole, the story depicts a great oriental monarchy, not entirely centralized. The nucleus of the state (Marv) borders on a number of vassal territories whose autonomy increases in proportion with their distance from the centre, and whose lords with their ladies go to pay homage to the king. Among these lords there are representatives of the ancient dynasties (Shahrō, Ruhhām) who receive assignments of provinces and in this way are incorporated

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Henning suggests an alternative reading: \**wrjā* "powerful".

<sup>2</sup> At the time of the Arab conquest the commander in Hamadān was *Khusrau-sh.nām*, but this seems to be an honorary title conferred by the king, cf. Justi, pp. 139, 314; Marquart *Erānsahr*, 71, 73.

into the general pattern of administration. Things were not going smoothly in Mōbad's kingdom. His personality may have been responsible for the discontent in the army to which he himself refers (p. 496). One of the stakes of the cunning nurse, in her plan of revolt against Mōbad, is also the disaffection reigning among Mōbad's vassals, whom she calls *shāhān* (p. 481).

Of the religious hierarchy (*mōbad*, *dīndār*) there is hardly any mention in the text (p. 195). A romantic poem naturally leaves very little space to religious matters,<sup>1</sup> but one passage (p. 44) is very characteristic. Shahrō herself marries her children Virō and Vīs by joining their hands, while she declares: "there is no need of a mōbad's seal on the contract (*nāma*), nor of the presence of witnesses," for God alone is a sufficient witness. This attitude surely points to a period before the formation of a powerful class of priesthood, i.e. to the pre-Sasanian period.<sup>2</sup>

### § 6. CONCLUSIONS

1. Geographical background of the poem is Arsacid
2. The home of the Parthians and Marv
3. The branch of Gōdarz-Bēzhan
4. Marv under the Sasanians
5. "Mōbad Manikān"
6. Kārēn of Media and his wife Shahrō
7. Final summing up

1. Had Gurgānī written his *Vīs u Rāmīn* a score of years later, after Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor in the plain of Malāzgird (26th September, 1071), one might have imagined that the story was arranged to suit the Seljuk fortunes. However, both the ancient details of the plot and the unequivocal date of composition leave no doubt as to where the background of the story should be looked for.<sup>3</sup> In fact, at no period of the long history of Iran did the material, and especially geographical conditions, correspond to those described in *Vīs u Rāmīn*, except at the time of Parthian dominion, under the rule of the Arsacid dynasty.

These kings were issued from the Parni clan of the Dahi nomads who lived in the steppes to the south-east of the Caspian, where their name has survived in that of the district of Dihistān.<sup>4</sup> The Arsacids first rose to fame on

<sup>1</sup> See the occasional mentions of the God of the Universe (*yazdān-i jahān*, p. 210) and Ahriman (pp. 193, 330), of the fire-temple (Burzīn) with a *dakhma* (p. 508), and of oaths taken either to the "pure souls of the good and the ancestors" (i.e. *fravartīs*, p. 210), or before the temple fire specially fed with wood (p. 195). Maleficent *dēvs* are frequently mentioned in the text (p. 103, etc.), often with the adjective *sitanba* "evil, ugly, strong": p. 150 *sitanba-dēv-i mihr*; p. 407: *sitanba-dēv-i hijrān*; p. 412: *sitanba-dēv-i bad-khū* (possibly an incubus).

<sup>2</sup> Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans*, 58: "freilich eine so allmächtige Stellung wie unter den Sasaniden nahmen die Magier in der Arsacidenzeit noch nicht ein."

<sup>3</sup> These details form the genuine background of the story, and it is unlikely that Gurgānī was guided only by recollections of the western campaigns under the Sāmānids (Abū 'Alī Chaghānī's campaign in A.D. 944) and Ghaznavids (Mas'ūd's capture of Hamadān in A.D. 1029).

<sup>4</sup> A district on the lower Atrak, mentioned as King Mōbad's dependency, pp. 31 and 57. Also *vide infra*, p. 29, Ṭabarī's reference to Dihistān. The original territory of the Dahi extended much further east beyond the Tejen (Ochos).



the northern fringe of Khorāsān. Thence they expanded along the historical highway connecting Khorāsān with Media and further with Mesopotamia. In Southern Persia some obscure descendants of the Achæmenids (?) carried on as kinglets on a purely local level (*fratakara*). In the first century A.D. a Parthian family (Mihrān) ousted the Sakas from Sīstān and later penetrated into India (under the name of Palhava). In Armenia a Parthian dynasty ruled A.D. 51–430, and maintained its position in Sasanian times, but even before A.D. 51 Parthian princes occasionally occupied the Armenian throne.<sup>1</sup> In the west the Parthians perpetually clashed with the Seleucids and Romans, and in 40 B.C. occupied Jerusalem. The famous silk road connecting China with the Mediterranean ran within the Parthian dominions. Central Persia was in feudal occupation of the great Parthian families, such as Kārēn (Arab. *Qārīn*), Mihrān, and Sūrēn. In Arabic the term *mulūk al-ṭawāʾif* (“tribal kings, ethnarchs”) is used to describe the feudal character of Parthian dominion.

All these general characteristics are reflected in *Vīs u Rāmīn*, and even the details about Mōbad’s “domination” in China and India, his intended trip to Zāvul (more or less corresponding to Sīstān), the expedition to Arrān<sup>2</sup> and Armenia, the war with the “Roman cæsar”, the extension of Mōbad’s sway to Mosul and Syria have not the appearance of pure figments of Gurgānī’s imagination,<sup>3</sup> but of likely echoes of Arsacid times.

2. At this place it will be helpful to quote the description of the original Parthian territory found in Isidore of Charax (who wrote in the earliest years of our era): “behind Comisēnē (Arab. *Kōmīsh*) and Hyrcania (Arab. *Gurgān*) is Astauēnē, 60 schoeni (= 60 farsakhs) . . . and the city of Asaak (\**Ἀσακ* ?) in which Arsaces was first proclaimed king; and an everlasting fire is guarded there. Beyond is Parthyēnē (Parthia), 25 schoeni, within which is a valley, and the city of Parthau-Nisa (Arab. *Nīsā*) after 6 schoeni; there are royal tombs. . . . Then the city of Gathar after 6 schoeni. Then the city of Sirōc (= Sarakhs ?) after 5 schoeni. . . . Beyond is Apauarktikēnē (= Abīvard) 27 schoeni. Then the city of Ragau. . . . Beyond is Margiana (= Marv), 30 schoeni. There is Antiochia, called “well-watered”; but there are no villages. . . .”

Should our restoration of the names \*Astūn (= Astauēnē), Khūzān, and \*Humāvan prove acceptable,<sup>4</sup> their combination with the fire Mihr-Burzīn, Kishmēr, Dihistān, etc., is clearly suggestive of Parthian memories. Most characteristic of all is the total eclipse, throughout the story, of Fārs, that cradle of the Achæmenids and the Sasanians. Such oblivion would be unthinkable under the successors of the Arsacids.

Neither the “Turanians” nor the “Turks” are spoken of in the poem, except for a lady at Mōbad’s court, who is the daughter of the *khāqān*, but

<sup>1</sup> Khalatyantz, *Ocherk istorii Armenii*, Moscow, 1910, chapters xii–xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Even in the seventh century A.D. there was a Christian dynasty in Arrān descended from Mihrān, said to be of Sasanian origin, although originally “Mihrān” was a Parthian family (of Rayy).

<sup>3</sup> To the latter category belongs only the Muslim Qayruwān projected into the hoary past.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide supra*, A, 758.

bears an Iranian name. The term *khāqān* is too vague for any historical identification, especially as it could have been used retrospectively.<sup>1</sup>

The choice of Marv as a capital of Mōbad is somewhat unexpected, as this ancient city does not loom very high in our scanty data on the home of the Arsacids. However, Marv is included in the line of *σταθμοὶ Παρθικοί*, but immediately after Margiana the road described by Isidore of Charax sharply turns away southwards to Aria (Herat). In fact without solid occupation of Marv<sup>2</sup> the basin of the Tejen (i.e. the lower Hari-rūd, Ochos), the royal tombs, the historic Asaak, and the fire-temple would have enjoyed no security from the turbulent tribes of the steppes. According to Pliny (*vide infra*, p. 26) Roman captives, survivors of Crassus' defeat (on 9th June, 53 B.C.), were settled by King Orodes in Margiana. If our historical commentary on the dynasty of Mōbad is right, the position of Marv as the pivot of the story is quite plausible.

3. To define more closely the period to which *Vīs u Rāmīn* belongs is a more difficult task. The Parthians lorded it over Iran for nearly five centuries (from 247 B.C. to A.D. 224), but their successors, the Sasanians, obliterated their memory more thoroughly than the 'Abbāsids did that of the Omayyads. The very character of a romantic poem is unlike the hero-worshipping attitude of the *Shāh-nāma*; and, in the course of transmission and adaptation, the story must have lost many characteristic features (see Gurgānī's *Preface*). With all that, it seems to be connected with the branch of the Parthian rulers founded by Gōdarz II (A.D. 39–51?). His stormy career is mainly known through Roman authors (Tacitus). Gōdarz, son of Gēv (ΓΩΤΑΡΖΗΣ ΓΕΟΠΟΘΡΟΣ, as he calls himself in his inscription at Bisutūn) is usually taken for a "Hyrcanian".<sup>3</sup> He was adopted by his father-in-law Artabanus II (A.D. 12–38?), himself an Arsacid only on the maternal side.<sup>4</sup> Both Artabanus and his adopted son were champions of the Arsacid homelands as against the westernized kings brought up in Media, Mesopotamia, or even Rome. The signal episode in the career of Gōtarzes is the defeat he inflicted on the Roman candidate Meherdates (*vide infra*, p. 30). Gōtarzes died in A.D. 51, and after him Hyrcania (Gurgān) became an independent kingdom, which existed for another century and even sent embassies to Rome. Hardly anything is known of the history of this body politic except that it incorporated Caramania (Kirman)<sup>5</sup> in the south and thus formed a continuous eastern wall. Marv, lying in the extreme east of the Parthian territories, must have been comprised in the orbit of Hyrcania.

<sup>1</sup> Of Turkish terms I have noticed in the text only *chākar*.

<sup>2</sup> Marv 68 schoeni (in reality *circa* 220 miles) from Nisā.

<sup>3</sup> What it means ethnologically is not easy to say. A special language (*lutrā*?) is mentioned in Gurgān in the *Hudūd al-'Ālam* (tr., p. 134), and in the fifteenth century the Ḥurūfī heresiarch Faḍlullāh wrote in the local dialect. Our further development would suggest some special links of Gōdarz with the region of Nisā-Marv.

<sup>4</sup> Marquart, *ZDMG.*, 1895, 641; N. C. Debevoise, *A political history of Parthia*, 1938, 152–166, considers him as Artabanus III.

<sup>5</sup> In spite of Herzfeld's doubt, *Arch. Mitt.*, iv/2, 87, *Caramania* tallies with the Acts of the Apostle Thomas.

Very confused recollections of Arsacid times have survived in Iran, but even these vague genealogies and legends, which may have preserved some facts of local importance,<sup>1</sup> are precious for our special task of assigning to *Vīs u Rāmīn* a place in Iranian tradition.

One of the more complete lists of the Arsacids is found in Ṭabarī, i, 710<sup>2</sup> :—

1. Afqūr (Pacorus) b. Balāsh b. Sābūr b. Ashkān b. Ash al-Jabbār (= Kavi Arshan) b. Siyāvush b. Kay Khusrau.
2. Sābūr b. Afqūr (contemporary of Jesus Christ).
3. Jūdharz b. Sābūr.
4. Abzān (= Bēzhan) b. Balāsh b. Sābūr.
5. Jūdharz b. Abzān.
6. Narsē b. Abzān.
7. al-Hurmuzān b. Balāsh.
8. al-Fayrūzān b. al-Hurmuzān.
9. Kistrā b. al-Fayrūzān.
10. Arduvān (= Artabanus V) b. Balāsh.

In the *Shāh-nāma* the history of the *Ashkāniyān* (Arsacids) has been reduced to seven names<sup>3</sup> and told in twenty verses: “of them,” says Firdausī, “I have not heard, save for the names, nor have I seen them in the *Book of Rulers*.”

It was Nöldeke who made an ingenious suggestion with regard to the Arsacids. He thought that the occurrence of the group of names, consisting of Gōdarz, Gēv (Vēv), and Bēzhan,<sup>4</sup> both in the genealogies of the Arsacids and in the saga of Kay Khusrau, as told in the *Book of Kings*, could not be fortuitous. His idea was that, probably at the instigation of the noble Parthian families who took service under the Sasanians, the deeds of their noble ancestors had been projected back into the times of the mythical Kayānian king Kay Khusrau, who himself was endowed with some traits of Artabanus II.<sup>5</sup> One of the paladins of Kay Khusrau, Gōdarz (considered as father of Gēv), who is

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Pers. Studien*, ii, 31, thought that Muslim genealogies of the Arsacids referred to a side-line (Nebenlinie) having outlived the fall of the Parthian empire.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ḥamza, pp. 14, 28, 36, 41–4; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, ii, 136; Bīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 113–16. Later Persian sources are fully analysed in Gutschmid-Mühlau, “Zur Geschichte der Arsakiden,” *ZDMG.*, 1861, pp. 664–689 = Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, iii, 5–42.

<sup>3</sup> Ashk, son of Qobād; Shāpūr (descended from Khusrau ?); Gōdarz, an Ashkānid; Bēzhan, a Kayānid; Narsē; Ormuzd the Great; Arish, i.e. Kay Arshan, confused with Ārish the archer (cf. Marquart, *ZDMG.*, 1895, p. 634); Bahrām Arduvān, (vii, 1922).

<sup>4</sup> The sequence appears to be Gēv-Gōdarz-Bēzhan. Gōtarzes calls himself *Geopothros*, but Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, iv/2, 60, takes now *Gēv* for the name of the family, and not of a man. Bēzhan figures as the son of Gōdarz (II) in Ṭabarī, i, 710, Mas‘ūdī ii, 136, and Ḥamza, 14 (but not 28, 43). In the legend of St. Thomas, apostle of India, Marquart has identified the king Mazdai with Gōdarz, his son *Vēzan* (Ὀὐζάνης) with Bēzhan and the latter’s wife *Mvηoάpa* with Manēshak = Manēzha, *Die Chronologie d. alttürk. Inschr.*, 1898, p. 68; *Ērānshahr*, 72, 74. La Vallée Poussin, *L’Inde aux temps des Mauryas*, pp. 276–280, has overlooked this identification. [Marquart, *Ērānshahr*, 74: *vēh-zan Eὐγένος*.]

<sup>5</sup> Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii, 29–34, in *Sitz. Wiener Akademie*, 162 Band, 1892; Nöldeke, *Das Iranische Nationalepos*, § 8; further demonstration in Marquart, *ZDMG.*, 1895, pp. 634–644; idem., *Ērānshahr*, 72–4; see also Christensen, *Les Kayanides*, Copenhagen, 1932, pp. 59, 127–9; and more recently Marquart, “Iberer und Hyrkanier” in *Caucasica*, 9, 1931, pp. 78–113; and Sir J. C. Coyajee, “The house of Gotarzes: a chapter of Parthian history in the *Shāhnāmah*,” in *JASB.*, 1932, xxviii, No. 10, pp. 207–224. Herzfeld, *Sakastan*, *Arch. Mitt.*, iv/2, 1932, 45–116.

described as a knight *sans reproche*,<sup>1</sup> is apparently a mask of Gōtarzēs Geopothros of the Bīsūtūn inscription.<sup>2</sup>

In Firdausī's list of the Ashkānians (Tehran ed., vii, 1922) Bēzhan quoted after Gōdarz is said to be of Kayānian origin, while, in the section of Kay Khusrāu, Bēzhan, the lover of the Turanian princess Manīzha, is son of Gēv b. Gōdarz (ibid., iv, 1065–1140).<sup>3</sup> Two of his sons, Shērōya and Ardashīr, are mentioned in the *Shāh-nāma* (vi, 1489). Firdausī keeps silence on their fate, but in the part of the *Shāh-nāma* (vi, 1523–4) composed by Daqīqī two princes Ardashīr and Shērō fall in battle against Arjāsp. They are said to be the sons of Gushtāsp, but their identity with the sons of Bēzhan is not impossible.

4. Before we proceed with the examination of some characteristic points in *Vīs u Rāmīn*, we should consider whether anything in the history of Marv could throw some light on the family of Mōbad. In Persian epics and the *Book of Kings* Marv does not occupy any place of prominence.<sup>4</sup> Under the Kayānids it is mentioned only once, on the occasion when Kay Kā'ūs sends his armies to the four provincial capitals of Khorāsān (*Shāh-nāma*, ii, 408). The town of Marv is said to be an Alexandrian foundation.<sup>5</sup> Under the Sasanians it figures as a frontier town exposed to eastern invaders, or as a refuge of rebels (Bahrām Chōbēn).<sup>6</sup> Only at the moment of Yezdegerd III's murder (31/651) we have some light on the local organization. The contemporary ruler was Māhōy Sūrī.<sup>7</sup> His rank is variously described as *marzubān* (Tab., i, 2873, Balādhuri, 315–16), *dihqān* (Tab., i, 2876), or *kanārang* (*Shāh-nāma*, ix, 2983, separate from the *kanārang* of Tūs). One of Ṭabarī's sources gives his pedigree as مَاهَوِيَه بَن مَافَاه بَن فَيَذ<sup>8</sup>; other sources call him Māhōy Abrāz (var. *B.rān*), or even Abū Abrāz, adding that Abrāz was the name of

<sup>1</sup> Nöldeke, *Grund. d. iran. Phil.*, ii, 174: "der Typus aller lobwerten Eigenschaften."

<sup>2</sup> The Kalhur Kurds living in the neighbourhood consider themselves descended from Gōdarz b. Gēv (*sic*). "Under the Kayānians, Gēv was governor of Babylon. . . . His son Ruhhām, at the order of Bahman, led an army to Jerusalem and Egypt. . . . The historians identify him with Bukht al-Naṣr (= Nebuchadnezzar)," *Sharaf-nama*, ed. V. Zernov, p. 317. This statement is based on Ḥamza, 36: Bukht-Naṣr, son of Vēv (= Gēv), son of Jōdarz.

<sup>3</sup> It is true that Gōdarz, ibid., iv, 931, is said to be a relation (*khwēsh*) of Fariburz, son of Kay Kā'ūs; on the other hand his son Gēv was married to Rustam's daughter. She is said to be the mother of Bēzhan. All these pedigrees are naturally fantastic.

<sup>4</sup> Although in the Avesta Margiana (*Mouru*) figures in the list of best countries created by Ahura-Mazdā, see now Christensen, *Le premier chapitre du Vendidad*, 1943, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Marquart, *Provincial capitals*, § 12 and p. 45, cf. Pliny, *hist. nat.*, VI, 46 (ed. Detlefsen, 1904, p. 137): Margiane . . . in qua Alexander Alexandriam condiderat; qua diruta a barbaris Antiochus Seleuci filius eodem loco restituit Syriamam interfluente Margo qui corrivatur in Zothale (var. Zothalac). Is maluerat illam Antiochiam appellari . . . In hanc Orodes Romanos Crassiana clade captos deduxit.

<sup>6</sup> Ṭabarī-Nöldeke, p. 17; Wolff, *Glossar zu Firdōsīs Shāh-nāma*, sub verbo Marv.

<sup>7</sup> Nöldeke was ready to interpret his second name as \**Sūrēn*, and thus connect Māhōy with the great Parthian family whose fief was Sijistān (?). [As a personal name Sūrī occurs in the family of the rulers of Ghōr and Ghaznī, see *Tabaqāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, 316, 438.]

<sup>8</sup> Marquart first restored the father's name as مَافَنَام \**Māpanāh*, and later less happily as Māh-Nahīd. [Dr. W. Henning reminds me of the Khwārazmian word *fynd* "a husbandman," which might eventually fit into فَيَذ < فَيَذ. Cf. Marquart, *Zābul*, p. 289.]

his son who was his deputy in Marv. In view of the names of Māhōy's father and grandfather recorded in Ṭabarī, it is quite unlikely that the taunt of being a "shepherd's son" (*shubān-zāda*) which Firdausī (ix, 3,000, 3,008) addresses to Māhōy can be taken *à la lettre*.

One fact merits our full attention. The genealogy of the Arsacids appears in the part of Ṭabarī edited by Nöldeke. The latter had recognized that the name rendered in the MSS. as ایران ایران was only an aberrant form of *Bēzhan/Wējan* occurring in other sources, and restored it as ایران.<sup>1</sup> A very similar complex of letters stands in the part containing the story of Māhōy, but here (Ṭab., i, 2789, f) a different editor restored ایران رار ران as \*Abrāz, in view of the supposed etymology *barāz* "a boar", which is most unlikely and is contradicted by Ibn Khurdādhbih.<sup>2</sup>

In the list of shahs confirmed by the Sasanian Ardashīr, I. Khurdādhbih first mentions a Marv-shāh (p. 17), and then (p. 39) adds that his "title was Māhōya, whereas that of the king of Nisā was ایران. The editor, de Goeje, following Ṭab., 810, restored this name also as ایران, whereas in all probability it is again \*Abzān, a variant of the name *Bēzhan*.<sup>3</sup>

Nisā is the heart of the ancient Parthyēnē, and to find in it a ruler called \*Bēzhan is very interesting. One might criticize I. Khurdādhbih's data on the ground that both in the case of Māhōya and Abrāz/\*Abzān he quotes only the *personal* names found in the story of Yezdegerd III. To this one might object that even in Ṭabarī, i, 2877, Māhōya himself is called براز دهقان مرو, "Abzān, dihqān of Marv" and, i, 2888: ایران (زار var.) مرزبان مرو. Unless in both cases we have to read \*ابو ایران, we have to admit that ایران *Abzān* was a local title in Marv-Nisā, identical with the form of Bēzhan's name in the lists of the Arsacids.

If in fact the rulers of Marv-Nisā, towards A.D. 651, bore a title equivalent to the name of Bēzhan, and apparently connected with this eponym, it is tempting to see in them continuators of the Gōdarzian branch, which at one time interrupted the direct succession of the Arsacids. Some explanation of Māhōya's betrayal of his Sasanian sovereign might be found in his consciousness of his ancient origins. Firdausī's *shubān-zāda* might also be understood as a hint at the nomad habits of Māhōya's forefathers.

5. Having sifted the dust of facts bearing on the Arsacid tradition and the history of Marv, we must now turn our attention to the internal evidence of

<sup>1</sup> Ṭabarī, i, 710: "scripsi ایران quia e nomine ییزن ortum est."

<sup>2</sup> The spellings in the MSS. do not favour the identification of the name with that of Gurāza (< \**Varāzak*, Greater Bundahishn, 197.2: *Bairazd i kōshishn kartār*) whom Firdausi, Tehran ed., iii, 787, calls *sar-tuḡhma-yi Gēvakān* "the head of the Gēv-ids", and whom the "Prov. capitals", § 21, takes for the founder of Ctesiphon.

<sup>3</sup> A possible improvement of the reading might be \*ایران *Īzān, Ēzān*, cf. Henning, *Ein manich. Bet- und Beichtbuch*, p. 56.



*Vis u Rāmīn* in support of the assumption that the story is connected with the house of Gōdarz-Bēzhan.

In Minovi's edition the name of the king of Marv, Mōbad, is twice (pp. 33, 58) accompanied by the name of origin منیکان \**Manīk-ān*. In the present state of our knowledge, the name does not suggest anything, unless we take *Manīk* for a parallel form of *Manīzha*, the spouse of Bēzhan.<sup>1</sup> Metronymic designations are certainly uncommon, but in *Vis u Rāmīn* itself we have an example in *Virō-yi Shahrō*. The use of the mother's name may have been conditioned by the necessity to distinguish between the children of different mothers, and, on the fringe of Turan, the name of Afrāsiyāb's daughter must have carried great weight. Bēzhan himself is one of the most popular figures of Iranian tradition.<sup>2</sup> By way of introduction to the story of Bēzhan and Manīzha, Firdausī, iv, 1065–7, tells how on a stormy night, when he could not sleep, a friend, a "sun-faced moon", offered to read to him out of a "Pahlavi book" (*daftar-i pahlavī*) a wonderful story which he would then put into verse. The passage suggests that the story formed a special narrative or cycle. Judging by the example of the Sīstān heroes, one might think that legends were current about the progeny of such a hero as Bēzhan.<sup>3</sup> As is usual in epics, the romantic antecedents of a father (Bēzhan) may have been imitated in the adventures of his descendants (Rāmīn?).

The personal name of the king of Marv, somehow associated with Zoroastrian terminology, is still difficult to explain. Some hints at the sacred character of Marv have been quoted above (A, 754). The poem seems to suggest that outside the gate of Marv there existed a fire-temple built by Jamshēd and dedicated to the Sun (pp. 195, 491). On the other hand, Vis was buried near the temple-fire Burzīn, and Rāmīn spent his last days near her tomb (pp. 508, 510). The historical temple of Mihr-Burzīn ("the high Sun") stood at Rēvand (Rāvīn), to the west of Nīshāpūr. There are strong reasons for assuming that this great Fire was somehow connected with that mentioned by Isidore of Charax in the neighbourhood of the ancient home of the Arsacids, the town of Asaak (\*Arsak).<sup>4</sup> It looks as if in *Vis u Rāmīn* two Fires have been made out of one Mihr-Burzīn: one in Marv (*khwarshēd* = *Mihr*, "the

<sup>1</sup> Yasht, 5, 34: *Arnavāk*, Mod. P. *Arnavāz*. Cf. Pahl. *kanīk* "a girl", Mod. P. *kanīz*.

<sup>2</sup> Readiness to quote Bēzhan's name explains the gross misunderstanding in the *Shāh-nāma* (ix, 299) where the chief of the Turks attacking Yezdegerd III is called, Bēzhan "of Tarkhān origin". Māhōya incites him against his own master by telling him to remember "the ancestral feuds (*kīn-i niyāgān*)". Here نيزک is an obvious mistake for نيزک طرخان (*Nīzūk*, Chinese *Ni-chou*) on whom see Tabarī, i, 1877, and Balādhurī, 420.

<sup>3</sup> *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, 80: Ūjān in Āzarbayjān, founded by Bēzhan; 144: Junābid (in the Qūhistān of Khorāsān), built by a son of Gōdarz; 91: Hamshahra (near Mūghān), residence of Farhād b. Gōdarz. The Chalāvī dynasty of Māzandarān (1349–1503) claimed to be descendants of Bēzhan (son of Gēv and Rustam's daughter), see *Zafar-nāma*, ii, 584; they bore such names as Afrāsiyāb and Luhrāsp. "Provincial capitals," ed. Marquart, § 35: Rakhvat (Qandahār) founded by Rahām, son of Gōdarz.

<sup>4</sup> See Hoffmann, *Pers. Märtyrer*, pp. 290–2. Asaak "in irgend einem historischen oder genealogischen Zusammenhang mit dem Burzīn-Mihr Feuer stand".

Sun”), and the other Burzīn (without any detail). If Mōbad was connected with Parthyēne and the original fief of the Arsacids, one might imagine that the sacred fire was under his protection and that he may have had some honorary title resulting from these special attributions. This surmise is merely a hint for future explorers.

References to Isfahān (*vide supra*, A, 757) are also interesting. In Ṭabarī, i, 613, Gōdarz, after his victory over the Turks, is appointed *buzurg-framadhār* and given the fiefs of Gurgān and Isfahān “with their highlands”. Similarly in the *Shāh-nāma*, ii, 377: Gōdarz receives Isfahān; iii, 749: he receives Khorāsān, Rayy, Qum, and Isfahān; v, 1266: Isfahān is again conferred on him; v, 1430: on his application, K. Khusrau gives Qum and Isfahān to Gēv.<sup>1</sup>

Remembering that Hyrcania occupied an important place in the career of Gōtarzes Geopothros, or even was his home, we can attach some importance to the frequent mentions of Gurgān (Hyrcania) in *Vīs u Rāmīn*. Even proceeding against the “Roman cæsar” Mōbad marches *via* Gurgān.

The characteristic name of Mōbad’s paladin Ruhhām-i Ardabilī, said to be of Kayānian origin, reminds one of Ruhhām, son of Gōdarz, belonging to the cycle of Kay Khusrau (*vide supra*, A, 754). The same may be said of the land \*Humāvan in an additional verse in N. Lees edition, etc. (*vide supra*, A, 760).

It would not be safe to go beyond the general analysis of the background of the poem. Any attempts of the later Persian authors to fit the chief heroes of this story into a definite Arsacid or Sasanian reign were utterly futile, for they knew about the Arsacids much less than we do now. Moreover, in the poem Mōbad himself appears as the great king in his own right, independent of any other suzerain.

6. More definite parallels can be quoted for the second centre of the story, the province Māh. The name of the ruler Qārin is noteworthy, for in fact the great Parthian family of Kārēn was established in Māh. Ṭabarī, i, 683, states that under the Kayānian king Bishtasp (Gushtāsp) seven great peers (*‘aẓīm*) were created, of whom four are enumerated: هكائيد (probably: \**nahāpet*) in Dihistān,<sup>2</sup> in the territory of Gurgān; Qārin al-Fahlawī (= *pahlavān*) in Māh Nihāvand; Sūrēn al-Fahlawī in Sigistān; Isfandiyār al-Fahlawī in Ray. Dēnawarī, p. 99, mentions a Qārin *al-Jabalī al-Nihāvandī*, as the governor of Khorāsān, Kōmish and Gurgān under Anūshirvān. The second *nisba* of

<sup>1</sup> In the Introduction, p. 26, Gurgānī’s patron, a native of Nishāpūr, does not seem to be acquainted with *Vīs u Rāmīn*, but admits its popularity “in this region (*kishvar*)”, i.e. apparently in Isfahān. The poet himself (a Gurgānī!) knows everything about the story. These regional variances are curious.

<sup>2</sup> See Ibn Isfandiyār, tr. E. G. Browne, 106, نهاده صوليه in Gurgān at the time of the Omayyads. These later *nahāpets* were of Turkish origin and belonged to the tribe Şül (perhaps: \**Chur*?). This reference goes counter to Marquart’s restoration \**Nuhakān-beḥ* “der Fürst der Alanen”, see *Iberer und Hyrcanier, Caucasia*, 8, 1931, 98.

Qārin is particularly interesting, for Nihāvand figures also in *Vis u Rāmīn* as the area where Virō mustered his army before the decisive battle.

Above (A, 749) we have noticed in Gurgānī's text some mysterious references to Damāvand. The first *nisba* which Dīnawarī applies to Qārin may give us a clue to them: possibly the hints have in view some second home of the Qārinids in the Elburz region. Curiously enough the names of the two partners of Virō in his polo match with Mōbad (Arghish and Sharvīn) are suggestive of the Caspian provinces. Kūh-i Qārin in Ṭabaristān lay close to Kūh-i Sharvīn.<sup>1</sup>

In the year A.D. 50 the Arsacid governor of Mesopotamia, Carenēs (i.e. *Kārēn*), who, together with the kings Abkar of Edessa and Izates of Adiabēnē (= Assyria), supported the Roman candidate Meherdates, was defeated by Gōtarzes somewhere near the Zagros pass (*vide supra*, p. 24).<sup>2</sup> This episode is strongly reminiscent of the death of Qārin in the battle of Dēnavar (pp. 65, 190): perchance, the exploit of Gōtarzēs had been put to Mōbad's credit. Even Rāmīn's expedition to Mosul and Syria may reflect the tense relations which existed between Gōtarzes and the kings Izates and Abkar. Ruhhām, son of Gōdarz, was supposed to have captured Jerusalem (*vide supra*, p. 30).

*Vis u Rāmīn* definitely cold-shoulders Qārin, and this attitude might find its explanation in the anti-Kārēnid feeling surviving among the family of the real Gōtarzes.<sup>3</sup> But the story is not very complimentary to the members of the royal family of Marv either. Mōbad is both brutal and weak and no veil is thrown over Rāmīn's sorry behaviour on several occasions. More respect and sympathy (again not unmixed, pp. 77–80) are reserved for the family of Qārin's wife Shahrō, said to be descended from the mythical king Jamshēd. As the *Shahr-bānū* she takes precedence over the "shah's wife" (pp. 31–2), to say nothing of her own husband. No indication is given in the text of her direct parentage or of her original home. Under the Kayānian kings we hear of the paladins Ṭōs and Gustahm (Vistahm), sons of Nōdhar, who continued the line of the previous dynasty (*Pēshdādhīyān*).<sup>4</sup> The Pahlavi list of provincial capitals, ed. Marquart, § 14, attributes the foundation of the town of Ṭōs to the homonymous son of Nōdhar. It is likely that Shahrō's origin should be

<sup>1</sup> See Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, under Karen, Arghush, and Sharvīn. In early Islamic times a dynasty said to be descended from Qārin b. Sūkhṛā, "whom Anūshirvān had established in Ṭabaristān," ruled in the Kūh-i Qārin. Its last representative, the famous Māzyār, was executed in A.D. 839, see Minorsky in *E.I.* On the other hand, one should remember that Zohāk was considered the founder of the town of Kōmish (Dāmghān), see Marquart, *Provincial Capitals*, § 18.

<sup>2</sup> Herzfeld, *Am Thor von Asien*, 1920, p. 46: at Bisutūn (?). On the controversial question of the River Kormas, behind which Gōtarzēs was expecting his enemies, I have recently spoken in *BSOAS.*, xi/3, p. 660: I restore it as \**Tornas* and identify it with the Diyāla. On Kārēn, cf. also Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, iv/2, 64–7.

<sup>3</sup> Subtle genealogists had, however, connected Gōdarz with the eponym of the Kārēn family. In the meantime, Kārēn was made the son of the famous smith Kāva. Even the latter seems to be a mere sublimation of the "Kayānian banner" *dīrafsh-i Kāviyān*, understood as the "Banner of Kāva". Cf. Christensen, *Les Kayānides*, pp. 43, 128.

<sup>4</sup> To this family belonged Sōkhṛā (Sūfrā) of Shīrāz, one of the generals of the Sasanian Pērōz, cf. Nöldeke, *Geschichte*, 120.



sought along these lines. On the other hand, Jamshēd's field of activity was connected with Fārs, and this may be a subsidiary explanation of the spurious verse (N. Lees, p. 171, omitted in Minovi, 173) in which a son called Sāsān figures among Shahrō's progeny. Both the attitude of the story towards the rulers of Marv and this last interpolation may indicate that the original was tampered with in Sasanian times.<sup>1</sup>

7. We have reached the end of our survey. Already in the fourteenth century A.D. Ḥamdullāh Mustaufī felt that the story was connected with the time of \*Bēzhan b. Gōdarz,<sup>2</sup> and our task has been: (1) to trace the two planes of the Gōdarzian lore—one genuinely Parthian, and the other fantastically projected into the time of Kay-Khusrau, (2) to elucidate the tradition of the rulers of Marv, and (3) to scan all the details supporting the thesis of the Parthian (Arsacid) background of the story of Vīs and Rāmīn.

To sum up our argument:—

(a) The story of *Vīs u Rāmīn*, as shown by its geographical background, belongs to the Arsacid epoch.

(b) It is probable that it recounts the adventures of some scion of the branch founded by Gōdarz and only indirectly related to the main Arsacid line.

(c) The patronymic of the king of Marv, Mōbad *Manīkān*, may point to his descent from the Gōdarzid Bēzhan and his wife Manīzha.

(d) The house of Māh (Media), to which belongs Vīs, is that of the Kārēnids, one of the seven noble families under the Arsacids.

(e) Any further identifications are risky, as the Pahlavi source of the poet Gurgānī proceeded in the usual epic way, altering the sequence of events and the personal connections of the heroes. His picture is true only as a general setting of the events.

## APPENDIX I

The usually inaccurate Daulat-shāh, ed. Browne, pp. 60, 130, is responsible for the unwarranted statement that a second poem of Vīs and Rāmīn was composed by Nizāmī al-'Arūdī (the author of the *Chahār-maqāla*), or even by Nizāmī of Ganja. Ḥājji Khalifa, vi, 468, made the mistake even worse. M. Qazvīnī, the learned editor of the *Chahār maqāla* (Introduction, p. 18), has completely done away with all this confusion. Ḥājji Khalifa in his notice adds that *Vīs u Rāmīn* was translated by the Ottoman poet Lāmi'ī, who died in 938/1531; the paragraph is badly worded and might perpetuate the impression that Lāmi'ī's aberrant passages reflect some ancient source other than Gurgānī. This is not the case. Lāmi'ī has written a modernized poem of his own, taking some episodes from Gurgānī.

<sup>1</sup> However, Iṣṭakhr figures in the list of Vīrō's allies (pp. 57–8). [The name Sasan appears in the Śaka dynasty of Gandhāra (circa 20–80), founded by Gundofarr, Herzfeld, *Arch. Mitt.*, iv/2, 105.]

<sup>2</sup> Note the non-Firdausian pattern of this genealogy (not Bēzhan b. Gēw b. Gōdarz.), *vide supra*, p. 25.

One passage only of Lāmi'ī's poem is accessible to me in the original (Gibb, *HOP.*, vi, 131-2). It describes the courting of Shahrō by the king of Gurgān, and corresponds to Mōbad's conversation with Shahrō (Minovi, 32-3). Not only is Lāmi'ī's metre identical with that of Gurgānī, but some of the verses show a direct dependence on the latter's version :

نسیمندن خجل باد بهاری      صچندن منکسر عود قاری ...  
کر اولسک بگه دلدار ای دلا فروز      شم قدر اوله روزم عید نوروز

In Minovi, p. 32, verse 27, and p. 33, verse 12 :—

هم از رویش خجل باد بهاری      هم از مویش خجل عود قاری ...  
اکر با روی تو باشم شب و روز      شب من روز باشد روز نوروز

For the general contents of Lāmi'ī's poem I could only consult its abstract in Hammer, *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*, 1837, ii, 63-89 (abridged in Gibb, *HOL.*, iii, 357-360).<sup>1</sup>

Shahrō, the wife of Munqad (?), shah of Marv, praises the beauty of her daughter Vīsa to the shah of Jurjān. On her return to Marv she betroths Vīsa to her nephew Vīrō. The shah of Jurjān sends his own nurse to Marv as a spy and then attacks Marv. Munqad and his wife are besieged in the castle Mahābād (*sic*), whence they flee to Herat. The local king Fīrūz poisons Vīrō. The general of the shah of Jurjān, Bahrām, attacks king Fīrūz and kills him. Another Bahrām (of Marv) ascends the throne of Herat and marries Fīrūz's daughter Shams-bānū. Munqad, Shahrō, and Vīsa flee to Tūrān. Rāmīn, the son of the khan of Turkestan, falls in love with Vīsa. The khan puts his son under the tuition of a "perfect shaykh", but Vīsa continues to correspond with him. Finally Rāmīn escapes to Herat and, after a number of adventures among the evil *ṣūfīs* and honest *qalandars*, finds Vīsa and marries her.

As one can judge by this resumé, the geographical background and the relationship of the heroes are drastically modified. The whole tone of the story is changed : instead of expressing the intensity of human passions, Lāmi'ī tries to amuse and edify. The end of his poem is tinged with mystic reflexions and is full of abstract discourses on justice, generosity, etc. The poem, characteristic of the time of Sultan Sulaymān, is of no value for the study of the original legend, whose framework has happily survived in Gurgānī's version.

Cambridge, 5.ii.1946.

## APPENDIX II

1. My friend M. Minovi has kindly lent me a photographic copy of Baron R. Stackelberg's article on *Vis-u Rāmīn* (*Drevnosti vostochnīya*, Moscow, 1896, II/1, pp. 10-23) to which I refer in my Introduction. The author used the Indian edition and Graf's article. He states that "from the marrying of a

<sup>1</sup> Hammer, ii, 63, commits new mistakes by saying that the original poems on Vīsa and Rāmīn were written by the "great" Nizāmī (of Ganja) and by Faṣīḥ Jurjānī, a descendant of the author of the *Qābūs-nāma*!

still unborn daughter of Shahrō [cf. Minovi, 49, verse 88] results the tragical sin of Mobad whom Fate visits with grievous punishments". The final triumph of the lovers is not conditioned by any "moral prevalence over the other dramatis personæ". Mobad is presented in the poem in a rather comic light. However, the "simplicity and *naïveté* with which various deceits and stratagems (of the lovers) are told . . . constitutes, in our view, the outstanding merit of the poem".

The chief importance of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* consists in its characterization of ancient Persian culture. While the *Shāh-nāma* acquaints us with the "external side of Persian life, idyllic and lyric motifs prevail in Gurgānī's poem in which the leading role belongs to women. Rāmīn, as a typical Persian noble, is not only a mighty hunter, but a lover of women and wine [see below 4].

On the whole, the external and internal background of the *Shāh-nāma* and *Vīs* is identical. The epoch and the manners reflected in the poem are those of the Sasanian Persia. Zoroastrian-Parsi views prevail in the poem, such as marriage of brothers and sisters, the influence of stars on men's destiny. Mercury is especially mentioned as Mobad's *dabīr* (Indian, 12/Minovi, 28). Persian and Arabic names of the planets alternate as in the *Shāh-nāma*. Zoroastrian views are reflected in such passages as that describing the temporary impurity of Vīs (Ind. 46/Min. 71), cf. Vendidad, fargard 16; the purifying quality of fire (Ind. 136/Min. 193), and the influence of the evil eye (Ind. 261/Min. 343). The preparation of a talisman by the nurse is illustrated by a passage in the *Gāthās*, 51 (Vohuxšaθrā), 9-10, where fire and iron are linked up with mythological motifs.

With some misunderstanding Stackelberg interprets the passage in the Introduction concerning the lack of "poetical art" in the original of the poem as a would-be hint at the "absence of versified works in the middle Persian literature"<sup>1</sup> (see above our explanation).

"In spite of the Persian spirit of *Vīs-u Rāmīn*—at least in its present form—there is a possibility that the story penetrated into Persia from outside, namely from India. Certainly such an admission cannot be based merely on references to the Indian places [e.g. ملون, p. 241—apparently misread ملتان—whereas Gurgānī is referring to *dībā-yi mulavvan*, Minovi, 320] or plants (نیلوفر) which occur in other Persian writers as well. But, as the substance of the romance of Vīs has nothing in common with Old Persian epics, its heroes not being connected with the legends and the mythology of ancient Iranians, and as, on the other hand, the story in its general lines coincides with the contents of *Tristan and Isolde* we are inclined to admit—in spite of the total iranization of the groundwork (*obshchiiy stroy*) of the poem—that the common source both of the Persian and the Western tale was in India. It is known that India furnished to Asia and Europe an inexhaustible store of fairy-tales and poetical subjects." At present *Vīs-u Rāmīn* is appreciated only in India; it is forgotten in Persia, although the dictionaries (*farhang*) show that it used to be read in its time. "We cannot say whether later Persian poets have referred to it" (but see below 2).

The simplicity of the language in *Vīs-u Rāmīn* may be responsible for the lack of interest in it on the part of sophisticated readers. Old prefixes زی فرا باز

<sup>1</sup> With reference to Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii, 11.

are common in Gurgānī's text ; in some cases *v* is preferred to *b* : ورنّا (for برنا), واشام (Armen. *varshamak*), اورنجن (Armen. *aparanjan*). Personal names in *ō(y)* are frequent. Of other names the author refers to اذرباد (< Aturpat), ایزديار (see Sebeos, ed. Patkanian, 76, etc.), بهروز (Pahl. *Rōčvēh*), فرخ زاد (Sebeos *xoroxzad*), and زرتون —“with some doubt, we quote here the Pahlavi name of *Zarstan*, daughter of Arjāsp.” [Cf. *Ayātkār-i Zarērān*, ed. Pagliaro, 1925, § 71 : Zarstan, daughter of the Khionite King Arjāsp.]

2. Of references to *Vīs-u Rāmīn* in later literatures Stackelberg himself found the well-known verse (Indian ed. 342) <sup>1</sup> :

اکرصد سال گبر آتش فروزد \* سرجماش همان آتش بسوزد

imitated in the *Gulistān* (i, story 16, ed. Platts, p. 26) where the second hemistich is improved :

چو یک دم اندران افند بسوزد

As a parallel Stackelberg quotes the answer of the Magians to the Armenian bishop Leontius : “and if we come close to it (i.e. the Fire) and prostrate ourselves before it, it reduces us to ashes.” <sup>2</sup>

In point of fact references to *Vīs-u Rāmīn* are fairly numerous in Persian literature. Perhaps the earliest quotation, in which Gurgānī is mentioned by name, is in that curious compilation : *Kitāb-i Samak-i 'Ayyār*. The author (*mu'allif, rāwī, muṣannif*) of the story is Šadaqa ibn Abil-Qāsim of Shīrāz, but it was reduced to its final form by Farāmarz son of Khudādād son of 'Abdullāh al-Kātib al-Arrajānī (*jam' āvaranda-yi kitāb*) who began his work on 4th Jam. i 585/20 June 1189. On fol. 86 of the unique MS. of the Bodleian (Bod. Ouseley 379, f. 88) three verses are quoted from the poem of *Fakhr-i Gurgānī*, corresponding to verses 301, 302, and 300 on p. 358 of Minovi's edition.

References to *Vīs* in Jalāl al-dīn Rūmī are common, although Gurgānī's authorship is not mentioned. *Divān*, ed. Nicholson, p. 4 :—

ندیده تو دواوین (sic) ویس ورامین

نخوانده تو حکایت وامق و عذرا

In the *Mathnawī*, ed. Nicholson, iii, 228 : *Vīsa* ; iv, 1828 : \**Vays* rhyming with *Uways* ; v, 2980 : *Vīs* rhyming with *Bilīs* (< Iblis).

3. H.E. S. H. Taqizadeh draws my attention to a curious verse (Minovi, 44) in which the astrologers fix the day for *Vīs*'s betrothal to her brother *Vīrō* :—

چو گردشهای ایشانرا بدیدند \* ز آذرماه روزی برگزیدند

کجا آنکه زگشت روزکران \* در آذرماه بودی نوهاران

“When the star-gazers considered the course (of the stars) they chose one day of the month *Ādhar*, because in that epoch, -owing to the march of time,

<sup>1</sup> In Min., 443, the second hemistich runs هم او روزی بدان آتش بسوزد

<sup>2</sup> Elisæus (d. A.D. 480), ch. viii. Stackelberg translates from the text ed. by Kananian, p. 355. Similarly in the Russian translation, Tiflis, 1853, p. 296, but cf. the translation of V. Langlois, 1869, ii, 241 : [“si on lui donne peu de nourriture il a très faim et si nous ne lui offrons rien il s'éteint tout-à-fait.” Si ensuite nous allons auprès de lui et que nous l'adorions il nous brûle. . . .”]

springtime occurred in the month of Ādhar." My learned friend writes<sup>1</sup>: "From this one might gather that the composition of the original book took place after the fourth century A.D., because the beginning of spring, i.e. the vernal equinox, does not coincide with the first of Ādhar before A.D. 507; nor can it coincide with Ādhar (even with the last days of the latter) before A.D. 388. As the insertion of the usual epagomena did not take place before A.D. 399, Ādhar could not, even legally, be included in the spring. It is possible of course that the book has gone through several redactions, and that that period, namely from A.D. 400 to 508, refers to the Sasanian *rifacimento* of the tale."

The point brought up by the author of the exhaustive study on Persian calendars is naturally most interesting, but he himself opens me a back-door out of my *shish-dar*. We are still at the beginning of our studies of *Vīs-u Rāmīn*, and possibly the astrological hints in the descriptions of the night on which Mobad carries away Vīs from her castle (Minovi, 80-3) will also yield their secrets some day.<sup>2</sup>

4. The severe judgment which Nöldeke had passed on *Vīs-u Rāmīn* is well known (*Das Schahname*, 2nd ed., § 32). "In a very unpleasant manner are depicted the joys of drinking bouts of husband and wife for whole weeks in *Vīs-u Rāmīn*; a poem the æsthetical value of which cannot be considered higher than its morals." To this unmerited verdict one might oppose the episodes like that when youthful Vīs, still faithful to her betrothal with Virō, seeks isolation from old Mobad and rebuts the intrigues of the nurse who wants her to meet Ramin (Minovi, 96, etc.).

As a portraiture of Parthian manners one might quote Plutarch's description of Surena who "was no ordinary person, but in wealth, family, and reputation the second man in the kingdom, and in courage and prowess the first, and for bodily stature and beauty no man like him. Whenever he travelled privately, he had one thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his concubines, one thousand completely armed men for his life-guards, and a great many more light-armed . . .". Then again Plutarch speaks of Surena as "keeping behind him a whole Parthian Sybaris in his many wagons full of concubines" and refers to his van, "fierce and terrible with spears and arrows," in contrast to his rear "terminating in loose women and castanets, music of the lute, and midnight revellings" (Crassus, "Dryden's translation," London, 1902, iii, 356, 373). Surely *Vīs-u Rāmīn* does not describe any scenes of loose manners and promiscuous amusements, but a conflict of earnest and exclusive passions to match with those of the Celtic lovers of the West.

5. I have to thank several other friends who communicated to me their most kind remarks on my article. Their appreciation shows that I have played my part in the *course au flambeau*.

6. On my seventieth birthday, I dedicate this article to my wife.

5.ii.1947

<sup>1</sup> I translate his Persian.

<sup>2</sup> There exists now an excellent Italian rendering of this passage by F. Gabrieli, *Annali del R. Istit. Orient. di Napoli*, Nuova Serie, i, 1940, 253-8.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Vīs-u-Rāmīn (III)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1954), pp. 91-92

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/608910>

Accessed: 17/03/2013 07:26

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



## VĪS-U-RĀMĪN (III)

By V. MINORSKY

**I**N my articles on Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī's poem *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*<sup>1</sup> I made a point of its realistic geographical and historical background which, in my opinion, connects it with the Arsacid tradition. One of the important places in the story is the castle of Gūrāb in which the heroine Vīs was kept and which belonged to the family of her future rival Gul. Muslim geographers still referred to this place lying at the junction of the roads from Hamadān and Nihāvand to Karaj, and Gūrāb is mentioned in the course of the military operations of the Seljuk Sultān Mas'ūd (towards 541/1146), see *Rāhat al-šudūr*, 242. In more recent times its titles to distinction had been forgotten.

1. At this place I wish only to reproduce the photograph of the site taken at my request by my lamented friend A. C. Edwards († 11th September, 1951), who in his letter (dated Hamadan, 21st July, 1948) wrote: 'Jurab is situated about 5 miles from Malāyir, on the new Malayir-Sultanabad<sup>2</sup> road. The ruined castle is a very substantial affair. It is, indeed, the most imposing *qal'a* that I have seen in Persia and certainly [? V.M.] the oldest. It can be seen for miles. It must have been circular or slightly oval in shape, with a diameter which I identified as about 40 metres. There is little left of the walls or battlements which must have surrounded the top of the eminence. I should imagine that the fortress was built on the top of an already existing hillock to which (probably) more earth was added to raise it to the present imposing height'.

Gūrāb, as situated at crossing of the roads, on the southern approaches to Hamadan, was certainly an important strategical point. I think some day it will be found that a castle existed here even at the time when the pre-Iranian 'Zagros peoples' were dominant in the region. It is curious that our poem has preserved the memory of the ancient glory of Gūrāb. On the other hand, this detail enhances the realistic tendencies of the old legend.

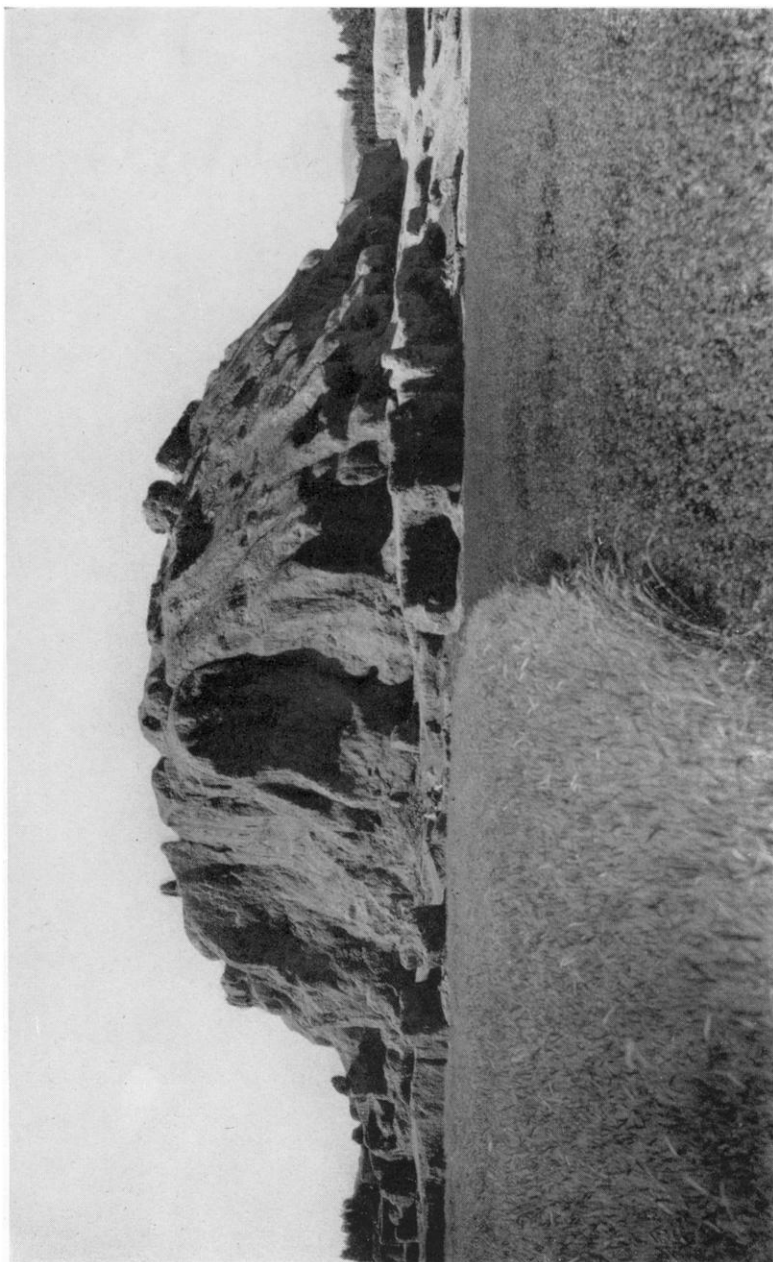
2. The story of Vīs and Rāmīn, as narrating the love of a young queen for a young relative of her old husband, naturally reminds one of the similar plot of Tristan and Isolde,<sup>3</sup> and is bound to occupy the attention of specialists in western European medieval lore. Recently I had the occasion to examine the introduction to a special collectanea on the motif of Tristan and Isolde<sup>4</sup> in which O. M. Freidenberg has conveniently summed up the characteristic

<sup>1</sup> See *BSOAS.*, 1946, xi/4, and 1947, xii/1.

<sup>2</sup> Sultānābād (now called Erāg) is the medieval Karaj Abi-Dulaf, as indicated by the name of the river *کره رود* (i.e. \* *کرج رود*) in its neighbourhood.

<sup>3</sup> See *BSOAS.*, xi/4, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Тристан и Иольда. Труды Института языка и мышления, ii, 1932, p. 15 (in the R.A.S. Library). I leave aside O. M. Freidenberg's special endeavour to interpret the poem as a cosmic myth (Sun-Water-Region Underground).



JŪRĀB (GŪRĀB)  
South of Hamadān.



features of the legend. In addition to the basic, and very general, likeness in the romantic situation, I have found in Dr. Freidenberg's longish record only two points of similarity with *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*: the episode of a maid (in our case the nurse) deputizing for her mistress on the marital couch, and the episode of the hero temporarily forgetting the heroine. Tristan's retirement to the forest might perhaps be compared with Rāmīn's retirement to Daylam. The results of the comparison look somewhat meagre. Isolated details can certainly belong to the common stock of human fantasy, which is not unlimited as regards situations in a three-cornered love.

The general atmosphere of the two poems is very different. Apart from the talisman built by the crafty nurse (a native of Khūzān), *Vīs-u-Rāmīn* is devoid of magic or symbolic elements which abound in the Celtic legend. The sea which fills in the background of *Tristan and Isolde* is naturally absent in the Iranian story. But one of the curious features in Gurgānī's poem is Rāmīn's patiently-borne ordeal in the snow before Vīs's residence. Snow as an element of a romantic story is unexpected in purely Persian surroundings. Here the imagination of the original story-teller seems to move in the framework of the Parthian north.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xiii/2 (1950), p. 403, has added the name of اسب تخاره \* 'Tokharian horses' to my list of geographical epithets in the poem (*BSOAS.*, xi/4, p. 23). W. B. Henning, *Asia Major*, ii/2 (1952), p. 178, has quoted the name *Wērōy* (*Worōd*) in support of my attribution of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* to the Parthian epoch. The name of the town Burūjird (south of Gūrāb) is derived from the same personal name. The *Ẓafar-nāma*, i, 586, 594, 812, still spells it : وروگرد.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

Vīs-u Rāmīn (IV)

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Reviewed work(s):

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 25, No. 1/3 (1962), pp. 275-286

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/610825>

Accessed: 17/03/2013 07:26

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

# VIS-U RĀMĪN (IV)<sup>1</sup>

By V. MINORSKY

## *Later developments*

1. Two articles by M. Minovi
2. The new edition of the poem (1959)
3. Pahlavi and the 'language of Fahla'
4. Gurgānī and Toghrīl-bek (M. Molé)

### 1. *Two articles by M. Minovi*

The promised vol. II of Professor Minovi's edition of *Vis-u Rāmīn* has not yet appeared and the variants of the important MS of Istanbul remain unknown. On the other hand we owe to the editor two interesting articles shedding light on the poem of Gurgānī.

(A) In the first of these (see the Tehran monthly *Sukhan*, VI, 1, 1333/1954, 13–21, and VI, 2, 1333/1954, 129–37) M. Minovi reviews the scanty data on the origin of the story and on the biography of Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī, and gives a summary of the poem.

He admits the possibility of the Parthian origin of the plot<sup>2</sup> and makes the interesting suggestion that the original which Gurgānī had before him was in Middle Persian transcribed in Arabic characters (Pāzand), though I personally still believe that the text used by Gurgānī was an antiquated Persian (*fārsī*) translation of the original Pahlavi.

Drawing attention to the fact that the poet in his conclusion calls himself young (*javān*) but elsewhere speaks of his disappointments in love experienced 'many days ago', and taking it that the poem was completed in 446/1054, Minovi tentatively assumes that the author was born *circa* 406/1016 (?).

Already in 1312/1933 Professor Badī' al-zamān in his *Sukhan va sukhavarān*, II, 1, p. 5, referred to the queer story which Farid al-dīn 'Aṭṭār, in his *Ilāhī-nāma*, tells about Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī. The poet living at the court of the 'shāh' of Gurgān was suddenly overcome by love for one of the king's minions. The king hastened to give his *ghulām* to the poet, but the beautiful slave perished in an accident. In despair (*divānagī* 'madness') Fakhr al-dīn wandered in the wilderness with the story of *Vis-u Rāmīn* on his tongue (*vīrd-i zabān*). Minovi is sceptical about the story told by 'Aṭṭār in a mystical spirit, but it merits some attention as indicating Gurgānī's connexions in his homeland. The king in question might have been one of the later Ziyārīds.<sup>3</sup> The great sensibility of Gurgānī may be also reflected in this anecdote.

<sup>1</sup> For parts I–III see *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 741–63; XII, 1, 1947, 20–35; XVI, 1, 1954, 91–2.

<sup>2</sup> To the guess in this direction found in *Tārīkh-i guzīda* he adds the similar utterings of Ḥājji Khalifa and the *Haft iqlīm*.

<sup>3</sup> Minūchīhr 403–20/1012–29; Anūshīrvān 420–41/1029–49; Dārā (one year). The Seljūqid Toghrīl appeared in Gurgān already in 433/1041, Ibn al-Athīr, IX, 340, and Kay Kāvus b. Dārā, who was considered as a ruler in 441–62/1049–69, and died *circa* 475/1082, led the life of a knight-errant fighting infidels first on the Indian, and then on the Transcaucasian front.

Even less certain is the time of Gurgānī's connexion with a certain *Thiqat al-mulk Shahriyār* whom he served apparently as a kind of literary adviser, reading and composing poetry for him. He finally derided his patron for his stupidity in a pungent satire quoted by 'Aufi. Minovi tentatively takes this *Thiqat al-mulk* for the ra'is of Rayy *Thiqat al-mulk Abū Muslim Surūshyārī*,<sup>1</sup> and the result of such a surmise would be that Gurgānī was still alive *circa* 460–70/1067–77. It seems somewhat strange, however, that Nizām al-mulk would have given his daughter to such an asinine person as described in the satire. The episode might better suit the early years of Gurgānī's career than the time when he had *Vīs-u Rāmīn* to his credit. *Thiqat al-mulk* is the title of several vazirs and dignitaries of the Ghaznavid and Seljūqid time, but its combination with the name Shahriyār (not Abū Muslim!) is unexpected. This princely name was typical for the rulers of the Bāvandid dynasty of Ṭabaristān, and reading (with an *idāfat*) *Thiqat al-mulk-i Shahriyār* 'the Confidence of State of Shahriyār' one might expect that the *Thiqat al-mulk* in question had previously served under the Bāvandid Shahriyār III b. Dārā (A.D. 965–1006), or had some connexion with the Bāvandids of the collateral line whose names and sequence are still insufficiently known. In this case we should lose the *terminus ad quem* of Gurgānī's life but acquire some additional indication of his early adventures in the neighbourhood of his native Gurgān, and in the country where the use of Pahlavi is attested in several inscriptions (see my article in *BSOAS*, XI, 4, 1946, 741–63).

(B) In the second article, which appeared in *Majalla-yi adabiyāt* (Tehran), I, 3, 1333/1954, 62–77, Professor Minovi gives, with an ample commentary, the Arabic text of an ode which Abū Nuwās addressed to a Zoroastrian youth. The poem bristles with Middle Persian words.<sup>2</sup> Abū Nuwās appeals to Bihruz in the name of the planets, of Iranian festivals, etc., and finally (ix, v. 19) of

و ما يتلون في شروين دستبى      و فرجرات را مين و ويس

i.e. 'what one reads concerning Sharwīn of Dastabī,<sup>3</sup> and in the "sections" (perhaps "episodes", *farjardāt*) of Rāmīn and Vīs'. Abū Nuwās (see *EI*)

<sup>1</sup> cf. M. Mo'in in his commentary on *Chahār-maqāla*, Tehran, 1336/1957, 197.

<sup>2</sup> The words quoted in the poem seem to belong to the archaic stock of terms surviving in Zoroastrian circles rather than to the actual speech in southern Persia *circa* A.D. 800. Cf. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, IV, 1, 1958, 86, 'seltene und altertümliche Wörter'.

<sup>3</sup> Sharwīn was the ruler, or governor, of Dastabī (apparently \**Dasht-pei* 'the edge of the plain'), as was called the region between Qazvīn and Hamadān. The Muslim authors referred to by Minovi (Dīnāvarī, Ḥamza, Ibn al-Faqīh, and the *Mujmal al-tawārikk*) somewhat vaguely describe the background of Sharwīn's adventures. Much clearer is Procopius, *De bello persico*, I, ch. ii, who confirms that the Byzantine emperor Arcadius during his fatal illness placed his infant son Theodosius under the protection of Yezdegerd I who honestly discharged his obligations. Arcadius died in A.D. 408, and Yezdegerd I ('the Sinner') ruled A.D. 399–421. It is quite possible that Sharwīn acted in Byzantium as a representative of his king and that popular lore embellished his exploits. Cf. Bury, *The history of the later Roman Empire*, 1923, II, 2; Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 1944, 355; A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, Madison, 1952, 96.

was born in southern Persia and lived in 130–90/747–801 (or 145–99/762–814) and his poem belongs probably to the earlier part of his career. We have thus a very important indication that the story was popular in Iran over two and a half centuries before Gurgānī. Consequently any surmise concerning the invention of the story by Gurgānī (Christensen) falls to the ground. The term *farjardāt* ‘sections, fragments, episodes’, might indicate the state in which it was preserved.<sup>1</sup>

## 2. *The new edition of the poem (1959)*

Twenty-four years after the publication of the text by Professor Minovi, a new edition of *Vis-u Rāmīn* was produced by the scholar of the new generation M. J. Mahjūb, Tehran, 1337/January 1959. In his extensive introduction (105 pp.) the editor sums up all the known data on Gurgānī and his poem. He has considerably increased the number of quotations from Gurgānī’s poem, or direct imitations of it by later poets. They clearly show the spell which Gurgānī has cast over his posterity including Nizāmī in his *Khusrau and Shirin*. The text (pp. 1–388) is followed by a revised translation of parts I–III of my essay ‘*Vis-u Rāmīn*’ made by M. Muqarrabi<sup>2</sup> (pp. 389–440), notes on the text (pp. 441–62), a list of readings differing from Minovi’s text (pp. 463–8), an index of archaic words (pp. 469–80), and detailed indexes of names, places, tribes, books, etc. (pp. 480–503).

The text of Mahjūb differs from that established by Minovi chiefly in restoring some variants offered by the early Indian edition, and one regrets that the Istanbul MS remained inaccessible to the editor.<sup>3</sup>

No important facts concerning Gurgānī have emerged from the re-examination of the sources but M. J. Mahjūb has reminded us of a reference to the patron of the poet, discovered by Professor Badī‘ al-zamān in his *Sukhan va sukhavarān*, II, 1, 1–14, and the addendum at the beginning of the volume. This valuable book appeared in 1312/1933 but was still inaccessible to me in 1946. The learned author identifies the dedicatee of the poem with the governor of Isfahān whom Nāṣir-i Khusrau mentions in his *Safar-nāma*, ed. Berlin, 1314/1922, p. 138. Nāṣir-i Khusrau returning from his pilgrimage via Basra visited Isfahān in Ṣafar 444/June 1052 after the capture of the town by Toghril. He speaks with praise of its young and cultured governor appointed by Toghril. He was called Khwāja ‘Amīd (of Nishāpūr) and apparently belonged to the family of secretaries having served under the rulers of Ghūr (*az dabiran-i*

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat free is the interpretation of Abū Nuwās by his early commentator Ḥamza of Isfahān (b. towards 280–90/833–902, d. towards 350–60/961–71) who says that the exploits of Sharwīn were ‘sung’ and that the *farjardāt* of Vis and Rāmīn were like *qaṣidas*, which would suggest that they formed a series of poetical ‘odes, or ballads’. Still more vague are the Arabic verses attributed to a poet of Isfahān and quoted in the anthology (*Muḥadarāt al-udabā*) of Rāghib Isfahānī who died in 502/1108 (Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 1943, 2nd ed., 343): a company of noble Arabs asks a slave (*ghulām*) to sing to them in Persian and to pour out for them wine of the kind which Vis and Rāmīn drank in the morning and in the evening.

<sup>2</sup> First published by M. Muqarrabi in *Farhang-i Irān-zamīn*, IV, 1–2, 1335/1956, 3–73.

<sup>3</sup> A copy of this MS was obtained by Minovi soon after the publication of his text.

\**Sūrī*). Maḥjūb takes up the identification of his teacher but is somewhat sceptical about my reference to Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23, because of the difference in the name of 'Amīd's father (*Muḥammad* in Gurgānī rhyming with *al-Muʾayyad*), but *al-Ḥusayn* in Ibn al-Athīr) and also because Gurgānī and Nāṣir-i Khusrāu speak of him as a 'young man', which would be in some contradiction with the report of Ibn al-Athīr, x, 23. The latter says under the year 456/1064, that when the daughter of the caliph (betrothed to Toghril) was to be returned from Iṣfahān to Baghdād the dignitary appointed by the new sultan Alp Arslān to accompany her died of smallpox, and in his stead the king sent the 'Amīd al-Muẓaffar who also fell victim to the same disease. Maḥjūb rightly thinks that such a commission would suit only a man well on in years but he seems to forget that between the capture of Iṣfahān in 443/1051 by Toghril and the hurried appointment of the 'Amīd by Alp Arslān in 456 thirteen years had passed and the 'Amīd must have crossed over the limit between 'young age' and 'the age of discretion'. Consequently I do not see any obstacle to finding in Ibn al-Athīr the end of the story of the man who sponsored the composition of *Viś-u Rāmīn*.

In any case the plentiful and careful apparatus of the new edition of the poem will be of great utility to students of the poem of Gurgānī.

### 3. *Pahlavi and the 'language of Fahla'*

Among the reviews which have appeared of Maḥjūb's edition we have to mention that of 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Zarrīn-kūb<sup>1</sup> who concentrated his attention on the translation of my article and in his short notice raised a number of difficult and doubtful points to contest the Parthian origin of the initial version of the story of Viś and Rāmīn.

(A) The reviewer points to the obscurity of Gurgānī's explanations concerning the 'Pahlavi' text in which the story of the two lovers had been transmitted. He thinks that 'from the time of Firdausī<sup>2</sup> to that of Ḥāfiz, and perhaps later', the term 'Pahlavi' was used in Iran not for 'Middle Persian' but for the 'local' language of the province Fahla, which according to Ibn al-Muqaffa'<sup>3</sup> comprised Iṣfahān, Rayy, Hamadān, Māh-Nihāvand, and Āzarbāyjān, and was distinct from the spoken and written language of the priests (*mobad*).

<sup>1</sup> See *Sukhan*, ix, 10, 1337/1958, 1015–18.

<sup>2</sup> This is not exact with regard to Firdausī and Z.-k. himself makes admissions to this effect.

<sup>3</sup> Z.-k. refers to *al-Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, p. 13. Cf. also Yāqūt, iii, 925, who names as his authority the book of Ḥamza called *al-Tanbīh* (now lost). Yāqūt gives another quotation from Shirawayh b. Shahriyār (d. 509/1115) who this time definitely excludes from Fahla such regions as Rayy, Iṣfahān, etc. Cf. also the changed toponymy of *al-Jabal* (Māh, Media) in I. Rusta (beginning of the tenth century), p. 106. The problem of the history of the term *Pahlavi* was considered by Professor Ohlshausen in 'Parthava und Pahlav', in *Monatsberichte der Preuss. Akad.*, 1877, 727–83, but since then a mass of new material has awaited a new examination. The classification of languages by I. Muqaffa' still remains obscure. Nöldeke called it a 'leider seltsame Systematik' and supposed some lacuna in the text, see his 'Pehlevi' in *Aufsätze z. persischen Geschichte*, 1887, 150. Henning, op. cit., 95, thinks that Ibn al-Muqaffa' referred to the lands occupied by the Arsacids, but the names of 'Parthia proper' fell out of the enumeration. In any case I. al-Muqaffa' must have had in view the 'Middle Iranian' period and the language of the official classes for the local idioms of Parthia and Media could not have been the same.



Z.-k. thinks it my duty to reconsider my hypothesis in the light of the suggestion that the original which Gurgānī turned into Persian verse was in the dialect of Fahla, similar to the specimens of *fahlaviyāt* which Qays al-Rāzī quotes in his *Mu'jam* (written in 614/1217) and which remind one of the *du-baytīs* of Bābā Ṭāhir.

I consider this new suggestion very improbable in view of the fact that all we know of the *fahlaviyāt* consists of purely lyrical quatrains, while the plot of *Vis-u Rāmīn* is a complicated tale of two noble lovers and is closely connected with the background of court life and the feudal rivalries of local princes. Such a *roman courtois* was entirely beyond the scope of the authors of the modest *fahlaviyāt* which are known to us.

In the twenties of the eleventh century the Middle Persian script was still used in funerary inscriptions of the princes of Ṭabaristān close to Gurgānī's native country. According to Gurgānī the text of the original story was used by students desirous to learn Pahlavi,<sup>1</sup> but if 'Pahlavi' refers to the *fahlaviyāt*, what need would there have been to study the local speech for the people who naturally spoke it from their childhood?

(B) The reviewer thinks that as the original story was in the 'local language of Fahla' it was natural for the towns of Fahla to be mentioned in it; as to Khurāsān, Gurgān, etc., their names may have been added to give more substance to the tale; on the other hand the trend of my reasoning has been chiefly (*bishṭar*) geographical and I was unable to support it by arguments based on 'the literature, beliefs, habits, and customs' of the Arsacid period. Therefore, the views of Christensen concerning the imaginary character of the subject acquire some attractiveness (*jīlva*).

In point of fact the pre-Islamic features of the story, such as the marriage of Virō with his sister are very striking and they rendered the poem particularly objectionable to Muslims on religious grounds. Was then the tale invented under the Sasanians? This would be improbable on several grounds. Minovi has rightly remarked that *Vis-u Rāmīn* has no common points with the *Shāh-nāma* (based on the official Sasanian *Khvatāy-nāmak*). In addition to what was said in §6 of my 1946 article ('Political organization') one should again stress the obvious difference between the unsettled background of struggles and insubordination of the provincial lords (*mulūk al-tawā'if*), described in the poem, and the centralized tendencies of the Sasanian state. The latter was supported by the Zoroastrian clergy, which upheld and exalted the throne, unless its holders were 'sinners' in opposition to the religious caste. The attitude of the poem towards king Mobad is devoid of any adulation. An opinion has been expressed that the story might have been inspired by popular resentment against the ruling institution, though one need not go so far with the poem the main purpose of which is to depict human passions as a law unto themselves.

Religious prescriptions and rites penetrated all of the social life under the Sasanians. For that period we must definitely doubt the occurrence of such procedures as the informal betrothal by Shahrō of her two children, performed without any intervention of *mobads* and witnesses.<sup>2</sup> This example alone,

<sup>1</sup> One can understand such a nostalgic tendency at the time of Arab and Turkish invasions.

<sup>2</sup> The Georgian version, see O. Wardrop's translation, p. 14, is free: 'There is no need to adorn the bride. God Himself has adorned her. Neither should there be any dowry (reading *mahr* for *muhr-i mobad*) . . . Shahrō placed their hands one in the other and began to prepare for the wedding' (in Persian text: *mihmani* 'banquet, reception').

described in the poem with great lucidity (Min., 44, Maḥ., 32), seems to testify to pre-Sasanian 'habits and beliefs'.

(C) The reviewer wonders how a Parthian story could have survived unobserved during the Sasanian period and have been left unnoticed by Arab translators from Pahlavi to emerge at the time of Gurgānī. The answer would be that the spirit of the story and its association with the Parthian period were repugnant to the Sasanians. Already Nöldeke had shown that in Sasanian times the names and the records of such Parthian heroes as Gotarzes (Gūdarz) were projected into the mythical epoch of the Kayānid kings.<sup>1</sup>

The entertaining story had to stand on its merits and being unofficially transmitted, probably through the medium of popular story-tellers and bards,<sup>2</sup> must have lost many of its original details and incorporated some extraneous matter,<sup>3</sup> and thus we are obliged to content ourselves with the analysis of the hints which have stood the test of time in the background of the remarkable poem. Even the official history of the Arsacids still presents many unsolved problems, and in *Viš-u Rāmīn* we may recognize the clear features of the epoch but not consider it as a kind of chronicle.

(D) The reviewer strictly adheres to the remark of S. H. Taqizadeh (quoted in my 1946 appendix) concerning the marriage of Vīrō and Viš in the month of Ādhurmāh (آذرماه),<sup>4</sup> which 'owing to the march of time' fell then in the beginning of spring (*nau-bahārān*), see Min., 44, Maḥ., 33. If one takes the month Ādhur (later Ādhar) for the tenth month of the era established under the last Sasanian, Yezdegerd III, and beginning on 16 June 632 (old style), then, counting backwards, the only period during which any day of Ādhar happened to coincide with the spring (i.e. the time between 20 March and 19 April) was between the years A.D. 392 and 512 (old style).<sup>5</sup>

The conclusion would then be that the events, or perhaps, as S. H. Taqizadeh admits, the composition of the original version of the story, took place in Sasanian times. The latter supposition would be admissible, but the former would be in contradiction with what we know of the character and spirit of the Sasanian period (see above).

On the other hand, should my assumption of the Parthian origin of the plot of *Viš-u Rāmīn* hold good, the problem before us would take on a different aspect: the calendar indication of Gurgānī would refer not to the late Sasanian

<sup>1</sup> cf. Sir J. C. Coyajee in 'The house of Gotarzes, a chapter of Parthian history in the Shah-nameh', *JASB*, NS, xxviii, 1932, No. 10, 207-24.

<sup>2</sup> Apart from the reference to the Pahlavi original Gurgānī (Min., 28, Maḥ., 21) begins his narrative with a difficult verse hinting at some additional (?) versions: 'I have found written (for?) evening entertainments (*samarhā*), among the words of the narrators (*rāviyān*) in (their) reports (*khavarhā*)' that there was a king, etc. This passage would be clearer if one could change the places of the rhymes: 'I have found written in the reports (*khavarhā*) on what was said by narrators during the evening entertainments'.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, the references to 'Khusrau'. Even if some of the sayings ought to be attributed to the mythical Kay-Khusrau (Minovi, pp. 129, 504), at least one of the references (ch. xciii, v. 14) in a simile (due apparently to Gurgānī himself) quotes the names of the Sasanian Khusrau and Shīrīn. Cf. ch. ciii, v. 4: Nūsharvān.

<sup>4</sup> In Z.-k. wrongly: *Ābān*.

<sup>5</sup> This computation is based on the principle that in applying the era of Yezdegerd (A.Y.) backwards (B.Y.) one has to take it that in every fourth year the year began one day later. Thus the beginning of the era (1 Farvardīn) was on 16 June 632, while the year 4 B.Y. began on 17 June. Cf. S. H. Taqizadeh, *Old Iranian calendars*, 1938, 6, and his letter of 26 October 1961.



era of Yazdegerd III but to the quite different calendar used under the Parthians, namely the Seleucid or the indigenous Arsacid era.<sup>1</sup>

I am incompetent to make any definite pronouncements on this still obscure subject. In Neugebauer's table 30A of the Seleucid era one finds two additional months Adār following the regular 12 months. In table 8 ('Hellenistische Kalender in Vorderasien') Adār is the sixth month and is said to begin on 1 March (just before the seventh month Nisān which is equated with April).

The useful index of rare words given in Maḥjūb's edition, p. 469, mentions the term Ādhār (آذر) used by Gurgānī three times as a synonym of spring.

(a) Minovi, 369, Maḥjūb, 269: 'I am Ādhār and you the Naurūz; in any case these two come together'.

(b) Min., 379, Maḥ., 283: 'I shall weep as an Ādhār cloud'.

(c) Min., 481, Maḥ., 322: '(The world) is never uniform: now it is like Ādhār, and now like winter'.

Maḥjūb, quoting the *Lughat-i nafīsī* and the *Burhān-i qāṭi*<sup>2</sup> writes: 'Ādhār is the sixth month of the Syrian (*suryānī*) calendar which the Arabs call *shuhūr al-Rūm* ("months of the \*Byzantines") and which corresponds to the first month of spring'. What is meant here is apparently some variant of the Seleucid era which we have mentioned above.

In view of these facts it is permissible to ask whether Ādhur (Ādhar)-māh in Gurgānī's text is not an abbreviation<sup>3</sup> of Ādhār used *metri causa* (cf. *āgāh āgah*), although Ādhār may be a non-Iranian<sup>4</sup> loan-word, while *ādhur* 'fire' is Iranian. The poet himself seems to be somewhat astonished at the unusual identification of Ādhur-māh known from the era of Yazdegerd with the spring, whereas for the original Ādhār this would be natural. Thus the placing of the marriage of Virō and Vis in the period between A.D. 392 and 512<sup>5</sup> does not seem to be a foregone conclusion.

By the side of the mention of Ādhur-māh one might quote the description of the fearful omens of the sky on the night before Mobad penetrated into the castle of Vis (ch. xxix, translated by F. Gabrieli and H. Massé). The poet displays his knowledge of the stars and their forebodings<sup>6</sup> but it would hardly be

<sup>1</sup> See Wroth, *Coins of Parthia*, 190, p. lxx (dates and eras); Minns, 'Parchments of the Parthian era from Avroman', *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, xxxv, 1, 1915, 36-42 (on dating); Neugebauer, 'Hilfsstafeln zur technischen Chronologie', in *Astronomische Nachrichten*, Kiel, 1937, Nos. 6250 and 6262; W. B. Henning, 'Mitteliranisch', in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, iv, 1, 1958, 28-9 (references); I. Dyakonov and V. Livshitz, *Dokumenty iz Nisi*, 1960. According to Henning, *Zoroaster*, 1951, 31, the Seleucid era was used even under the earlier Sasanians.

<sup>2</sup> See Mo'in's ed., i, 22: 'the name of the first month of spring of the year of the Rūmis when the sun stands in the zodiac of Pisces (*Hūt*)'.

<sup>3</sup> Or some misunderstanding in Gurgānī's sources.

<sup>4</sup> Professor J. B. Segal kindly writes to me (11 March 1962) 'Adar has been derived from Akkadian "be darkened, eclipsed". But the more satisfactory derivation is from the term for "threshing floor", which is its connotation in Aramaic and Syriac. It must at one time, then, have occurred at the season of threshing, in, that is, the early summer. But from early times—well before 1000 B.C.—Adar is used of the month which normally falls before the month of the spring equinox'.

<sup>5</sup> Some further precision might be derived by specialists from Gurgānī's indication that the day of Ādhur-māh was called *Dey*. In the Zoroastrian calendar this name (in Middle Persian spelt *Dadev*) was applied to the 8th, 15th, and 23rd days of each month. As is known, however, the Zoroastrian canon was established first under the Arsacids. The Georgian translation by O. Wardrop, pp. 14-16, only says that the day of betrothal was chosen by astrologers.

<sup>6</sup> Much less sophisticated is the description of a stormy night in Firdausi's introduction to the story of Bizhan and Manizha (Tehran ed., iv, 1055).

possible to interpret his poetical images as astronomical observations forming part of the original tale.

(E) The reviewer introduces my hypothesis as 'attractive' but his further doubts and arguments, if accepted, would disrupt my constructions. What would then take the place of my 'mosaics' (*munabbat-kārī*)? Z.-k. admits that it is impossible to seek affinity (*qarābat*) between Cornwall and Fāhla, but thinks that the stories of Rāmīn and Tristan may have a common origin. Some scenes in Gurgānī's poem are reminiscent of 'Daphnis and Chloe' and of 'Flour (Floris) and Blancheflour'. In the *Rāmāyana* (!) the similitude of the name of Rāma with Rāmīn cannot be accidental and the separation of Rāma from his wife Sitā offers in our case some useful parallels, etc. I am afraid these literary comparisons are vague and haphazard and would set the remarkable romance of Persian literature out of Time and Space.

#### 4. *Gurgānī and Toghrīl-bek* (M. Molé)

The most recent approach to our subject is by Dr. Marian Molé. His article 'Vis-u Rāmīn et l'histoire seldjoukide' appeared in *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*, N.S., IX, 1959, 1-30. All the references given by the author are to Minovi's edition.

In his first paragraph he makes the following points :

(1) the archaic (pre-Islamic) character of the customs described in the romantic story (*roman courtois*) is certain ;

(2) nobody will deny 'la résonnance spécifiquement parthe' of certain personal names in *Vis-u Rāmīn*<sup>1</sup> ;

(3) more doubtful is the assumption that the scarce political allusions of the poem reflect the conditions of the Parthian epoch ;

(4) the similarity of terms in which the poet refers to the kingdom of Mobad, and those in which he in the preface describes the 'nascent empire' of the Seljūqs are striking.

Further on these theses are maintained with more and more stress on the dependence of Gurgānī on the events of which, by the middle of the fifth/eleventh century, he was witness. They must have left a deep impression on the poet for, as M. Molé puts it imaginatively, 'toujours et partout, et en Iran plus peut-être qu'ailleurs, un élément mystique préside à l'établissement d'un nouvel état'. He then proceeds to explain the historical and geographical background of the poem by the poet's vision of Toghrīl-bek's successes.<sup>2</sup>

The record of events which Gurgānī describes in the special panegyric to Toghrīl (Minovi's ed., 11-15) and in the account of the capture of Iṣfahān (Min., 17-21) merit the attention of historians. Until now these chapters had been examined only by Badī' al-zamān (*Sukhan va sukhavarān*, II, 1, 9-12).

<sup>1</sup> In the subsequent explanations this point is not further touched upon.

<sup>2</sup> In the verse quoted at this occasion : *ba dawlat shāh-i shāhān shud chu Jamshēd* there is no *idafat* after *dawlat*, and instead of 'il partit pour l'empire du roi des rois comme Jamshēd', one should translate : 'by a fortunate chance he became a king of kings like Jamshēd'.

M. Molé<sup>1</sup> speaks in more detail of Toghrīl's campaigns in the west, but slightly forces the pace of Clio. In the conclusions of my 1947 instalment I gave a warning against such an acceleration. M. Molé himself (p. 3) has doubts on the reality of the 'souveraineté universelle' which, in his mind, Gurgānī attributes to Toghrīl. 'Avouons-le, la possession de l'Iran et quelques razzias dans les pays limitrophes ne sauraient à nos yeux justifier une telle prétention. On est encore bien éloigné de l'empire achéménide, du royaume sassanide ou du califat à ses bons jours'.<sup>2</sup> He then proceeds: 'Et pourtant . . . ne jugeons pas si vite. Une fiction légale [sic] se chargera de suppléer ici aux lacunes et, dès ce moment, l'empire seldjoukide apparaîtra comme s'étendant sur la moitié de la terre'.

The desire to make Gurgānī look through Seljūq glasses leads to some curious *qui pro quos*. Rāmīn (sent by his elder brother king Mobad) pacifies the west: from Isfahān he controls Gurgān, Rayy, Ahwāz, and Baghdād. M. Molé (p. 16) writes: 'l'image est claire et ne laisse pas de doute. Le frère aîné à Marv, le cadet à Isfahan; s'agit-il de Mobad et de Rāmīn? Ou de Čaghri-bek et de Toghrīl-bek? Des deux sans doute, et l'histoire de ceux-ci explique ce que l'on raconte sur ceux-là'. But thus Mobad becomes a synthetic personality because in the following paragraph the empire of Mobad is compared with that of Toghrīl. On p. 20 the variety of origin of the ladies invited by Mobad is explained by the necessity for the poet to exalt the power of the king of Marv. Was Čaghri-bek meant in this case too and would the comparison with Mobad be flattering for Toghrīl's elder brother?

As M. Molé several times (pp. 20, 30) repeats that his thesis concerning 'le cadre historico-géographique du roman' is opposite to mine, I cannot hope to convince him of the utility of my research; nor do I wish to engage in long polemics. I shall therefore present here only some general considerations in support of my views.

(1) Hardly any Persian epic or romantic poem does not begin with praises to God, to the reigning prince or king, and to the patron, but a line should be drawn between such introductions and the real stories.<sup>3</sup> In *Vis-u Rāmīn* too the real poem opens with ch. viii which bears the clear title 'Beginning of the story' (*āghāz-i dāstān*) and explains how Gurgānī found it in written form (*nivīshṭa*).

(2) The poet is explicit about the way in which he was going to adorn the somewhat dry original with his resources of rhetoric and poetry. Such parts of the poem as the exchange of letters between the two lovers are definitely

<sup>1</sup> He uses the recent works of Cl. Cahen (1948) and B. Spuler (1952). Somewhat inaccurately he calls Arslān-khān (who sent an embassy to Toghrīl) 'Arslan le Tatare'. This Qara-khānīd ruler was identified by Badī' al-zamān who quoted Ibn al-Athīr, *sub anno* A.H. 408. On this ruler of Kāshghar see in more detail Barthold, *Semirechye*, Engl. tr. 96, who assigns to his reign the years 423-48/1032-56.

<sup>2</sup> Here the memory is omitted of the Parthian empire which G. Rawlinson in 1873 called 'The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy'.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Nizāmī's dedications and the subjects of his poems.

productions of his own inspiration. Some casual points in his new version of the story are obviously anachronistic, such as the mention of Baghdād and Qayrawān (which are Muslim foundations), or a reference to Khusrau and Shirīn (ch. xciii, verse 14) in contrast to the other parts of the text devoid of any Sasanian reminiscences. The names of the beauties at Mobad's court may have been added *ad hoc* to increase the impression of Mobad's might, or, as I think, to suit the 'Khurāsānian' background of his basic dominions. On the other hand, it seems difficult to discover in the corpus of the poem any overflow of the panegyrics of the introduction.

(3) We had noticed the striking insignificance of the role which Fārs (that cradle of the Sasanians) plays in the poem, and the concentration of the events in northern Persia, and we have to consider the immutability of the geographical scheme. Any invasion from the east had to follow practically the same 'Khurāsānian road', and from Rayy one had to move to Iṣfahān, or Hamadān. Consequently the similitude of stages is no reason for accepting the latest possible version of events.

(4) Despite the theory developed in one of the historical works consulted by M. Molé, according to which the Seljūqs came as expected rulers, or even liberators (*Erlöser*),<sup>1</sup> it is hard to believe that the magic spectacle of a nascent state should have moved Gurgānī to compose a disguised glorification of the conquerors. How would these restorers of orthodoxy have liked to see themselves connected with a plot some details of which horrified even the bold satirist 'Ubayd Zākānī?

(5) It is true that in his introduction Gurgānī paid his tribute to the new Caesar. He did it with a liberal hand for he lived at a dangerous time, and he himself describes the horrible punishments inflicted on the disloyal elements (*bad-andishān*) after the capture of Iṣfahān (ch. v, verses 18-19).

It is quite probable that Gurgānī held some minor post at Toghril-bek's court or secretariat.<sup>2</sup> For seven months his sleep in Iṣfahān was broken by the trumpets and drums announcing the successes of Toghril's armies (ch. iii, v. 88). These rejoicings could not leave Gurgānī unaffected, and yet, when the hour came of the Sultan's departure for Hamadān,<sup>3</sup> the poet did not follow the king of kings. He vaguely speaks of some business (*kārī*) which detained him in Iṣfahān. M. Molé too seems perplexed by this separation from the king whom Gurgānī 'aurait dû suivre'.

(6) Here suddenly the real patron of the poet appears on the stage: the young 'Amīd Muẓaffar Nishāpūri appointed governor of Iṣfahān by Toghril-bek.

<sup>1</sup> See my remarks in *Göttingenische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, CCVII, 3 4, 1953, 197.

<sup>2</sup> His nearness to the Sultan should not be exaggerated, as M. Molé does when he translates the verse describing the poet's conversation with his real patron, the 'Amīd who *pursid az khudāvandī rahī-rā* 'il interrogea l'esclave sur le maître', instead of 'because of his (the 'Amīd's) lordliness he asked (his) slave (i.e. Gurgānī)', etc.

<sup>3</sup> This campaign is not recorded by the historians, though it may have been required by some disobedience of Toghril's half-brother Ibrāhīm Yināl for whom M. Molé does not seem to have an opposite number in the poem.

This high and trusted official ought to have inspired Gurgānī with the sense of duty but he himself encouraged him to stay in Iṣfahān till the spring and proposed to him to write a poem on Vis and Rāmīn, 'a very beautiful story which everybody loves in these parts'. This again looks like a mystery: how could a governor of Persian nationality delay the departure of Gurgānī by offering him a subject completely unconnected with administrative affairs? The conversation with the 'Amīd is reported in the light of purely literary interests. There is no hint in the text that by accepting the offer and writing his 'charmant poème d'amour' Gurgānī might please the court, or regain some favour.

(7) No doubt is left in the poem about the 'Amīd being the real dedicatee of the poem. His praise in the introduction is paramount and it is still further increased in the conclusion (omitted in the Indian edition) in which Gurgānī mentions by name the three infant sons of the governor and discovers in them every kind of ability and attraction.

To sum up: all these details make me doubt that the author of *Vis-u Rāmīn* meant to write a disguised record of Seljūq operations. His introduction can hardly be connected with the main story which he undertook to retell with all kinds of poetic embellishments.

M. Molé makes very few suggestions for the interpretation of the ancient elements of Gurgānī's text (see above points (1) and (2) of his theses) but I wish to take this opportunity for two new suggestions.

(a) My 1946-7 instalments may have misled M. Molé in interpreting the name of one of the secondary personages of the poem. I spoke of *K.shmyr-yal* whose name M. Molé explains as 'the hero of Kashmīr'. However, as I see now, it is better to read *K.shmyr-i yal*, i.e. 'K.shmyr the hero', in which case K.shmyr is a personal name. I think this correct reading reinforces my suggestion that the hero might have been called *Kishmēr*, in honour of the cypress tree said to have been planted by Zoroaster in the Khurāsānian village of that name. As a counterpart to it one might recall the name *Sarv* 'cypress', cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 290.

(b) Some difficulties with the identification of the place called *Khūzān* still remain. M. Molé (p. 23) draws attention to ch. iii, v. 63, where the poet describing Toghril's expeditions couples Khūzān with Mōsul (!) and adds: 'il semble qu'il faille le chercher un peu plus au nord qu'Ahwāz'. He even opines that the contempt with which the birthplace of the cunning nurse of Vis is mentioned may contain 'quelque vague souvenir du matriarcat élamite'.

In point of fact several Khūzān are known in Iran, see Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter*, iv, 410. It is possible that in his introduction Gurgānī uses Khūzān as a synonym of Khūzistān, but such use does not coincide with the location of Khūzān in the poem itself. South of Marv Yāqūt mentions two flourishing villages of this name near Herāt and Panjdih (on the present-day frontier between Afghanistan and the republic of Turkmenia). In this connexion one detail may be noted. In her letter to Rāmīn (ch. 87, verse 307) Vis reproaches him for having taken the nurse for a *gharcha va nādān*. In common use this might mean 'a rustic ignoramus', but originally *gharcha* (in Tājīkī *galcha*) refers to 'mountaineers', and the mountainous tract forming the watershed between

the river of Herāt (Harī-rūd) and the basin of Marv is even now called Gharchistān, 'the country of (the rough) mountaineers'. It is tempting to look for the nurse's country in that region.

I hope this long discussion of the new suggestions concerning the interpretation of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* may prove useful for future research on the poem of Gurgānī. A number of additional remarks will be found in the revised text of my original article, now sixteen years old.

CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS



---

A Greek Crossing on the Oxus

Author(s): V. Minorsky

Source: *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol. 30, No. 1, Fiftieth Anniversary Volume (1967), pp. 45-53

Published by: [Cambridge University Press](#) on behalf of [School of Oriental and African Studies](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/611814>

Accessed: 22/03/2013 18:36

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Cambridge University Press and School of Oriental and African Studies are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*.

<http://www.jstor.org>



# A GREEK CROSSING ON THE OXUS

By V. MINORSKY

The present notice is merely an annex to V. V. Barthold's article on Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū<sup>1</sup> which has stood the test of 70 years.

Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, a Khorāsānian by birth, was a distinguished historian of Tīmūrid times. He belonged to the class of those learned men whom rulers liked to attach to their courts. He studied in Hamadān, and worked under the patronage of Tīmūr, Shāhrukh, and Prince Baysunqur. He died in Zanjān in 834/1430–1.<sup>2</sup>

In 817/1414–15 Shāhrukh received a geographical work in Arabic (which according to Barthold must have belonged to the Balkhī tradition) and requested Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū to translate it into Persian and bring it up to date. The work was partly finished in 820/1417 but remained under revision because of the time-taking historical compositions entrusted to the author.<sup>3</sup>

A detailed description of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's 'Geography' (Br. Museum, Or. 1577) was given in Rieu's *Catalogue*, I, 1879, 421. As shown by Rieu, 423, Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū used numerous geographical works to complete the text of the manuscript given to him by Shāhrukh. He names explicitly Ibn Khurradādhbih, Ibn Yaḥyā's<sup>4</sup> *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*, the *Jihān-nāmeḥ* by Muḥammad ibn Najīb Bakrān,<sup>5</sup> Nāṣir-i Khusrau's *Safar-nāma*, and the *Qānūn al-buldān* of an unknown author. Moreover in the text references occur also to Ḥasan b. Aḥmad Muḥallabī (al-'Azizī)'s *Masālik wa 'l-mamālik*, Ibn Ḥauqal, *Rasm al-arḍ* (by an unknown author), *Rasm al-ma'mūr* (ditto), *Jahāndānish* (ditto), al-Idrisī, and the geography of Ibn Sa'īd.<sup>6</sup>

The preface to the 'Geography' is dated 820/1417, but this is not the final date of its completion. In fact it was never finished. After the general data of the cosmographical features of the Earth the author begins the description of the southern belt of the countries from west to east: Maghrib, Spain, Egypt, Syria, the Mediterranean, Jazīra, Iraq. When he reaches Iran

<sup>1</sup> *Hafiz-i Abru i yego sochineniya* in the Festschrift to Baron Victor Rosen entitled *al-Muza'fariya* (Muza'ffar = Victor), St. Petersburg, 1896, 1–28.

<sup>2</sup> A summary of what is known of him and his works will now be found in C. A. Storey's *Persian literature*, I/1, 86–9, I/2, 1235–6 (historical works), II, 132–3 (geography). See especially his references to F. Tauer's articles.

<sup>3</sup> First (by order of Shāhrukh) of a *Majmū'a* of the historical works of Ṭabarī (Bal'amī)—Rashīd al-Dīn—Nizām-shāh with insertions of the periods lacking between these—down to 828/1425, and then (by invitation of Prince Baysunqur) of a *Majma' al-tavārikh* containing an independent rearrangement of the universal history (in four volumes, of which the fourth dedicated to the reign of Shāhrukh bears the special title of *Zubdat al-tavārikh* 'The cream of histories'; last year mentioned 830/1426–7).

<sup>4</sup> See Rieu, I, 420–1, Storey, II/1, 131.

<sup>5</sup> See its text published in facsimile with a preface by Y. E. Borshchevsky, Moscow, 1960, and its printed reproduction by M. A. Riyahi, Tehran, 1342/1963.

<sup>6</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Gharnāṭī = Ibn Sa'īd, see Barthold's article 'Geografiya Ibn Sa'ida' in *Recueil des travaux rédigés en mémoire . . . de D. Chwolson*, St. Petersburg, 1899, 226–41, and Krachkovsky, *Izbranniye sochineniya*, IV, 352–8.



he enumerates its southern provinces Khūzistān, Lūristān, Fārs, and Kirmān, after which he gives a more detailed description of Khorāsān with an extensive addendum on its history. The addendum includes the date of 820/1417, and the Br. Mus. MS Or. 1577 inserts events of the year 823/1420.

In the chapter on Khorāsān, which according to Barthold (op. cit., 11) forms the beginning of the second part of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's 'Geography', the author speaks of his intention to describe Mā-warā-an-nahr (Rieu, I, 424b). But the promised chapter is missing in Or. 1577. It was found in the Bodleian MS Fraser 155,<sup>7</sup> where alone it has survived, by Barthold who analysed, quoted, and translated it in the above-mentioned article.

Even the additional chapter of the Bodleian MS, however, is incomplete. For in the description of Samarqand (Fraser 155, ff. 169–70) the author says that more details, God willing, will be given in the historical essay on Transoxiana (Barthold, art. cit., 16). The whole addition found in MS Fraser 155 looks like a preliminary draft drawn up by the author or one of his secretaries. No references to authorities are given. We also do not know what order the 'Geography' was going to follow in its description of the northern zone of the Earth (including Azārbāyjān, the Caspian provinces, etc.). This is the more regrettable because Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū himself travelled far and wide (in the train of Timūr's armies) and in his preface to the 'Geography' (Br. Mus., Or. 1577, fol. 8b, cf. Rieu's *Catalogue*, I, 422b) says that he visited 'Transoxiana, Turkistān, Dasht-i Qipchaq [north Caucasian steppe], Khorāsān, the two Iraqs, Fārs, Azārbāyjān, Arrān, Mughān, Gurjistān (twice), Little and Great Armenia, the entire extent of Rūm and Syria, the banks of the Euphrates and of the two Zābs, Takrīt, Mauṣil, Diyārbakr, the littoral of the Khazar [Caspian] sea, Darband, the Shīrvānāt, Gīlān, Rustamdār, Sarī, Gurgān, and in the east: Zābul, Kābul, Manṣūra, Sind and Hind, Multān, Uchh, Delhi, and as far as the banks of the Ganges'.

After mentioning the towns of Transoxiana (Zūsh, Tawāwīs, Karmīna, Dabūsī, Kash, Nakhshab) the author describes the crossings on the Oxus. We give a literal translation of this passage.

'Tirmidh is a town on the bank of the Jayhūn (Oxus). It has a citadel (*kuhan-diz*) and a city (*shahristān*), and it also had a suburb (*rabaḍ*), (its) market, and (its) Friday mosque. Their buildings are of clay. And their irrigation water was from the Chaghāniyān river. And Tirmidh is said to have been built by the Dhu 'l Qarnayn (the Bicornus, Alexander). The people of Tirmidh are engaged in trade.

برداغوی<sup>8</sup>

برداغوی is a place on the bank of the Jayhūn, close to Tirmidh. Some say

<sup>7</sup> In the catalogue of the Bodleian Library (I, 22–4), though published in 1889, ten years after Rieu, I, MS Fraser 155, to which Ethé refers as Elliot 357, was wrongly taken for Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's work *Zubdat al-tavārikh*. The acknowledgment of this mistake appears among the Addenda, p. xi.

<sup>8</sup> Written as a special paragraph.

it existed before Tirmidh for a long period. Some say that it also was founded by Iskandar. And this برداغوی is a Greek name which was given to it also in the time of Iskandar, with the meaning of a guest-house. And in olden times the more important boatmen responsible for the crossing of the Jayhūn were in this برداغوی. And the passage (*gudhargāh*) of the sultans who were crossing this stream was there, and the kings of old protected its inhabitants because of their guarding of the crossing of the river, and freed them from taxes (*tarkhān*). For that reason the population there was numerous and the masters (*khuvājagān*) were opulent and served well every traveller who went there. So that the local people became known for their generosity, and the wayfarers who passed through there became the object of competition between the people of برداغوی, each of whom was anxious to take them into his house. And between the people of Tirmidh and those of برداغوی most of the time a struggle went on. In the neighbourhood of برداغوی there are many jungles (*jāngal*) and in them there were tigers (*shūr*).<sup>9</sup>

And in the same region there is another crossing called Kālif. It is taken as belonging to Khorāsān because their fields are on the Khorāsān side of the river.<sup>10</sup> And even at present the crossing there is called the crossing of Kālif and in some books it is written that Iskandar buried a treasure on the site of Kālif. And Anūshirvān made great efforts to unearth that treasure but without success. And God knows best.'

Touche of Alexandrine lore are of course to be expected on the banks of the Oxus but it is curious that only an author of Tīmūrid times stresses them in his description of its crossings. In this case Ḥāfiz-i Abrū does not mention his source; as the roots of his stories cannot be traced in the known works of his predecessors<sup>11</sup> one may surmise that he had at his disposal some local history<sup>12</sup> in which some ancient records were incorporated. Such an origin would explain the unpretentious and somewhat unskilled style of the description of the crossings. The impression is that the quotations belong to a far more remote time than the Tīmūrid epoch.

The tradition concerning the crossing mentioned after Tirmidh is unique and the most astonishing point about it is that its ancient name is preserved with a Persian translation.

Our source quite definitely attributes to the name of the crossing the

<sup>9</sup> *Shūr* is certainly 'a lion' but the term often applies to tigers which alone were found in the reed-beds of the Oxus even at the beginning of our century. On tigers in the Oxus region see Juvaynī, *Jahān-gushā*, I, 103, transl. Boyle, I, 130. Cf. Paul Pelliot, 'Notes sur le Turkestan de W. Barthold', *T'oung Pao*, xxvii, 1930, 17, on Marco Polo's confusion of lions with tigers.

<sup>10</sup> The Kālif crossing is situated some 140 km. down-stream from Tirmidh where the Oxus changes its course from east-west to south-north-west.

<sup>11</sup> Ibn al-Faqīh, Balkhī, Iṣṭakhṛī, Ibn Ḥauqal, the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, Muqaddasī, Mustaufī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb*.

<sup>12</sup> Similar to Narshakhī's *Tārīkh-i Bukhārā* which, as is known, has preserved much valuable ancient material and a number of traditions.

meaning of 'a guest-house' in Greek. This detail was left by Barthold without consideration<sup>13</sup> although it sets some interesting philological and historical problems. It is on this point that we shall concentrate our attention.

Let us first of all restore the Greek term which the modern Persian equivalent *mihmān-khāneh* has in view. The most popular corresponding Greek term which has penetrated into many languages is *πανδοχεῖον*, and this word seems to correspond to the requirements of our case.

The space of time which separates the Hellenistic period and the emergence of a corrupted Greek term with a correct explanation in a work completed in Modern Persian in A.D. 1420, is about 1500 years. This circumstance need not unduly disturb us.

In all probability Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the author, borrowed his information from a source belonging to the tenth century A.D., the period of the Iranian Renaissance under the Sāmānids when all the curious facts of the days before the Arab conquest were eagerly recalled. It is enough to mention the 'History of Bukhārā'<sup>14</sup> which contains interesting details on the days of heathendom. The *Hudūd al-'ālam* (written A.D. 982) speaks (§25, 13) of a monastery (*khānagāh*) in Samarqand of Manichaeans called *nighūshāk* 'auditors'. Bīrūnī has preserved a long list of pre-Islamic rulers of Khwārazm, etc.

Coming from the most ancient period downwards we have also long-surviving traces of Hellenistic influence. The most striking phenomenon is the use of the Greek alphabet by the new invaders from the east (Kushans, Hephthalites). The Chinese Buddhist Hsüan-tsang, who travelled in A.D. 629-45, i.e. on the eve of the Arab penetration into Transoxiana,<sup>15</sup> speaks of the country of Tu-ho-lo (Tukhārīstān) which according to him was traversed by the Oxus. He adds that its people used an alphabet consisting of 25 signs. It is agreed that he refers to the Greek alphabet of 24 signs plus an additional sign for š.<sup>16</sup> So, if the old alphabet still continued to exist and if it was still used in inscriptions, we may surmise that some ancient colonies of Greeks or their descendants carried on the Greek tradition, or at least remembered the meaning of some Greek words almost down to the Arab conquest. Consequently the gap of 1500 years which we have mentioned is considerably narrowed down. The tradition could have easily been carried on from the recollections of antiquity to the scholars of the Persian Renaissance.

<sup>13</sup> Barthold, art. cit., 23, transcribes the name in Russian as Бурдагуй. He may have been under the influence of the name of Burdaliq which he quotes in *Irrigation*, 74. The village of this name lies inland to the north-west of Tirmidh; its name seems to be of Turkish origin.

<sup>14</sup> Written in Arabic in 332/943-4, which after numerous revisions has reached us in a Persian version of Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Qubāwī made in 522/1128-9.

<sup>15</sup> See H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab conquest in Central Asia*, 15.

<sup>16</sup> In Watters, *On Yuan Chwang*, I, 103, the text is abridged. I owe to the kindness of Professor Pulleyblank the exact translation, running as follows: 'the characters (of the language) originate from 25 words. They are turned and mutually give birth and are used to express all things. The books are read horizontally from left to right'. As Professor Pulleyblank judiciously adds, the Chinese traveller referred to the letters not in their phonetic sense but as signs, groups of which represented words.

However much the form of the ancient word might have been crippled by foreign tongues, it was easier for its meaning to survive.

In the unique copy of our passage the complex برداغوی (devoid of subscript diacritics) looks definitely trisyllabic, resembling πανδοχείον deprived of its final *-on*. The loss of a Greek case ending is amply attested not only in such instances as εἰς τὴν πόλιν—Turkish *Istanbul*, but particularly convincingly for us in the rendering of this very πανδοχείον as *pandoki* in the Armenian Gospels, Luke x, 34, to say nothing of the still more contracted<sup>17</sup> forms in Arabic and many other languages.

At first sight the likeness of the trisyllabic برداغوی to πανδοχεί is tempting. We shall now examine in more detail its formation.

The initial ر could of course be interpreted in various ways (*nr*, *br*, *yr*, etc.) but I owe to Mr. G. Morrison, of the University of Oxford, the valuable observation that in one of the six mentions of the name in the manuscript one sees two dots under the first letter, and they are placed slightly to the left of the initial hook (*markaz*) to which they must belong, as if to leave space for some short insertion. It often happens in Persian manuscripts with doubtful names beginning with the Persian three-dotted *p*, that the scribes hesitatingly divide the group into one + two, or two + one dots,<sup>18</sup> leaving the reader to decide which combination is the more suitable. One may therefore surmise that in our case the space left before the two dots was destined for the third, and the name began with *p*.

For an explanation of the divergencies between the name as quoted by Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū and the Greek word I rely on the authority of Professor W. B. Henning of the University of California. In his kind letter from Berkeley of 21 May 1965 he writes: 'I am sure you are right about the name of the crossing being πανδοχείον, and about its descent through oral transmission. The alternation *n/r* is nothing to worry about. The sequence *-nd-*, two dentals, may have led to dissimilation; in clearer situations we have, e.g. *r* for *n* in Persian *xursand* against MPers. *hunsand*; the reverse in Sogdian *xanš-* "to pull" beside *xarš-*; cf. Greek *πάρδαλις* beside *πάνθηρ*. Alternatively, we have locally *n* against Persian *r* in such words as Sogd. *pun* "full" or Khwar. *fan* = Pers. *farr*, so that a form with *r* may have seemed an elegant variation.

'What is more interesting is the replacement of *-ox-* by *-ʿyw-*. This is eminently Sogdian. Indeed words so written in Sogdian we have always regarded just as crazy spellings; but here we see that such spellings are founded on real pronunciations, however difficult to account for; that is why I call your form a precious find. In *BSOS*, ix, [3, 1938,] 548, I wrote: "it would require a great deal of credulity to believe the reality of a pronunciation

<sup>17</sup> See below.

<sup>18</sup> Contrariwise successions of one + two or two + one dots under a letter (or letters) are sometimes joined into a single group of three dots.

𐰽𐰺𐰠𐰪𐰸 < 𐰽𐰺𐰠𐰪𐰸 which the Sogdian scribe would like to make us believe". Well, he was clearly right.'

In a further letter, dated 20 December 1965, Professor Henning adds the following remarks: 'It would be more in accord with our expectations to have 𐰽𐰺 (xw) instead of the actual 𐰽𐰺 (yw); yet to emend so isolated a form would be rash. We cannot exclude the possibility that in some dialect the original *x* was not voiced. . . . We should assume that \**pandoxi* was transformed into \**pardāxiwī* (or even \**pardāywi*) in some Sogdian dialect'.

As already mentioned the Greek word *πανδοχείον* was adopted by a great number of languages,<sup>19</sup> but the striking fact is that the form quoted on the banks of the Oxus differs from the widely spread Arabic form *funduq* and its Mediterranean imitations. In its general aspect it is comparable with the early Armenian form *pandoki* (found in the Armenian Gospels, see Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, 1895, 370), and seems to have remained uninfluenced by the Arabic vulgarization.

Strangely enough also elsewhere Persian remained practically immune from this vulgarization and for 'guest-house, market, etc.' used its own designations. Its resistance to *funduq* seems to be due to an aversion to confusing it with *funduq/bunduq* in the sense of 'hazel-nut', see Vullers, I, 267; II, 693. This term is also of Greek origin but derived from an entirely different word.<sup>20</sup>

As far as my experience goes, I remember only two cases of the use of the term *funduq* in Iran in a sense similar to that which it has in Arabic<sup>21</sup>:

(a) In the *qaṣīda* which the Khorāsānian poet Pūr-i Bahā addressed to 'Alā al-Dīn Juvaynī (d. A.D. 1283) in protest against the exactions (Mongolian: *qupchur*) to which the population was subjected he says (10):

Juvayn, the Khān's demesne (*injū-yi khān*) is gone to the men of the  
*Funduq-dār*

For daily, like a gardener the *qupchur* visits it.

In my commentary I have suggested that *funduq-dār* 'the innkeeper' may refer to some official in charge of a guest-house on one of the roads used by dignitaries and messengers (*elchi*), who may have had some financial authority in the district to provide the means for entertaining official travellers. *Wallāhu a'lam!*

(b) The ruins of a Buddhist monastery on the road between Bāmiyān and

<sup>19</sup> Such as Old Spanish *alhóndiga*, Modern Spanish *fonda*, Catalan *alfóndec*, Levantine French *fonde*, Italian *fondaco* 'shop' etc., see Meyer-Lübke, *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1935, 295, No. 3424 (kindly looked up for me by my friend Dr. I. Gershevitch).

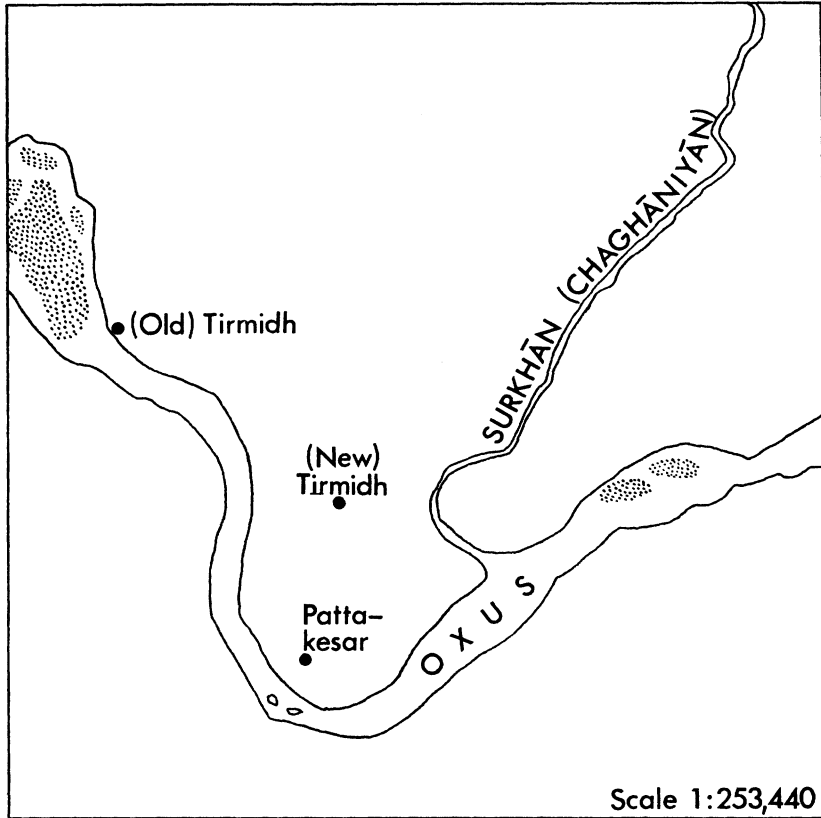
<sup>20</sup> Viz. *ποντικός* 'that of the Pontus (seaboard)'. I am indebted to Professor H. W. Bailey for reminding me of the learned article on the vegetation of the southern coast of the Black Sea by Planhol, 'Geographica Pontica', *JA*, CCLI, 3-4, 1963, 295-6: vulgar *φουντούκι*, Turkish *fındık*.

<sup>21</sup> I had already mentioned them in my article 'Pūr-i Bahā and his poems', in Tauer, Kubičková, and Hrbek (ed.), *Charisteria orientalia*, Praha, 1956, see its reprint in my *Iranica*, 1964, p. 300, n. 2.

Kābul are also called *Funduqistān*,<sup>22</sup> 'a place of guest-houses', with reference to the very numerous cells which are still to be seen in the neighbouring rocks.

On the other hand, the name of the author of the 'History of Bayhaq', as I now think, may represent a nickname connected with a hazel-nut.<sup>23</sup>

It now remains for us to see at which point of the northern bank of the Oxus the ferry called 'guest-house' should be best located. The great river



has hardly changed its course on this stretch but the inhabited points, and particularly Tirmidh, have changed their location.

In our text the close neighbourhood of Tirmidh and *\*Pardāywī* is clearly asserted and supported by the story of the rivalry between the inhabitants of the two places.

The earliest Islamic sources mention Tirmidh as standing on the very bank of the Oxus. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 33, says that 'coming from Balkh one

<sup>22</sup> See V. M. Masson and V. A. Romodin, *Istoriya Afganistana*, Moscow, 1964, 215 (quoting J. Hackin).

<sup>23</sup> Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Zayd, a native of Sabzavār (near Juvayn), was called shortly Ibn Funduq, but according to Yāqūt's biographical dictionary it was actually his ancestor in the fifth generation who was called al-imām Funduq.



crosses the river (Oxus) at Tirmidh, a town situated on a rock (*ḥajar*) on the other side of the river which washes its walls (*yadribu sūrahā*)'. Similarly Juvaynī, I, 102, transl. Boyle, I, 129, describes the barbarous destruction by Chingiz-khān in 617/1220 of the fortress of Tirmidh, 'half of whose walls were raised up in the middle of the Oxus'. After this disaster the town was rebuilt south-east of the old site, at some 3 km. to the west of the river of Chaghāniyān (now Surkhān). A modern observer<sup>24</sup> confirms that the site of the old Tirmidh is found on a raised plateau on the right bank of the Oxus and remains of its brick walls and towers can be seen in the water.

Barthold in his *Turkestan* (Engl. transl., p. 75, n. 3, new Russian edition, 1964, p. 125, n. 8) notices the only discrepant reference to Tirmidh in Ibn Ḥauqal (BGA, II, 349, ed. Kramers, 476) which in literal translation runs as follows: 'and the drinking water (*shurb*) is taken from the Oxus and (from) a river coming from Ṣaghāniyān which flows into the Jayḥūn (Oxus) below it (*min taḥtiḥā*)'. In this awkward phrase three points are dubious. (1) Are we to understand *shurb* as drinking water, or as water for irrigation, as suggested in other sources? (2) Are we to take *wa-nahr yajrī min al-Ṣaghāniyān* as a continuation of the sentence concerning the drinking water, in which case one would expect to see the preposition *min* repeated? (3) Below which place the Ṣaghāniyān (Chaghāniyān) river joins the Oxus? Should we take *min taḥtiḥā* as below (down-stream from) Tirmidh we might imagine that the river of Chaghāniyān, according to Ibn Ḥauqal, joined the Oxus to the west of Tirmidh that stood on its left bank, which would have no topographical support. The new translation of Ibn Ḥauqal's work<sup>25</sup> removes this difficulty by giving the passage as: 'l'eau potable est prise à l'Oxus et à une rivière venant de Saghaniyan et se jetant dans l'Oxus en aval de cette dernière localité'. In fact the river of Chaghāniyān joins the Oxus from the north, at the southernmost limit of this ancient principality.

In Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū's text Tirmidh is definitely taken as a crossing of the Oxus, rival to that of \*Pardāywī. Accordingly the text reflects the situation prior to the Mongol invasion and the reconstruction of the town on the new inland site away from the river. Consequently the passage of Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū is not a contemporary (*circa* A.D. 1420) description of the crossing but rather a quotation from some earlier source, or perhaps a mixture of the two, in the details referring to the buildings of the post-Mongol Tirmidh.

Should we think that because the unique and special paragraph on \*Pardāywī comes after the description of Tirmidh and before that of Kālif, lying *circa* 140 km. down-stream from the crossing of Tirmidh, the 'Greek crossing' should be sought *down-stream* from the old Tirmidh? This is not indispensable as the story of \*Pardāywī may be simply an annex to the description of Tirmidh.

The actual river port used at present for the navigation of the Oxus is at

<sup>24</sup> A. A. Semenov, in the joint effort volume *Tajikistan*, Tashkent, 1925, 145.

<sup>25</sup> G. Wiet, *La configuration de la terre*, 1964, 458.

Patta-kesar, a nineteenth-century village, lying some 12 km. up-stream from the old Tirmidh at approximately 6 km. to the south-west of the estuary of the Surkhān (Chaghāniyān). It is still used by the steamers bringing goods for the present-day Tirmidh, of which it can be regarded as a suburb. The position of Patta-kesar is protected by an island lying opposite it on the Oxus.

Our source stresses the position of \*Pardāγwī in the jungle haunted by tigers. This in its turn may be connected with the thick reed-beds near the confluence of the Surkhān with the Oxus (cf. above, p. 47, n. 9).

As a mere surmise one might therefore consider the possibility that a landing place to the west of the estuary of the Surkhān originally bore the ancient Greek name of *πανδοχείον*, but was later incorporated in the dependencies of Tirmidh, with the loss of the Greek appellation.

The task of the present article has been only to refresh the memory of the curious name of the crossing in Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, to attempt its restoration, to postulate the possibility of its survival during some 1500 years, and to hint at a place where it might be located if further discoveries of archaeologists support our hypothesis.





This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

В. Ф. Минорскій.

91  
M-62

# КУРДЫ.

## ЗАМѢТКИ И ВПЕЧАТЛѢНІЯ.

(СЪ ПРИЛОЖЕНІЕМЪ КАРТЫ).



Персидскіе курды — шеккаки.



ПЕТРОГРАДЪ.

Типографія В. Ф. Киршбаума, Дворц. пл., д. М-ва Финансовъ

1915.

1176 Q  
59 42

Ma-5935

Memorial Library  
University of Wisconsin - Madison  
728 State Street  
Madison, WI 53706-1494


Отдѣльный оттискъ изъ «Извѣстій Министерства Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ», 1915 г. № 3.

MEM  
DS  
59  
K86  
M56  
1915

AUS 3506

## Оглавление.

	Стр.
1. Географія и разселеніе курдовъ . . . . .	1
2. Исторія курдовъ . . . . .	6
3. Бытъ, сословія, типъ курдовъ. . . . .	13
4. Языкъ, словесность, письменность . . . . .	15
5. Религія. . . . .	21
6. Характеръ курдовъ. . . . .	28
7. Положеніе женщинъ. Отношенія съ другими народностями. Курдскій вопросъ. . . . .	36
8. Курды въ Россіи.. . . .	41



# МОЕЙ ЖЕНѢ И СПУТНИЦѢ

ПЕРВЫЙ РЕЗУЛЬТАТЪ

НАШЕГО ПУТЕШЕСТВІЯ

въ 1914 году.

1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

4. The fourth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

5. The fifth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who have been appointed to the various positions of the Board of Directors of the Corporation.

### Географія и расселеніе курдовъ.

Чтобы понять географію той части Азіи, о которой у насъ будетъ итти рѣчь, надо запомнить два исходныхъ пункта: Араратъ и Александреттскій заливъ.

На югъ отъ Арарата, болѣе, чѣмъ на двѣ тысячи верстъ, протянулись непрерывныя горы; сперва онѣ идутъ прямо съ сѣвера на югъ, а затѣмъ образуютъ рядъ цѣпей, сворачивающихъ на юго-востокъ къ Персидскому заливу. Первая часть ихъ называется просто «турецко-персидскимъ пограничнымъ хребтомъ» и раздѣляетъ два высокія плоскогорія съ извѣстными солеными озерами Ванскимъ и Урмійскимъ. Вторая часть лишь своими западными отвѣтвленіями подходитъ къ границѣ Турціи и Персіи; эти-то высокія горы и предгорья, стоящія между Иранскимъ плоскогорьемъ и Месопотамской низменностью, и называются древнимъ терминомъ Загросъ (повидимому, греческаго происхожденія), неизвѣстнымъ восточнымъ народамъ.

Отъ Арарата на западъ тянется тотъ Агры-дагъ, который отдѣляетъ наше Закавказье отъ Армянскаго плоскогорья и въ дальнѣйшемъ сливается съ горными цѣпями этого послѣдняго.

Если теперь перейти къ Александреттѣ, то на нѣкоторомъ разстояніи къ сѣверу отъ нея начинается Анти тав р ъ, составляющій водораздѣлъ рѣкъ Чернаго моря и Месопотаміи. Общее направленіе Антитавра на сѣверо-востокъ: тремя развѣтвленіями (Сѣверный, Сред-

<sup>1)</sup> Въ сокращенномъ видѣ настоящая статья была прочитана въ засѣданіи Общества Русскихъ Оріенталистовъ 15 мая 1915 г.

ній и Южный Армянскій Тавръ) онъ, какъ бы, стремится въ сторону Карса, Маку и Арарата <sup>1)</sup>).

Въ долинахъ, прилегающихъ къ этимъ развѣтвленіямъ Антитавра, находятся главные истоки Ефрата. Они состоятъ изъ двухъ рѣкъ: одна—«Мурадъ-чай» начинается почти подъ Араратомъ въ Алашкертской долинѣ, а другая—«Кара-су» или «Фуратъ» <sup>2)</sup> вытекаетъ изъ-подъ Эрзерума. Между обѣими рѣками на плоскогорьи Бин-голь находятся истоки Аракса, текущаго въ противоположномъ направленіи на сѣверъ. Мурад-чай и Фуратъ текутъ сперва на юго-западъ, причемъ Мурад-чай въ одномъ мѣстѣ подходитъ совсѣмъ близко къ истокамъ Тигра. Ему не удастся, однако, осилить этой узкой стѣны, и около Харпута судьба его рѣшена: онъ сливается съ Кара-су, чтобы въ союзѣ съ нимъ составить величайшую рѣку Передней Азіи, Ефратъ (2.670 верстъ), который, какъ бы, желая впасть въ Средиземное море, продолжаетъ стремиться на юго-западъ, но наталкивается на Тавръ и, отраженный отъ него, поворачиваетъ на востокъ къ Персидскому заливу.

Второй хребетъ, возникающій на юго-востокъ отъ Александретты, въ сущности является продолженіемъ сѣверныхъ сирійскихъ горъ. Онъ называется Тавромъ и тянется прямо на востокъ. Около Ванскаго озера одинъ отрогъ его идетъ на сѣверъ, а другой, опоясавъ озеро съ юга и востока, примыкаетъ къ Персидской границѣ около Котура <sup>3)</sup>. Этотъ послѣдній отрогъ пускаетъ на югъ два новыхъ ростка, которые, какъ гигантскія лапы, охватываютъ бассейнъ верхняго Тигра, пробивающагося въ юго-восточномъ направленіи. Тигръ до выхода на равнину пробѣгаетъ гораздо меньше пространства, чѣмъ Ефратъ, но зато, оправдывая древнее толкованіе своего имени, стрѣлой скатывается съ питающихъ его высокихъ горъ <sup>4)</sup>. На лѣвомъ берегу Тигра высятся горы Джуди-дагъ, на которыхъ, по восточнымъ преданіямъ, остановился ковчегъ Ноя. Но еще выше громады Джуламеркскихъ горъ, стоящихъ по, лѣвому притоку Тигра, Бол. Забу <sup>5)</sup>; отдѣльныя вершины ихъ достигаютъ 14.000 футъ <sup>6)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Сѣверный отрогъ приклеивается къ Соганлугу, такъ хорошо извѣстному по недавнимъ боямъ; южный фактически сливается съ Агры-дагомъ; а средній (Ала-дагъ) примыкаетъ къ потухшему вулкану Тандурекъ, стоящему у самой Персидской границы, недалеко отъ Маку (у Аваджика).

<sup>2)</sup> Корень «Фуратъ»—одинъ съ простонароднымъ русскимъ словомъ «фартъ, пофартило». На семитскихъ языкахъ (арабскій и т. д.) онъ означаетъ «изобиліе».

<sup>3)</sup> На Востокъ Ванскаго озера онъ отдѣляетъ бассейнъ этого озера отъ верховьевъ Бол. Заба (см. ниже).

<sup>4)</sup> Вавилонское «Диглатъ» значитъ собственно «высокій берегъ», но греки думали что это персидское слово (тигра=нов.-перс. тир), означающее «стрѣла».

<sup>5)</sup> Б. Забъ не относится къ верховьямъ Тигра, а вливается въ него уже въ его среднемъ теченіи.

<sup>6)</sup> Б. Араратъ около 17.000 ф.



Если верховья Ефрата и окрестности Ванскаго озера (Древняя Армения) и явились территоріей довольно ранняго распространения курдовъ, то все же отроги южнаго Тавра и гористая страна лѣваго берега Тигра (по Бохтану, Хабуру и Бол. Забу) были, повидимому, главнымъ очагомъ курдовъ въ историческое время. Наконецъ, на зарѣ исторіи, родину курдовъ надо искать еще далѣе на востокъ и на югъ, и этимъ тремъ восходящимъ ступенямъ во времени соотвѣтствуютъ три района разселенія курдовъ: высокое плоскогорье Арменіи, собственный турецкій Курдистанъ и западныя персидскія горы.

Итакъ, въ настоящее время курды живутъ широкой полосой вблизи турецко-персидской границы отъ городка Мендели <sup>1)</sup> до Арарата, заходя на сѣверѣ въ наше Закавказье. На всемъ армянскомъ плоскогорьѣ они тѣсно перемѣшаны съ армянами, но параллель Эрзерума является ихъ сѣверной границей въ Турціи. На югѣ курды спускаются до окраины Месопотамской равнины. На западѣ границею считается Ефратъ (или вѣрнѣе Кара-су), но курды проникаютъ глубоко и въ Малую Азію, и не только занимаютъ районъ къ юго-востоку отъ Сиваса, но отдѣльными группами отмѣчаются и около Коніи и въ Киликіи, доходя, такимъ образомъ, почти до Средиземнаго моря.

Въ общемъ можно сказать, что курды и горы неразлучны; тамъ, гдѣ начинаются равнины, курды уступаютъ мѣсто арабамъ, туркамъ, а вокругъ Ванскаго озера — и армянамъ.

Примѣнительно къ существующимъ административнымъ дѣленіямъ, курды занимаютъ:

Въ Россіи — прилегающія къ Арарату части Эриванской губерніи, нѣкоторыя мѣстности въ Ардаганскомъ и Кагызманскомъ округахъ Карсской области и, кромѣ того, живутъ въ уѣздахъ Зангезурскомъ и Джеванширскомъ <sup>2)</sup> Елисаветпольской губ. Эти послѣдніе курды по какой-то странной случайности не были послѣдней переписью выдѣлены въ особую группу, а Эриванскіе и Карсскіе курды въ 1910 г. исчислялись въ 125.000 душъ, изъ которыхъ было 25.000 ѣзидцевъ.

Въ Персіи курды занимаютъ цѣликомъ большія генераль-губернаторства Керманшахъ и Курдистанъ (иначе Сенне), окр. Гяррусь и части Азербайджана: 1) цѣлый округъ Соуч-булахъ къ югу отъ Урмійскаго озера и на западѣ отъ рѣки Татаву, и 2) непрерывную полосу въ 20—40 верстъ по турецкой границѣ на западѣ Урміи, Салмаса, Хоя и Маку <sup>3)</sup>. На югѣ персидскіе курды исконное населеніе и, быть можетъ, занимая западную окраину страны древнихъ мидійцевъ, они являются одними изъ ихъ прямыхъ наслѣдниковъ. И по языку, и отчасти по ре-

<sup>1)</sup> Къ востоку отъ Багдада.

<sup>2)</sup> Отчасти и въ Арешскомъ и Джебраильскомъ уѣздахъ.

<sup>3)</sup> Ханство Аваджикъ — единственное мѣсто, гдѣ тюрки (племя айрумлы), къ тому же, позднѣйшіе переселенцы, прерываютъ у границы сплошную полосу курдовъ.

лигін (шіиты, али-аллахи) эти юго-восточные курды отличаются отъ главной массы своихъ соплеменниковъ, хотя и сознають себя съ ними одной народностью. Что касается сѣвера Персіи, то, напримѣръ, еще въ началѣ нашей эры Салмась<sup>1)</sup> входилъ въ ту пограничную и почти независимую область, которая у армянъ называлась Кортчея (т. е. Курдистанъ). Наоборотъ, къ югу отъ Урмійскаго озера курды сравнительно поздно продвинулись такъ далеко; около Соуч-булаха до сихъ поръ сохранилось немало тюркскихъ названій мѣстъ<sup>2)</sup>, а кромѣ того курдская лѣтопись прямо упоминаетъ о появленіи здѣсь племени мукри (родственнаго сулейманійскому племени бабанъ) лишь при династіяхъ Черно-и Бѣло-баранниковъ, т. е. около XV в. Подобныя позднія переселенія съ запада на востокъ имѣли мѣсто неоднократно, и кое-гдѣ явственно видно, какъ одинъ слой курдовъ покрывалъ другой.

Помимо перечисленныхъ сплошныхъ районовъ, въ Персіи есть и отдѣльныя курдскія колоніи, напримѣръ, въ Хорасанѣ (шадыли), къ сѣверу отъ Казвина (амберлю) и около Шираза (около Кялун-Абду), куда курдовъ переводилъ Надыр-шахъ (1736—1747) и т. д.

Въ Турціи основныя земли курдовъ—въ Мосульскомъ вилаетѣ, въ гористой части котораго они живутъ компактной массой. Въ вилаетахъ Ванъ и Битлисъ армяне составляютъ большинство 60—70% лишь вокругъ Ванскаго озера на территоріи<sup>3)</sup> около 8.000 кв. верстъ; зато, какъ санджакъ Хеккяри, прилегающій къ персидской границѣ, такъ и большая часть горныхъ округовъ обоихъ вилаетовъ заселены по преимуществу курдами; лишь на югѣ Хеккяри (Джуламеркъ) небольшимъ, но плотнымъ оазисомъ живутъ аширетные несторіане, составляющие до 90% и, вслѣдствіе этого, занимающіе господствующее положеніе.

Въ Діарбекирскомъ и Харпутскомъ вилаетахъ курды преобладаютъ надъ остальными народностями. Въ Діарбекирскомъ вилаетѣ на Тигрѣ лежитъ городокъ Джезире въ области Бохтанъ<sup>4)</sup>, считающейся колыбелью курдской націи, откуда вышли и наиболѣе извѣстныя курдскія движенія. Въ Харпутскомъ вилаетѣ слѣдуетъ отмѣтить сплоченное населеніе округа Дерсимъ, лежащаго въ междурѣчьи, образуемомъ обоими истоками Ефрата, гдѣ курды разъ въ 8 превышаютъ остальное населеніе (Линчъ). Курды эти говорятъ, однако, на нарѣчьи

<sup>1)</sup> Адонцъ, Армения въ эпоху Юстиніана, стр. 418.

<sup>2)</sup> Отъ которыхъ такъ отличаются курдскія названія: Бѣжуа, Долканъ, Кани-Сѣманъ, Гыртык-спи, Заркѣу и т. д.

<sup>3)</sup> За вычетомъ воднаго пространства.

<sup>4)</sup> Область эта, обнимающая болѣе широкіе предѣлы, нежели бассейнъ р. Бохтанъ, не есть дѣленіе административное, какъ выяснилъ М. Hartmann, и раздѣлена между 3 вилаетами.

заза <sup>1)</sup> и исповѣдуютъ особую религію, въ виду чего замѣчалась нѣкоторая тенденція къ выдѣленію ихъ изъ ряда остальныхъ курдовъ. Лично я думаю, что это не совсѣмъ правильно, такъ какъ всѣ они параллельно говорятъ и на общекурдскомъ языкѣ, по быту сливаются съ курдами, а религія ихъ—али-аллахійство, къ которому принадлежатъ и другія племена.

Въ Алеппскомъ вилаетѣ курды уступаютъ мѣсто арабамъ, но, по новѣйшимъ свѣдѣніямъ (консулъ Циммерманъ), въ числѣ 125.000 душъ занимаютъ около 1.000 деревень. Въ Сивасскомъ вилаетѣ курды—меньшинство (консулъ Савиновъ): ихъ всего—тысячъ 30 (казы: Кангалъ, Кочхисаръ, Зара и Дивригъ).

Въ Эрзерумскомъ вилаетѣ въ его восточной части курды составляютъ значительное большинство относительно другихъ національностей <sup>2)</sup>.

Отдѣльныя колоніи курдовъ имѣются въ Сиріи, гдѣ въ гор. Дамаскѣ цѣлый кварталъ заселенъ курдами (M. Hartmann). Въ Багдадѣ курдовъ до 5.000 (Anastase Marie), но вообще въ Багдадскомъ вилаетѣ курды лишь вкраплены въ общую арабскую массу; отдѣльныя племена Зенгене, Дело и т. д.) живутъ преимущественно къ востоку отъ дороги, ведущей изъ Багдада въ Персію (Ген. консулъ Орловъ).

Общее число турецкихъ курдовъ доходитъ, какъ полагаютъ, до 1.700.000 (Аверьяновъ). Если считать, что въ Персіи ихъ около милліона, то въ общей сложности всѣхъ курдовъ (считая и русскихъ подданныхъ) можетъ быть  $2\frac{1}{2}$ —3 милліоновъ.

Единственной до сихъ поръ попыткой дать общую этнографическую картину разселенія курдовъ является карта полк. Карцева, оставшаяся, повидимому, почти неизвѣстной на Западѣ <sup>3)</sup>. По техническимъ причинамъ воспроизведеніе ея не представляется возможнымъ, и для иллюстраціи разселенія курдовъ въ Турціи мы приведемъ схему,

---

<sup>1)</sup> Заза, повидимому, лишь кличка, которую даютъ непонятному языку окружающіе. Нарѣчіе это, по новѣйшимъ изслѣдованіямъ (О. Мапп), чисто иранское и относится къ той же группѣ діалектовъ, какъ напр., и гуранское (см. ниже). Въ немъ много особенностей и архаизмовъ. Не надо добавлять, что легенда о сходствѣ его съ армянскимъ языкомъ не имѣетъ никакихъ основаній.

<sup>2)</sup> Ген. консулъ Адамовъ: курдовъ 300.000, армянъ 200.000, турокъ 210.000. Въ Баязидскомъ санджакѣ курды въ 5 разъ многочисленнѣе другихъ національностей (Линчъ).

<sup>3)</sup> «Замѣтки о курдахъ» въ Запискахъ Кавк. От. И. Р. Геогр. Общ., 1897 г. (339—368). Тамъ же литература о курдахъ. На картѣ не совсѣмъ точны районы преобладанія армянъ, не показаны западныя колоніи курдовъ, невѣрно указанъ районъ персидскихъ али-аллахи, и названія племенъ (нерѣдко искаженныя въ транскрипціи) не точно пришлись на мѣста, но сама по себѣ карта большой и не утратившій своего значенія трудъ.

приложенную къ работѣ члена англійскаго парламента Марка Сайксъ <sup>1)</sup>, лучшаго практическаго знатока курдской этнографіи, поскольку рѣчь идетъ о Турціи.

Большая часть доступныхъ статистическихъ матеріаловъ касательно относительной численности армянъ, курдовъ и т. д. сжато сгруппирована въ офиціальномъ изданіи Министерства Иностранныхъ Дѣлъ «Реформы въ Арменіи» (1915).

## II.

### Исторія курдовъ.

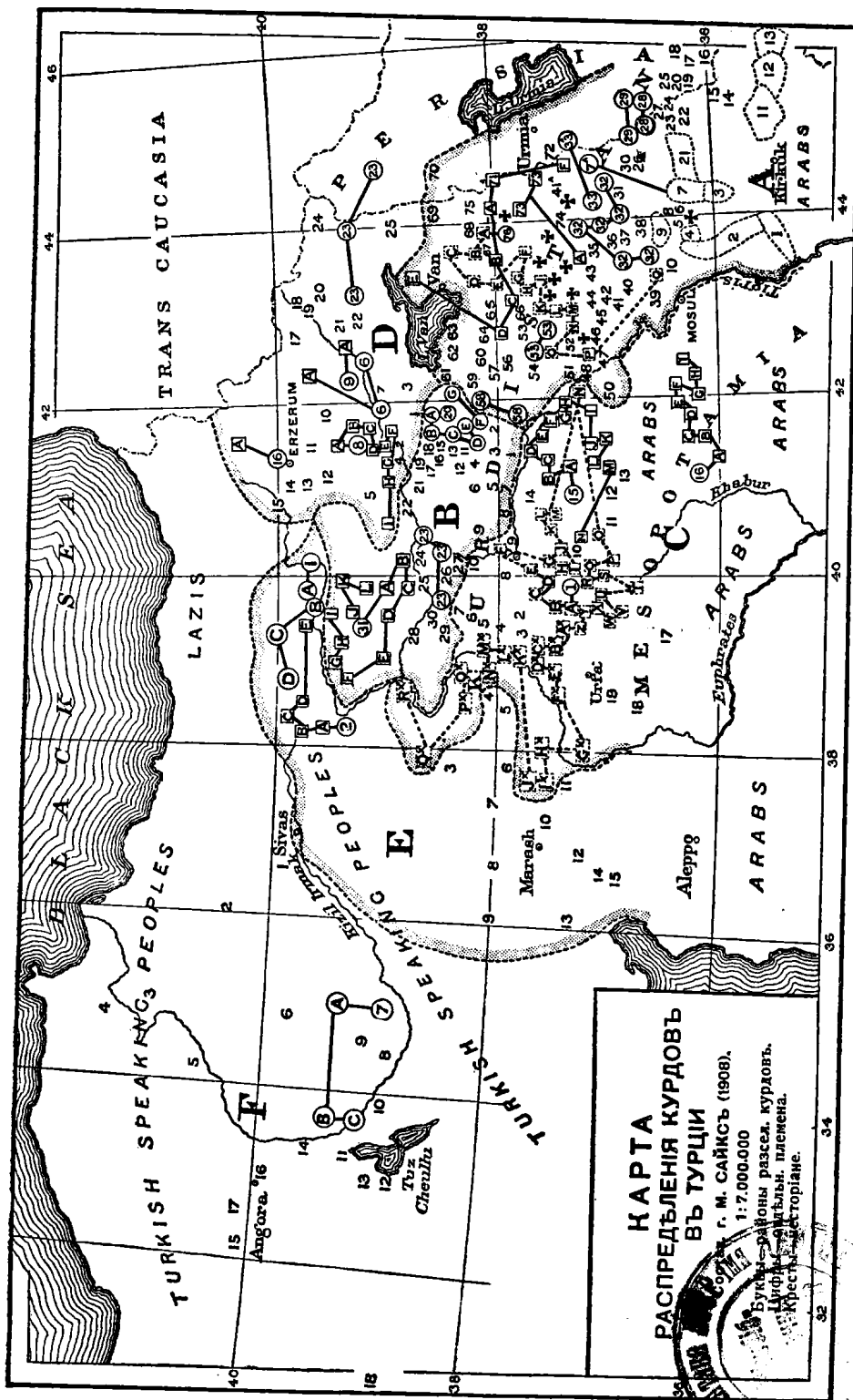
Происхожденіе курдовъ, или вѣрнѣе ихъ первое появленіе въ Курдистанѣ,—очень спорный вопросъ. Классическіе писатели <sup>2)</sup> упоминаютъ въ связи съ территоріей нынѣшняго Курдистана рядъ названій, чрезвычайно похожихъ на современное имя: курдъ, и до послѣдняго времени было принято говорить, что курды потомки кардуховъ, черезъ страну которыхъ въ 401 г. до Р. Х. отступали 10.000 грековъ подъ предводительствомъ Ксенофонта. Взглядъ этотъ за послѣднее время измѣнился. Среди народовъ, къ которымъ относятся указанныя сродныя имена, нѣкоторые ученые теперь различаютъ двѣ группы: за одною (именно за кардухами) они отвергаютъ арійское происхожденіе <sup>3)</sup>, но зато считаютъ, что Кюртіи, жившіе восточнѣе кардуховъ, были именно предками курдовъ. Какъ бы то ни было, за нѣсколько вѣковъ до Р. Х. интересующій насъ народъ сидѣлъ въ горахъ Курдистана. Мы знаемъ,

---

<sup>1)</sup> The Kurdish tribes of the Ottoman Empire, J. R. Anthropol. S., XXXVIII, 1908 г., (451—486). Трудъ этотъ безусловно заслуживаетъ переизданія въ новой обработкѣ съ привлеченіемъ всей наличной литературы о курдахъ. Самая система карты исключительно практическая: племена чисто географически раздѣлены на 5 районовъ (крупныя буквы); въ предѣлахъ каждаго указано цифрами мѣсто нахожденія отдѣльных племенъ, а ихъ подраздѣленія отмѣчены мелкими буквами. Для пользованія картой приложенъ подробнѣйшій каталогъ племенъ. Въ нашемъ Приложеніи карта можетъ служить лишь указателемъ мѣстъ, гдѣ можно найти курдовъ. Несторіане обозначены крестами, но разселеніе армянъ совершенно не указано, и въ этомъ отношеніи карта полнѣе Карцева имѣетъ всѣ преимущества. Съ М. Сайксъ не слѣдуетъ смѣшивать его однофамильца (Т. М. Sykes), Ген. Консула въ Мешедѣ, автора книги Ten thousand miles in Persia.

<sup>2)</sup> Вопросъ о томъ, упоминается ли имя курдовъ въ клинописныхъ памятникахъ, повидимому, не рѣшенъ. Прежнее имя Кур-ти-и теперь читаютъ Кур-хи-и. (См. Hartmann, Bohtan, II, 92).

<sup>3)</sup> Акад. Н. Я. Марръ считаетъ, что названіе «кардухи» по формѣ своей указываетъ на сродство этого народа съ урартійцами (называвшими себя халдами); однако, древній языкъ кардуховъ кореннымъ образомъ былъ въ послѣдствіи замѣненъ новымъ индо-европейскимъ. См. «Еще о словѣ: челеби», З. В. О. XX, стр. 139. Объ отношеніи кюртіевъ къ кардухамъ Н. Я. Марръ затрудняется высказаться.





что по крайней мѣрѣ по языку курды не только арійцы, но относятся и къ вполне определенной иранской группѣ. Слѣдовательно родина ихъ (или ихъ языка)—съ большой вѣроятностью на Востокѣ <sup>1)</sup>. Первое возвышеніе арійцевъ относится приблизительно къ началу VII вѣка до Р. Х., и можно предположить, что именно въ ту эпоху, когда мидійцы со своими союзниками сокрушали Ассирію (607 до Р. Х.), на западъ продвинулась большая часть курдовъ. Для параллели слѣдуетъ напомнить, что ближайшіе и многовѣковые сосѣди курдовъ — армяне, около тѣхъ же временъ явились изъ Фригіи и, занявъ царство Урарту <sup>2)</sup> (народа совершенно другого происхожденія), осѣли вокругъ Ванскаго озера <sup>3)</sup>. Такимъ образомъ, если корни армянъ на сѣверо-западѣ, то корни курдовъ на востокѣ. Это, какъ бы, двѣ противоположныхъ волны, разбившихся у горной твердыни Тавра.

Въ древне-персидской монархіи курды не упоминаются отдѣльно: повидимому, они входили въ составъ провинціи Арменія.

Греческіе географы начала нашей эры (Страбонъ, Птолемей и т. д.) хорошо знали область Кордуэну (Гордіэну), одинъ изъ городовъ которой Пинака теперь отождествляютъ съ нынѣшнимъ мѣстечкомъ Финикъ на р. Тигрѣ <sup>4)</sup>. Съ этой Кордуэной отчасти могла совпадать и упоминавшаяся выше Кортчая армянскихъ аршакидовъ, которая отъ Салмаса тянулась черезъ южный Хеккяри и далѣе на западъ къ Бохтану <sup>5)</sup>.

Какъ многообразны были судьбы этихъ мѣстъ, покажетъ слѣдующій сухой конспектъ, заимствованный мною у Шармуа: юго-восточная часть центральнаго Курдистана подчинялась послѣдовательно армянской династіи Хайканъ, зависѣвшей отъ ахеменидовъ; Александру Великому; армянскимъ аршакидамъ; Александру, сыну Марка Антонія и Клеопатры; аршакидамъ-вассаламъ то парѣянъ, то Рима; сасанидамъ Ардеширу и Шапуру; римскимъ императорамъ отъ Галерія до Ювіана; вновь сасанидамъ; византійскому императору Θεодосію; армянскимъ аршакидамъ, зависѣвшимъ отъ сасанидовъ; опять византійцамъ; наконецъ, первымъ арабскимъ завоевателямъ; армянскимъ князьямъ

<sup>1)</sup> Общее заселеніе Ирана арійцами происходило, вѣроятно, съ востока на западъ. В. В. Бартольдъ, Истор.-геогр. обзоръ Ирана, 1903, стр. 3, 59.

<sup>2)</sup> Урартійцевъ или, какъ теперь говорятъ халдовъ, относятъ къ особой алародійской группѣ народовъ (хетты, митанни, наири). Ср. Б. А. Тураевъ, Ист. Древ. Вост., II (1914), 46 и слѣд.

<sup>3)</sup> Впрочемъ, по другимъ теоріямъ армяне сопоставляются и съ хеттами, и съ киммерійцами. См. Халатьянцъ, Очеркъ Исторіи Арменіи, 1910, 10—20.

<sup>4)</sup> Однако, если согласиться съ теоріей о различіи кардуховъ и кюртіевъ, то надо принять во вниманіе указаніе Страбона (16,747), который говоритъ, что современные ему *Γερδοίαι* (въ странѣ которыхъ и лежала Пинака) въ старыя времена назывались кардухами (Hartmann, Bohtan).

<sup>5)</sup> Ср. Адонцъ, Арменія при Юстиніанѣ, 418.

Арцруни, бывшимъ арабскими вассалами<sup>1)</sup>, и первой самостоятельной курдской династіи Мерванидовъ, процарствовавшей съ 990 до 1096 г.

Вслѣдъ за тѣмъ пошелъ опять цѣлый рядъ восточныхъ завоевателей: въ XI в. явились сельджуки, потомъ курдамъ пришлось бороться противъ монголовъ: сперва въ XIII в. противъ Хулагу-Хана, а потомъ, около 1400 г. противъ Тамерлана, которому одинъ разъ пришлось въ Курдистанѣ (подъ Амадіей) очень плохо.

Наконецъ, въ XVI в., явились съ запада новые завоеватели османскіе турки, и съ 1514 г. судьбы Курдистана были связаны съ Турціей.

Покоритель Курдистана Султанъ Селимъ поручилъ его устройство своему приближенному, историку Хакимъ-Идрису, родомъ битлисскому курду<sup>2)</sup>. Предполагали, что Идрисъ, изъ политическихъ цѣлей, содѣйствовалъ продвиженію курдовъ въ населенные армянами районы, однако, вѣрнѣе думать, что курды гораздо раньше распространились на сѣверъ, отчасти естественно, какъ кочевники, а отчасти, какъ сторонники господствующаго Ислама, тѣснившаго христіанство. Извѣстно, напримѣръ, что предки знаменитаго Саладина, бывшіе изъ племени Равендъ, еще въ X вѣкѣ кочевали около Двина (въ предѣлахъ Эриванской губ.)<sup>3)</sup>.

Въ курдской лѣтописи говорится, что племя Рожеки отняло Битлисъ и Хазо у нѣкоего грузинскаго князя Давида. Тамъ же излагается преданіе, по которому водвореніе курдской династіи въ Битлисѣ относится къ 837 г. Быть можетъ, дату эту надо нѣсколько увеличить, но возможно, что указанное событіе произошло не позже X—XI вѣковъ<sup>4)</sup>.

Нѣтъ сомнѣнія, что курды постепенно захватывали части армянскаго царства, окончившагося въ XI в., и что, во многихъ мѣстахъ, они сидятъ не на исконной своей территоріи. Однако, слѣдуетъ имѣть въ виду, что вопросъ этотъ отнюдь не новый, а имѣющій подчасъ многовѣковую давность, чѣмъ и объясняется превращеніе древней Арменіи въ этнографическую Курдо-Арменію нашихъ дней.

Къ концу XVI в. относится знаменитая курдская лѣтопись Шереф-наме, которая запечатлѣла пеструю картину курдскихъ княжествъ,

<sup>1)</sup> Chahrou, Cheref-nameh, I, 341—2.

<sup>2)</sup> О немъ срав. Cheref-nameh, III, 208, 531.

<sup>3)</sup> Cheref-nameh, II (т. е., томъ I, часть 2), стр. 76.

<sup>4)</sup> Cheref-nameh (переводъ) III, 34, 224, 239. Преданіе это донынѣ живетъ среди курдовъ (между Мушемъ и Кабильджосомъ), см. статью Сайкса. Chahrou (IV, 213) считалъ, что упоминаемый Давидъ былъ сыномъ Сенехерима изъ армянской династіи Арцруни и взошелъ на тронъ въ 1027 г. Но, съ другой стороны, характерно, что лѣтопись называетъ грузинскаго князя, а въ качествѣ таковаго, какъ мы сообщаемъ, могъ бы подойти подъ обстановку Давидъ Куропалатъ, умершій въ 1001 г. Лѣтопись вполне различаетъ грузинъ и армянъ. Напримѣръ, въ Битлисѣ, она упоминаетъ древнюю армянскую церковь, превращенную въ мечеть (III, 215).



оставленныхъ Султаномъ Селимомъ на вассальномъ положеніи. Лѣвый берегъ Западнаго Ефрата и почти все теченіе Восточнаго Ефрата (Муррад-Су) были заняты курдскими владѣтельными князьками, возводившими свои роды ко времени послѣ распространенія Ислама. Едва ли не самымъ крупнымъ княжествомъ былъ Битлисъ, княземъ котораго былъ и самъ авторъ лѣтописи Шереф-ед-динъ Ханъ, описывающій въ подробности всѣ достопримѣчательности своего удѣла: его мечети, рынки, ученыхъ людей и т. д. Лѣтопись съ чисто курдской родовой гордостью перечисляетъ длинныя генеалогіи, рисуеъ войны, переселенія племенъ, ихъ постоянно неопредѣленное положеніе въ борьбѣ между Турціей и Персіей, продолжающееся до сего дня и т. д.

О вольномъ существованіи курдовъ такъ выражается Шереф-наме: «величайшіе султаны и высокіе потентаты никогда не посягали на ихъ страну и земли, ограничиваясь полученіемъ подарковъ и довольствуясь видѣть ихъ преданность и послушаніе, насколько это нужно, чтобы пользоваться ими въ качествѣ вспомогательныхъ войскъ» <sup>1)</sup>. Лишь въ XIX в. пришелъ этому конецъ. Великій турецкій реформаторъ Султанъ Махмудъ II рѣшилъ довершить дѣло Султана Селима и, такъ сказать, заново покорить Курдистанъ, что и было выполнено въ 1834 г. Мухаммед-Решидъ Пашою. Съ этого времени курды стали болѣе или менѣе турецкими подданными, но и тутъ послѣдовала реакція, въ видѣ перваго курдскаго движенія въ 1843—6 годахъ подъ начальствомъ Бедр-Хана. Выразилась она, однако, лишь въ видѣ рѣзни и грабежа, но не армянъ, а несторіанъ, среди которыхъ появились въ это время англійскіе миссіонеры. Противъ Бедр-Хана было послано войско; онъ былъ разбитъ и сосланъ на Критъ.

Во время Крымской войны возникло уже настоящее народное движеніе, подъ начальствомъ Ёзданшера, племянника и бывшаго соперника Бедр-Хана. Когда турецкія войска ушли на сѣверъ, Ёзданшеръ поднялъ возстаніе въ Хекьяри и Боханъ и въ 1855 г. захватилъ Битлисъ, Мосуль, а затѣмъ и все пространство отъ Вана до Багдада. Турецкія войска были разбиты у Сеэрда, всѣ турецкіе чиновники и гарнизоны вырѣзаны, но любопытно, что противъ христіанъ эксцессовъ не было, а наоборотъ, несторіане и даже греки, проживавшіе въ Курдистанѣ, встали подъ знамена повстанцевъ.

Ёзданшеръ нѣсколько разъ посылалъ къ русскимъ своихъ людей, предлагая соединиться съ нашими войсками, но взаимныя письма не доходили и, прежде чѣмъ мы весною 1855 г. возобновили военныя дѣйствія, Ёзданшеръ, сдавшись на обѣщанія англійскаго Консульскаго агента Нимруда Рассама <sup>2)</sup>, былъ схваченъ и увезенъ въ Константинополь, послѣ чего возстаніе само собою прекратилось. Между про-

<sup>1)</sup> Cheref-nameh, II, 34.

<sup>2)</sup> Мѣстнаго уроженца, извѣстнаго своими замѣчательными раскопками въ Ассиріи. См. Тураевъ, Исторія Древ. Востока, 1913, I, 37.

Ма. 5035

чимъ, турецкимъ войскамъ за подавленіе его была выдана особая медаль. Самъ Ёзданшеръ сдѣлался народнымъ героемъ и, напр., въ сборникѣ курдской словесности Социна имѣются воспѣвающія его пѣсни.

Не успѣла кончиться война 1877—8 г., расшатавшая турецкій престижъ, какъ опять возстали курды Хеккяри, Бехдинана <sup>1)</sup> и Бохтана. Во главѣ ихъ встали представители все того же семейства, а именно сыновья Бедр-Хана,—изъ которыхъ одинъ былъ полковникомъ турецкаго Генеральнаго Штаба. Цѣлью своей они выставляли возвращеніе прежней независимости. Сперва опять былъ разбитъ турецкій отрядъ изъ Сеэрда, но затѣмъ главари были захвачены и возстаніе замерло.

Нѣсколько особый характеръ имѣетъ движеніе 1880 г. Поднялъ его весьма чтимый въ Курдистанѣ представитель духовной власти Шейхъ Обейдулла, который во время войны 1878 г. оказывалъ туркамъ дѣятельное содѣйствіе. Цѣлью вновь была поставлена независимость курдовъ, но осуществленіе ея должно было начаться на персидской территоріи. Большія силы курдовъ вторглись въ заурмійскій край, осадили Урмію, обошли Урмійское озеро съ восточной стороны, взяли Бинабъ и направлялись на Тавризъ, гдѣ поднялось настоящее смятеніе: на улицахъ были построены особые ворота <sup>2)</sup>, Консульство наше приготовилось вывозить архивъ. Однако, на освобожденіе Урміи двинулись макинцы, на нашей границѣ былъ сосредоточенъ особый Нахичеванскій отрядъ подъ командою ген. Алхазова, персы оказали сопротивленіе подъ Марагой, и курды были, наконецъ, отбиты обратно. Идейное въ началѣ движеніе выродилось въ простой грабежъ, и мнѣ приходилось слышать на мѣстахъ, что въ концѣ концовъ курды возвратились вспять сами, не имѣя больше перевозочныхъ средствъ для новыхъ грабежей. Г. Аракелянъ, ѣздившій въ то время въ Азербайджанъ въ качествѣ спеціальнаго корреспондента газеты «Голось», отмѣтилъ недавно <sup>3)</sup>, что армяне отъ нашествія Обейдуллы не пострадали; однако, шиитовъ персовъ погибло и было ограблено громадное число. Персія громко протестовала. Шейхъ Обейдулла былъ отправленъ въ Константинополь, бѣжалъ вновь черезъ Кавказъ въ Азербайджанъ, вновь былъ схваченъ и посланъ въ Мекку, откуда послѣ турецкой революціи возвратился лишь его младшій сынъ Шейхъ Абдуль-Кадырь, въ настоящее время состоящій турецкимъ сенаторомъ <sup>4)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Иначе: Амадія.

<sup>2)</sup> т. е. своего рода баррикады.

<sup>3)</sup> Изв. Кав. Отд. И. Р. Г. О., XVII, 1904, «Курды въ Персіи»; въ общемъ крайне поверхностная замѣтка.

<sup>4)</sup> Много интересныхъ историческихъ матеріаловъ о новой исторіи курдовъ собрано русскими военными писателями: Карцевымъ и, въ особенности, П. И. Аверьяновымъ («Курды въ войнахъ Россіи. . . . въ теченіе XIX столѣтія»). У нихъ я и заимствовалъ большую часть фактовъ, дополненныхъ моими личными свѣдѣніями. О возстаніи Обейдуллы имѣется работа полк. Камсараканъ и англійская Синяя Книга: «Correspondence respecting the Kurdish invasion of Persia, Turkey, 1881, № 5».

Изъ новѣйшей курдской исторіи слѣдуетъ отмѣтить печальныя 90-ые годы прошлаго столѣтія, когда курды были избраны турками въ качествѣ грубаго орудія для противодѣйствія армянскому національному движенію, возникшему около того же времени. Въ отвѣтъ на террористическіе акты нѣкоторыхъ революціонеровъ начались ужасныя погромы, въ которыхъ приняли ближайшее участіе курды, тѣсныя сосѣди армянъ, жившіе съ ними до тѣхъ поръ въ сносныхъ отношеніяхъ, какъ это и теперь имѣетъ мѣсто во многихъ патріархальныхъ углахъ <sup>1)</sup>. Замѣчательное выраженіе взглядовъ на практическую политику приписывается Шейху Обейдуллѣ. Когда его сподвижники предлагали ему устроить христіанскую рѣзню, онъ, будто бы, отвѣтилъ: «Мы, курды, нужны туркамъ лишь для противовѣса христіанамъ; не будетъ христіанъ,— и турки обратятъ свои преслѣдованія на насъ».

Около 1891 г. извѣстный Шакиръ-Паша, впослѣдствіи ставшій Верховнымъ Комиссаромъ по введенію реформъ въ Анатолійскихъ вилайетахъ, возымѣлъ мысль создать курдскіе иррегулярныя полки на подобіе казаковъ. Шакиръ-Паша преслѣдовалъ цѣль постепенно втянуть курдовъ, не отбывавшихъ до тѣхъ поръ воинской повинности, въ извѣстное общеніе съ турками, поставить ихъ въ рамки дисциплины и порядка. Въ 1892 г., дѣйствительно, въ Константинополѣ и Багдадѣ были основаны особыя «аширетныя школы», имѣвшія цѣлью внѣдрять въ кочевниковъ арабовъ и курдовъ начала привязанности къ Турціи. Школы эти просуществовали, однако, недолго. Осуществленіе самой реформы, задуманной Шакиръ-Пашой, было поручено Зеки-Пашѣ, въ рукахъ котораго оттѣнился, впрочемъ, чисто военный планъ—скоро и безъ особыхъ расходовъ создать новыя вооруженныя силы. Насколько такая организація такъ наз. «хамидійскихъ полковъ» была успѣшна съ военной точки зрѣнія, судить не намъ <sup>2)</sup>. Сами турки, въ концѣ-концовъ, пришли къ сознанію необходимости превратить иррегулярныхъ хамидійцевъ въ регулярную легкую кавалерію («хафиф-сувари»).

Султанъ Абдуль-Хамидъ, пользуясь курдами, какъ и албанцами, для своихъ цѣлей, снисходительно смотрѣлъ на всѣ проявленія ихъ непокорности гражданскому порядку, но послѣ конституціи положеніе курдовъ въ этомъ отношеніи значительно ухудшилось. Какъ извѣстно, младотурецкое движеніе скоро превратилось въ довольно грубый турецкій шовинизмъ, который подъ видомъ созданія общаго «османскаго отечества» проводилъ лишь отуреченіе. Было обращено вниманіе на ослабленіе власти родовыхъ наслѣдственныхъ начальниковъ; параллельно имъ, а затѣмъ прямо и на мѣсто ихъ появились комитетскіе чинов-

<sup>1)</sup> Официальныя лица не разъ свидѣтельствовали, напр., о заслугахъ въ этомъ отношеніи курда Мутіулла-Аги, управителя Ванской волости Мюкюсъ и т. д.

<sup>2)</sup> О «хамидіе» имѣется значительная военная литература. См., напр., Ф. Ф. Грязновъ—Курды и курдская конница, въ Изв. Шт. Кав. Воен. Окр., 1907, 20.

ники, не знавшіе мѣстныхъ языковъ и условій и не имѣвшіе административной опытности, но зато умѣвшіе устраивать національные праздники съ трескучими рѣчами, «добровольные» сборы на флотъ и т. д. Все это не могло нравиться курдамъ.

Очеркъ исторіи будетъ не полонъ, если не упомянуть именъ, которыми образованные курды всегда гордятся. Первый знаменитый курдъ былъ Салах-уд-динъ, болѣе извѣстный всему міру, какъ Саладинъ, основатель династіи эюбидовъ, просуществовавшей въ Египтѣ, Сиріи и Месопотаміи съ 1169 г. до конца XIII вѣка, покоритель христіанскаго іерусалимскаго царства, успѣшный соперникъ Ричарда I англійскаго и Филиппа Августа французскаго.

Въ Персіи съ 1750 до 1779 г. царствовала династія, основанная курдомъ Керим-ханомъ Зендъ, личное правленіе котораго отличалось замѣчательной гуманностью.

Но эти двѣ историческія личности дѣйствовали въ сущности внѣ предѣловъ своей народности <sup>1)</sup>. Что касается до чисто мѣстныхъ независимыхъ династій, то къ таковымъ причисляются: 1. упомянутые выше Мерваниды—въ Діарбекирѣ (990—1096) и 2. Хосневейхиды въ юго-восточномъ Курдистанѣ (959—1015 въ Дейневерѣ и Шехризурѣ). О болѣе мелкихъ зависимыхъ князьяхъ я уже говорилъ: Арделянъ, Сулейманіе Бехдинанъ, Ревандузъ, Хеккяри, Шемдинанъ, Бохтанъ, Баязидъ <sup>2)</sup> и т. д. дожили отчасти до нашихъ временъ. Въ сущности многіе изъ современныхъ начальниковъ аширетовъ занимаютъ фактически такое же положеніе. Еще въ началѣ нынѣшняго столѣтія на югъ отъ Діарбекира (въ Шехревиранѣ) предводитель племени милли Ибрахимъ-паша былъ въ лучшемъ случаѣ турецкимъ «вассаломъ». Онъ подчинилъ себѣ даже нѣкоторые арабскія племена, взималъ подати («хува») и былъ хозяиномъ положенія <sup>3)</sup>.

Таковы внѣшнія историческія данныя, касающіяся Курдистана и курдовъ. Ихъ разрозненность и отсутствіе единства объясняются въ значительной мѣрѣ географическими условіями. Долины, разъединенныя труднопроходимыми цѣпами горъ и бурными потоками, выработали раздробленность политической жизни и феодализмъ быта. Но тѣмъ сильнѣе чувства свободы и независимости, проникающія все существо

<sup>1)</sup> Сюда надо отнести и курдовъ Шелладиловъ X—XII вѣка, которые правили въ южномъ Закавказьѣ. Ими возведены были двѣ мечети въ Ани. Н. Я. Марръ, цит. сочин., 123. См. Л. Пуль, Мусульманскія династіи, добав. В. В. Бартольда, 295.

<sup>2)</sup> Занявъ въ 1828 г. Баязидъ, мы вывели въ Тифлисъ Бахлюль-Пашу, послѣдняго курдскаго владѣтельнаго князя. Впослѣдствіи онъ былъ восстановленъ турками и вновь въ 1855 плѣненъ нами.

<sup>3)</sup> Послѣ объявленія конституціи Ибрахимъ-Паша въ 1908 г. поднялъ возстаніе, бѣжалъ въ горы Абдуль-Азиз-дагы и тамъ былъ убитъ (Гордлевскій).

курдовъ и находящія нѣкоторое отраженіе и въ исторіи курдскихъ движеній. Нельзя упускать изъ вида и общаго курдскаго вліянія на раннюю культуру занимаемыхъ ими мѣстъ. Статья академика Марра, на которую мы ссылались носить знаменательный подзаголовокъ: «къ вопросу о культурномъ значеніи курдской народности <sup>1)</sup> въ исторіи Передней Азіи», и несомнѣнно, что курдской средѣ принадлежитъ, напримѣръ, особое развитіе нѣкоторыхъ религіозныхъ идей, проникавшихъ и въ христіанскія, и въ мусульманскія секты <sup>2)</sup>. Равнымъ образомъ курдскій языкъ до сихъ поръ обнаруживаетъ большое вліяніе на окружающія народности: если даже приписать курдскому гнету тотъ фактъ, что въ нѣкоторыхъ мѣстахъ Битлискаго вилайета армяне, забывъ свой языкъ, говорятъ лишь по курдски <sup>3)</sup>, то какъ объяснить, что у горныхъ айсоровъ «существуетъ общій обычай пѣть курдскія пѣсни и рассказывать курдскія сказки»? <sup>4)</sup>.

### III. Бытъ, сословія, типъ курдовъ.

Всѣмъ извѣстно, что курды раздѣляются на кочевыхъ и осѣдлыхъ. И тѣ, и другіе живутъ обычно смѣшанно. Наибольшее количество кочевниковъ, повидимому, на сѣверѣ отъ Месопотаміи <sup>5)</sup>. Кочевниковъ не слѣдуетъ представлять себѣ также чѣмъ то вродѣ нашихъ цыганъ. Прежде всего, громадное число ихъ уже перешло къ полuosѣдлости: зимой они живутъ въ долинахъ въ глинобитныхъ домахъ, весной засѣваютъ поля и, оставивъ часть людей сторожить ихъ, поднимаются въ горы со своими стадами. Часто лѣтніе шатры (называемые около Сулейманіе «хаваръ») стоятъ въ какой-нибудь верстѣ надъ зимовникомъ. Въ старые годы армяне мушскіе и др. имѣли чрезвычайно тяжелую и угнетающую повинность размѣщать у себя въ деревняхъ на зиму спускающихся съ горъ кочевниковъ. Въ настоящее время, по свидѣтельству самага выдающагося знатока Арменіи Линча, «кочевые курды на (Армянскомъ) плоскогорьѣ имѣютъ всѣ свои соб-

<sup>1)</sup> «Замолчанная исторіей народность» (Марръ).

<sup>2)</sup> Напр. почитаніе падшаго духа, который нѣкогда будетъ возстановленъ въ своемъ достоинствѣ. Ср. ниже о Ызиди.

<sup>3)</sup> Фактъ засвидѣтельствованъ Маевскимъ, Belck'омъ и т. д.

<sup>4)</sup> Лалаянъ, Айсоры Ванскаго вилайета, Зап. Кав. Отд. И. Р. Г. О. XXVIII, вып. 4, 1914.

<sup>5)</sup> Наиболѣе полное перечисленіе курдовъ съ классификаціей ихъ по роду жизни въ статьѣ Сайкса (см. выше). Сохранили значеніе и нѣкоторыя свѣдѣнія маіора Троттера (переведено подъ назв. «Мало-азіатскіе курды» въ Изв. Кав. О. И. Р. Г. О., т. VII, 1882—3, Приложение, стр. 1—14). Общее, необыкновенно кропотливое, но сильно устарѣвшее перечисленіе всѣхъ аширетовъ см. у П. Лерхъ, Изслѣдованія объ иранскихъ курдахъ, Спб. 1856, I, 63—121. Здѣсь же исчерпывающая вопросъ библіографія.

ственные деревни <sup>1)</sup>». Этимъ, быть можетъ, и объясняется существованіе значительнаго числа курдскихъ селеній даже въ такихъ мѣстахъ, какъ Мушъ, считавшійся однимъ изъ исконныхъ армянскихъ округовъ. Тамъ, гдѣ большія племена сохранили привычку далекихъ переходовъ, какъ, напр., племя Джафъ, изъ Шехризурѣ уходящее въ Персію,—движенія эти носятъ необыкновенную правильность: идутъ эшелонами, ночуютъ въ строго опредѣленныхъ пунктахъ, на горныхъ яйлакахъ занимаютъ точнѣйше установленные столѣтіями участки.

Въ сравнительно немногихъ мѣстахъ курды превратились, такъ сказать, въ «обывателей курдской національности». Такое явленіе имѣетъ мѣсто лишь гдѣ нибудь на окраинахъ. Въ большинствѣ же случаевъ сохранилось дѣленіе курдовъ на племена — аширеты, имѣющія два сословія: 1) воиновъ, къ которымъ относятся начальники («ага»), владѣющіе землею, и ихъ слуги и 2) земледѣльцевъ («райетъ») <sup>2)</sup>, занимающихъ полу-крѣпостное положеніе. Умѣряется оно, однако, чувствами родовой связи съ «ага», чувствами подчасъ необыкновенно патріархальными, сильными и даже трогательными <sup>3)</sup>.

Предполагаютъ, что во многихъ мѣстахъ «ага» являются завоевателями, а «райетъ» другой расой. Надо дѣйствительно сказать, что типъ «ага» всегда настолько благороднѣе, что смѣшать его съ крестьянами невозможно. Историческую вѣрность этой теоріи приходилось устанавливать не разъ, напр., въ Котурфѣ, Сомѣ и т. д., гдѣ позднѣйшіе пришельцы шеккаки покорили старыхъ обитателей. Вообще же курдскій типъ представляетъ такія разнообразія, что трудно опираться на одни антропологическіе признаки <sup>4)</sup>. Среди курдовъ можно найти переходъ и къ круглолицему армянскому типу, и къ семитическому: арабскому <sup>5)</sup> или чаще несторіано-христіанскому. Тамъ, однако, гдѣ, какъ въ Сулейманіе, курды жили далеко отъ другихъ народностей, сохранился весьма благородный и гордый обще-иранскій типъ.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Н. F. B. Lynch, Armenia, Travels and Studies, 1901, II, 423. Есть русскій переводъ Джунковской, 1910, изд. торг. дома Питоева.

<sup>2)</sup> Эти послѣдніе иногда называются «гуранъ». Такимъ образомъ слово это имѣетъ два значенія: 1) сословіе земледѣльцевъ (не вездѣ), 2) опредѣленное племя Гуранъ, живущее къ востоку отъ Зохаба. По свидѣтельству Ролинсона племя гуранъ произошло отъ племени кельхурръ, которое около 1639 г. вытѣснили изъ зап. Зохаба курды баджиланы, приведенные Султаномъ Мурадомъ IV изъ Діарбекира. Этому, какъ бы, противорѣчить нарѣчіе гуранъ (см. ниже), особое отъ языка кельхурровъ.

<sup>3)</sup> Во время оккупации пограничныхъ персидскихъ округовъ турки пытались улучшить положеніе «райетовъ», однако, я самъ не разъ слышалъ отъ этихъ послѣднихъ грустное восклицаніе: «не осталось у насъ больше ага». Власть ага турки пытались подорвать.

<sup>4)</sup> До сихъ поръ измѣреній курдовъ произведено очень немного. Литературу см. въ замѣткѣ А. А. Иванова — Езиды, Русскій Антропологическій Журналъ, 1900, № 3.

<sup>5)</sup> Среди многихъ курдскихъ племенъ, и въ особенности правящихъ ими семей, держится убѣжденіе, что они окурдившіеся арабы.

Вотъ какъ описываетъ его армянскій писатель Абовьянъ: «курда можно отличить съ перваго взгляда по мужественной, важной и полной выразительности осанкѣ, наводящей въ то же время невольный страхъ; по его гигантскому росту, широкой груди, богатырскимъ плечамъ. Кромѣ того отличительныя черты курда: большіе огненные глаза, густыя брови, высокій лобъ, длинный согнутый орлиный носъ, твердая походка, словомъ всѣ принадлежности древнихъ героевъ».

Можно напомнить, что курды—самые западные иранцы, и, вмѣстѣ съ лурами, являются едва-ли не единственными оставшимися кочевниками среди индо-европейскихъ народовъ <sup>1)</sup>.

#### IV.

##### Языкъ, словесность, письменность.

Языкъ курдовъ относится къ группѣ иранскихъ языковъ, состоящей, какъ извѣстно, изъ языковъ персидскаго, афганскаго, балучскаго, осетинскаго и нѣкоторыхъ другихъ древнихъ и современныхъ нарѣчій. Курдскій языкъ не есть «испорченный персидскій», а вполне отдѣльный языкъ съ особыми законами фонетики и особымъ синтаксисомъ, относящійся къ персидскому, какъ сербскій къ русскому или вѣрнѣе какъ латинскій языкъ швейцарскихъ горцевъ относится къ итальянскому. Предки персидскаго языка извѣстны: это средне-персидскій (пехлеви) и древ.-персидскій языкъ клинописныхъ надписей, но курдскій не восходитъ ни къ тому, ни къ другому. Не стоитъ онъ даже въ непосредственной связи и со вторымъ языкомъ древняго Ирана—авестійскимъ, на которомъ написаны священныя книги тк. наз. огнепоклонниковъ (Авеста) <sup>2)</sup>.

Дѣлались предположенія, что курдскій языкъ, какъ и многія современные нарѣчія Персіи, впиталъ въ себя не мало элементовъ исчезнувшаго языка Мидіи, т. е. той иранской монархіи, которая предшествовала Древней Персіи.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Конечно, иранство курдовъ доказуемо лишь въ отношеніи языка; выяснить же доли постороннихъ вліяній въ ихъ крови пока нѣтъ никакой возможности. О типѣ, бытѣ, исторіи курдовъ и ихъ культурной роли среди другихъ народовъ Передней Азіи много интересныхъ цитатъ и свѣдѣній собрано въ статьѣ акад. Н. Я. Марра, «Еще о словѣ: челеби», Зап. Вост. Отд. Арх. Общ., томъ XX, 1910. Вообще работа эта имѣетъ весьма широкое содержаніе.

<sup>2)</sup> Впрочемъ, въ связи съ открытіями новыхъ средне-персидскихъ текстовъ, наводимыхъ въ значительномъ числѣ въ Китайскомъ Туркестанѣ, установленныя понятія подвергаются теперь значительной переоцѣнкѣ. Обнаруживается, что и въ средне-персидскомъ были сильно расходяшіяся отдѣльныя нарѣчія. О. Манн (Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen I, 1909) ими объясняетъ многое въ современныхъ западно-иранскихъ языкахъ.

Раздѣляется курдскій языкъ на многія нарѣчія, которыя сводятся, 1. къ южнымъ: керманшахское, сеннейское и т. д., 2. восточнымъ: языкъ Сулейманіе и Соуч-булаха и 3. западнымъ, охватывающимъ почти всю главную территорію Курдистана <sup>1)</sup>).

Какъ восточные, такъ и западные курды называютъ свой языкъ «курманджи». На восточномъ нарѣчій говоритъ меньше народу, но оно отличается большой правильностью, звучностью и чистотой <sup>2)</sup>. Весьма характернымъ признакомъ отличія западнаго и восточнаго нарѣчій является мѣстоименіе 1-го лица ед. числа: на востокѣ «я не знаю» будетъ «мын незанымъ», а на западѣ: «аз незанымъ». Обѣ формы ясны по своему сходству даже съ славянскими корнями.

У курдовъ очень богатая народная литература: масса сказокъ, народныхъ преданій, пѣсенъ. Есть и эпическія былины: особенной любовью пользуется сказаніе про осаду крѣпости Дымдымъ <sup>3)</sup> персидскимъ Шахомъ Аббасомъ—въ основѣ ея лежитъ истинное происшествіе. Есть, наконецъ, у курдовъ и свой настоящій эпосъ «Мем-у-Зинъ», который то простой, то риѣмованной прозой разсказывается по всему Курдистану: Мемъ и Зинъ влюблены другъ въ друга, но Мемъ не равенъ по происхожденію своей возлюбленной. Брату Зинъ, правителю Бохтана, доносятъ про любовь молодыхъ людей и, въ гнѣвъ на дерзость Мема, онъ велитъ бросить его въ тюрьму. Мемъ заболѣваетъ въ заточеніи, и правитель, опасаясь, что произволъ его можетъ вызвать народное волненіе, соглашается на бракъ, однако, слишкомъ поздно. Мемъ умираетъ въ объятіяхъ Зинъ, вошедшей къ нему съ радостной вѣстью. Кончины его не переживаетъ и Зинъ, которая передъ своей смертью требуетъ отъ своего брата, чтобы похороны ея были обставлены, какъ свадьба съ Мемомъ. Рядомъ съ нимъ ее и хоронятъ, и изъ могилъ влюбленныхъ вырастаютъ розовые кусты, переплетающіеся вѣтвями, какъ бы въ знакъ той любви, что сильнѣе смерти <sup>4)</sup>.

Довольно обширна и искусственная поэзія курдовъ. Конечно, произведенія ихъ поэтовъ не относятся къ лучшимъ образцамъ мусульманской поэзіи, но, можетъ быть, правильной оцѣнкѣ ихъ мѣшала не-

---

<sup>1)</sup> До сихъ поръ (по крайней мѣрѣ, относительно курдскихъ нарѣчій Турціи) не выяснилась классификація проф. О. Манна, и для практическихъ цѣлей сохраняютъ значенія указанія консула Жабы (приведенныя въ замѣткѣ Лерха, *Mélanges Asiatiques*, S. Psb., 1859, т. III. 242—255); онъ раздѣляетъ нарѣчія на ревенди (Эрзерумъ, Битлисъ, Баязидъ, Карсъ, Урмія), хеккяри (Бохтанъ, Діярбекиръ, Амадія, племя херки), сурри (Бильбасы, Сулейманіе, мукри, зерзе) и, наконецъ, хоромеки (заза).

<sup>2)</sup> Нарѣчіе мукри (Соуч-булахъ) можетъ до извѣстной степени считаться классическимъ среди существующихъ курдскихъ нарѣчій. Оно и разработано (О. Манн) наиболѣе подробно.

<sup>3)</sup> Къ югу отъ Урміи вблизи р. Барандузъ.

<sup>4)</sup> Это варіантъ А. Жабы на основаніи поэмы Ахмеда Хани. Другія версіи, напр., записанная Манномъ въ Мериванѣ, переносятъ событія ближе къ нашему времени и придаютъ изложенію реалистическій характеръ.



доступность ихъ произведеній въ виду малой изученности курдскаго языка. Извѣстны имена восьми старинныхъ стихотворцевъ <sup>1)</sup>, изъ которыхъ самый ранній жилъ, будто бы, въ XI вѣкѣ. Пока лишь произведенія одного изъ нихъ: Мелай-Джизри были фототипически изданы въ 1904 г. въ Германіи (M. Hartmann); однако, для перевода не нашлось пока еще специалиста. Въ новѣйшія времена, главнымъ разсадникомъ курдскихъ поэтовъ стала, повидимому, Сулейманіе, гдѣ жилъ и весьма популярный курдскій поэтъ Нали.

Вотъ два маленькихъ образца курдской поэзіи:

I.

„Косы по стану твоему разсыпаль я въ безпорядкѣ,  
И ими, словно сѣтями, опутала ты меня, влюб-  
ленного.

Какъ не плакать мнѣ, когда сто разъ ты сокру-  
шила мнѣ сердце.

Какъ не пролиться вину, когда сосудъ его разбить  
на сто кусковъ.

II.

Голый я бѣднякъ, но видитъ Богъ, (какъ) я стрем-  
люсь увидѣть твою красоту;

Потому сирота и жаждетъ солнца, что его не  
грѣетъ его рубище <sup>2)</sup>.

А вотъ отрывки изъ чисто народной поэзіи:

I.

«О, Лейла Эшана, высоки горы, не вижу я тебя.

«Рукой моей приласкалъ бы я тебя!

«Въ мірѣ подобной тебѣ я не вижу.

«Сдѣлаю я тамбурекъ о 14 струнахъ,

«И струнами будутъ мои страданія.

«Сдѣлаю я тамбурекъ изъ кости воробушка,

«И струны натяну изъ кудрей невѣсты.

«О Лейла Эшана, мнѣ и моему сердцу принадле-  
жишь ты.

«Ты—только что распутившійся цвѣтокъ.

«Сжалются надъ тобой и мной твои родители» <sup>3)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> См. Notices et récits Kourdes par A. Jaba, consul de Russie à Erzeroum, S. Psb. 1860, 7—11.

<sup>2)</sup> Оба отрывка были написаны мнѣ однимъ соуч-булахскимъ курдомъ. Кажется, авторъ ихъ—Нали.

<sup>3)</sup> Записано г.г. Примъ и Социнъ въ Тур-Абдинѣ (Мидіатъ).

II.

«Когда мнѣ будутъ читать отходную,  
«Пусть къ изголовью моему придетъ Лейла  
«И спроситъ меня: гдѣ у тебя болитъ, о глазокъ  
мой сладкій» <sup>1)</sup>).

Пусть строгіе критики, повторяя отзывъ Пушкина объ одной кавказской пѣснѣ, и назовутъ въ худшемъ случаѣ наши курдскіе отрывки «восточной бессмыслицей, не лишенной нѣкоторыхъ поэтическихъ достоинствъ»; однако, ясно, что курдская народная словесность не похожа на тотъ грубый и неприличный вздоръ, который подъ видомъ «курдскаго гимна» появился недавно въ нѣкоторыхъ газетахъ.

Надо сказать, что въ южномъ Курдистанѣ, преимущественно персидскомъ, роль литературнаго языка занимаетъ нарѣчіе гурани <sup>2)</sup>, врядъ-ли относящееся къ числу собственно курдскихъ нарѣчій и имѣющее развитую письменность. По гурански переложены извѣстныя восточныя легенды «Лейла и Меджнунъ», «Хосровъ и Ширинъ», «Хоршиди Хаверъ» и другія. Еще въ началѣ прошлаго вѣка рукописи ихъ были вывезены англійскимъ путешественникомъ Rich <sup>3)</sup>, и хранятся теперь въ Британскомъ музеѣ. Я также приобрѣлъ въ 1914 г. въ районѣ Зохаба нѣсколько новыхъ списковъ этихъ и другихъ поэмъ.

Первая курдская газета, называвшаяся «Курдистанъ», появилась въ 1898 г. въ Каирѣ, а затѣмъ печатаніе ея было перенесено въ Женеву, причемъ издателемъ ея былъ Абдуррахманъ бей, одинъ изъ сыновей Бедр-хана. Вторая газета была основана послѣ турецкой революціи Шейхомъ Абдуль Кадыромъ, но вскорѣ изданіе ея прекратилось. Наконецъ, въ 1913 г. группа курдовъ: софтъ, студентовъ и журналистовъ основала общество «Хивіа-курдъ» (курдское единеніе) и стала издавать ежемѣсячникъ «Рожа-курдъ» (курдскій день) <sup>4)</sup>, носившій ярко національный характеръ: на обложкахъ красовались портреты неизбѣжныхъ Саладина и Керимъ-хана Зенда, курды призывались къ сознанію своей національности, вырабатывался новый алфавитъ для курдскаго языка и т. д. Въ 1914 г. журналъ измѣнилъ свое названіе на «Хатави-курдъ» (курдское солнце) и, повидимому, получилъ довольно широкое распространеніе. Мнѣ приходилось слышать о немъ въ далекой Сулейманіи, гдѣ мѣстныхъ хановъ и интеллигентовъ живо интересовали вновь поднятые національные вопросы.

<sup>1)</sup> Изъ собранія О. Мапп (нарѣчіе мукри). Построеніе и характеръ такихъ пѣсенокъ въ 3 строчки весьма напоминаетъ испанскую народную лирику.

<sup>2)</sup> Итакъ, помимо собственно курдскихъ нарѣчій, надо запомнить еще нарѣчія за а (см. выше) и гурани; говорящіе на нихъ параллельно говорятъ и по-курдски.

<sup>3)</sup> Описаны Rieu въ каталогѣ рукописей Британскаго музея.

<sup>4)</sup> О журналѣ этомъ есть замѣтка С. М. Шапшала въ Восточ. Сборникѣ Об. Рус. Оріент., 1913, стр. 233.

Передъ самой войной протестантскіе миссіонеры, при поддержкѣ германскихъ обществъ утвердившіеся въ Соуч-булахъ, стали выпускать маленькій журналъ «Курдистанъ» <sup>1)</sup>, гдѣ также были нравоучительныя статьи, отрывки народной поэзіи (изъ книги О. Мапп) и т. д.

Изученію курдовъ и, главнымъ образомъ, ихъ языка посвящена уже большая литература, и, если русскихъ путешественниковъ по Курдистану было очень немного (по большей части должностныя лица: бар. Боде, Чириковъ <sup>2)</sup>, Ханыковъ <sup>3)</sup>, В. Θ. Маевскій, П. А. Томиловъ, К. Смирновъ <sup>4)</sup>, Максимовичъ - Васильковскій <sup>5)</sup>, и др.), то можно съ гордостью сказать, что научная разработка данныхъ о курдахъ была сосредоточена преимущественно въ Россіи. По повелѣнію Имп. Екатерины Великой академикъ Палласъ въ 1787 г. составилъ «Сравнительные словари всѣхъ языковъ и нарѣчій», гдѣ почти впервые были напечатаны и 276 курдскихъ словъ. Какъ, впрочемъ, весьма часто случается въ исторіи наукъ, новый предметъ началъ одновременно и совершенно независимо обрабатываться въ другомъ мѣстѣ. Первая курдская грамматика появилась на итальянскомъ языкѣ въ томъ же 1787 г. въ Римѣ; авторомъ ея былъ католическій миссіонеръ Maurizio Garzoni, передъ тѣмъ 18 лѣтъ прожившій въ дебряхъ Амадіи. Можно представить себѣ, съ какими трудностями была 150 лѣтъ тому назадъ сопряжена жизнь въ глуши Курдистана, съ какими лишеніями боролся отецъ Гарцони, который по своимъ заслугамъ и времени начала своихъ работъ справедливо считается «отцомъ курдовѣдѣнія».

Лишь для специалистовъ можетъ быть интересно, какъ развивалось въ дальнѣйшемъ изученіе курдовъ, но вотъ нѣсколько исключительныхъ случаевъ, двинувшихъ впередъ наши познанія объ этомъ народѣ.

Уже въ XVIII вѣкѣ (Herbelot) стало извѣстно о существованіи упомянутой выше лѣтописи курдскихъ племенъ, освѣщающей провинціальную жизнь очень запутанной эпохи. Англійскіе путешественники съ вели-

---

<sup>1)</sup> Имѣющийся у меня № 1 помѣченъ «нисанъ (т. е. апрѣль) 1914».

<sup>2)</sup> Путевой Дневникъ русскаго комиссара по тур.-перс. разграниченію 1849—52 г. изданъ подъ редакціей Гамазова, Спб. 1875. Это замѣчательное сочиненіе стало уже библиографической рѣдкостью. Проѣхавъ по многимъ маршрутамъ, описаннымъ полк. Чириковымъ, я считаю долгомъ подтвердить необыкновенную точность и добросовѣстность этого путешественника, которымъ мы справедливо можемъ гордиться. Трудъ его до сихъ поръ сохранилъ все свое значеніе.

<sup>3)</sup> См. его Поѣздка въ Персидскій Курдистанъ, Вѣст. И. Геогр. Общ., 1852, ч. VI, отд. V (1—18). Въ Запискахъ Кав. Отд. И. Р. Г. О. 1852, кн. I помѣщена бѣглая замѣтка о Сенне князя А. Гагарина.

<sup>4)</sup> К. Н. Смирновъ—Поѣздка въ Сѣверный Курдистанъ, Изв. Кав. Отд. И. Р. Г. О., XVII, № 4 (1904).

<sup>5)</sup> Ср. Поѣздка въ Персію, Изв. Кав. Отд. И. Р. Г. О., XVII, № 4, и особый Отчетъ о путешествіи.

кимъ трудомъ достали нѣсколько списковъ ея, но лучший изъ нихъ былъ добытъ русскими войсками. Въ 1828 г. во время войны съ Персіей ген. Сухтеленъ захватилъ городъ Ардебиль и, въ качествѣ военной добычи, отправилъ въ Петроградъ знаменитую бібліотеку сефевидовъ. Среди прочихъ книгъ оказался и экземпляръ лѣтописи Шериф-наме, провѣренный и подписанный самимъ авторомъ въ 1599 году. Важность рукописи была учтена нашими учеными, и сперва академикъ Веліаминовъ-Зерновъ издалъ подлинный персидскій текстъ, а затѣмъ академикъ Шармуа напечаталъ четырехтомный французскій переводъ, которому посвятилъ почти всю свою жизнь <sup>1)</sup>.

Во время Крымской войны въ Смоленской губерніи оказались среди другихъ турецкихъ плѣнныхъ и курды. Тотчасъ же Академіей Наукъ былъ командированъ къ нимъ г. Лерхъ, который и издалъ первые научно-провѣренные курдскіе тексты <sup>2)</sup>.

Изучали курдовъ и два русскихъ магистра Березинъ и Диттель, командированные на Востокъ въ 40-ыхъ годахъ прошлаго вѣка, но еще больше, чѣмъ они, сдѣлали два русскихъ консула А. Ходзько и Жаба. Первый изъ нихъ, отличался чрезвычайной любознательностью, много путешествовалъ и писалъ: встрѣтившись въ Парижѣ съ однимъ образованнымъ курдомъ, онъ затѣмъ по французски (въ *Journal Asiatique*, 1857) напечаталъ очеркъ Сулейманійскаго (восточнаго) нарѣчія. Консулъ А. Жаба съ 1848—66 г. провелъ въ Эрзерумѣ, гдѣ и занялся западнымъ курдскимъ нарѣчіемъ. Собравъ вокругъ себя группу образованныхъ курдовъ, онъ съ ихъ помощью составилъ курдскую хрестоматію, курдско-французскій словарь, книгу французско-курдскихъ разговоровъ и, наконецъ, большой французско-русско-курдскій словарь. Лишь двѣ первыя работы были изданы Академіей Наукъ, а остальные двѣ, имѣющія громадную практическую важность, считались уже затерянными, но по счастливой случайности мнѣ удалось напасть на ихъ слѣды, и въ 1913 г. наслѣдники г. Жаба передали мнѣ всѣ рукописи своего дѣда. Я приложу всѣ усилія, чтобы добиться ихъ напечатанія.

Наконецъ, въ 70-ыхъ годахъ русскихъ курдовъ Эриванской губерніи изучилъ проф. Егіазаровъ, который самъ съ дѣтства говорилъ по курдски, а потому могъ записать и узнать много интереснаго <sup>3)</sup>.

Ближайшее касательство Россіи къ изученію курдовъ было фактически признано за границей: даже труды нѣмецкихъ ученыхъ — Юсти,

<sup>1)</sup> Начавъ заниматься рукописью въ 30-ыхъ годахъ, Шармуа затѣмъ тяжело прохворалъ 20 лѣтъ и лишь въ 1868 г. могъ выпустить первый томъ перевода. Четвертый томъ (т. е. II кн. 2) помѣченъ 1875 г.

<sup>2)</sup> «Изслѣдованія объ иранскихъ курдахъ». Книга I—Введеніе и подробное исчисленіе курд. племенъ. Спб. 1856; кн. II—тексты курдскіе и на нарѣчіи заза, 1857, кн. III—словари и историко-литературное введеніе, 1858.

<sup>3)</sup> Зап. Кав. Отд. И. Р. Геогр. Общ. кн. XIII, выпускъ второй, 1891.

Прима и Социна, а затѣмъ и записи текстовъ австрійца Макаса были переданы для напечатанія въ нашу Академію Наукъ. Такимъ образомъ все существенное о курдахъ появилось у насъ въ Петроградѣ.

Стоитъ отмѣтить, что недавно въ Германіи была сдѣлана серьезная попытка отнять у насъ эту монополію: нѣмецкій ученый Оскаръ Маннъ, получивъ субсидію отъ самого императора Вильгельма, 4 года путешествовалъ въ Персіи и Турціи, изучая въ особенности курдовъ. Не предвѣщалъ ли и этотъ поздно пробудившійся интересъ къ курдамъ желанія выступить въ курдскомъ вопросѣ, какъ дѣлались попытки выступить среди армянъ черезъ извѣстнаго филантропа пастора Лепсіуса?

Самой послѣдней новинкой (1913) является курдская грамматика англичанина Соана, интересная особенно по личности автора, который, перейдя тайно въ мусульманство, долго жилъ въ южномъ Курдистанѣ, скрываясь одно время подъ видомъ персидскаго мирзы <sup>1)</sup>.

Въ настоящее время въ Петроградскомъ Университетѣ къ преподаванію курдскаго языка специально готовится г. Орбели, и будемъ надеяться, что его работы оживятъ и возстановятъ традицію русскаго руководства въ дѣлѣ курдовѣдѣнія.

## V.

### Религія.

По религіи громадное большинство курдовъ—мусульмане сунниты, что при соперничествѣ Персіи и Турціи въ Курдистанѣ давало большой шансъ въ руки туркамъ. Именно на это обстоятельство опирались турки во время своего вторженія въ Персію въ 1905—1912 гг., причемъ турецкій комиссаръ Тахиръ-Паша открыто развивалъ теорію о принадлежности всѣхъ курдовъ Турціи. Въ сущности, однако, не смотря на свое суннитство, курды принадлежатъ къ другому толку: они шафиты, а турки ханифиты; общезвѣстный фактъ, что именно такіе мелочи могутъ вызывать непримиримые расколы.

Есть и другое обстоятельство, могущее сыграть извѣстную роль. Нѣкоторые курдскіе роды производятъ себя (Cherref-nameh) отъ первыхъ халифскихъ династій: омайядовъ и аббасидовъ. По одному преданію въ Бохтанѣ хранится древнее знамя аббасидовъ. Такъ какъ права турецкихъ султановъ на халифатъ не безспорны даже въ мусульманскомъ мірѣ <sup>2)</sup>, то курды могутъ изыскать и независимые отъ Константинополя религіозные пути.

<sup>1)</sup> Онъ же написалъ увлекательную книгу приключеній: *To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in disguise* by E. B. Soane. L. 1912. Соанъ не любитъ турокъ и тяготеетъ къ Персіи и курдамъ.

<sup>2)</sup> О недоразумѣніи, по которому османскимъ султанамъ стали приписывать званіе халифовъ, см. В. В. Бартольдъ, *Халифъ и Султанъ*, «Міръ Ислама», 1912, №№ 2 и 3.

Въ Персидскомъ Курдистанѣ есть нѣсколько шиитскихъ племенъ, обычно сохранявшихъ вѣрность Персіи. Мнѣ приходилось встрѣчать мелкіе остатки племенъ, примкнувшихъ къ другимъ племенамъ и при этомъ перемѣнившихъ свое исповѣданіе <sup>1)</sup>.

Гораздо большее значеніе, нежели официальный исламъ, имѣютъ курдскіе духовные шейхи, которые къ правовѣрному суннитству стоятъ въ разнообразныхъ отношеніяхъ. Шейхи шемдинанскіе <sup>2)</sup> и шехризурскіе (деревни Тавила и Біяре въ Авроманѣ) принадлежатъ къ ордену накшибенди и, повидимому, придерживаются довольно строгой мусульманской точки зрѣнія; главное заключается въ святости ихъ рода, въ почитаніи могилъ ихъ предковъ, вѣрѣ въ ихъ духовное могущество. Намъ подобный юридикзмъ знакомъ по исторіи Шамиля. Я помню, какъ къ шейху Абдуль Кадыру (см. выше), турецкому сенатору, пріѣхавшему въ свои помѣстья на границѣ, турецкій офицеръ привелъ взводъ своихъ кавалеристовъ, и всѣ они благоговѣнно прикладывались къ рукъ этого святого. Особенно удивительно уваженіе, которымъ пользуются шейхи Шехризур. Въ ихъ текѣ, лежащее въ глуши Курдистана, стекаются и наши средне-азиатцы, а Соанъ описываетъ даже встрѣчу свою съ бессарабскимъ мусульманиномъ, послѣ Мекки и Багдада пробиравшимся къ Шейху въ Біяре.

Болѣе свободомыслящи другіе шейхи, разсѣянные, напр., и въ Соуч-булахскомъ районѣ <sup>3)</sup>. Съ однимъ изъ нихъ мнѣ нѣсколько разъ пришлось встрѣчаться и очень сблизиться. Онъ оказался дервишемъ суфіемъ, исповѣдующимъ широкій пантеизмъ, привѣтливимъ и веселымъ человѣкомъ, чрезвычайно располагающей наружности и въ довершеніе всего недурнымъ поэтомъ. Бывшему моему товарищу по путешествію 1914 г. Д. Д. Бѣляеву удалось однажды попасть на радѣніе у этого шейха. Выкрикивая нараспѣвъ «ля илаха илля-л-ла» (нѣтъ бога, кромѣ Бога), дервиши стали мѣрно расканиваться, все ускоряя ритмъ подъ звуки громадныхъ бубенъ и, наконецъ, пришли въ необыкновенное возбужденіе: стали прыгать, ударяться головами другъ о друга и о колонны комнаты; вертѣть тѣломъ такъ, что развѣвающиеся волосы стояли дыбомъ въ воздухѣ. Курды, съ истерическими жестами, стали изъ толпы бросаться въ кругъ. «Атмосфера безумія и экстаза, невольно заражала зрителей» <sup>4)</sup>. Присутствовавшимъ

<sup>1)</sup> Округъ Дештеталь (около Бана), нѣкоторые племена въ Зохабѣ и т. д.

<sup>2)</sup> Ихъ «тиръ» Моулава Халиль сулейманійскій похороненъ въ Дамаскѣ. Въ Мехри (Неери) въ Шемдинанѣ поконится Сеидъ Абдулла, дѣдъ знаменитаго шейха Обейдуллы (см. выше).

<sup>3)</sup> О нихъ см. мою «Поездку въ Марагу и районъ рѣкъ Джагату и Татаву» въ Изв. Штаба Кавк. Воен. Округа, 1907, № 20 (изданіе не секретное).

<sup>4)</sup> Д. Бѣляевъ. — Очеркъ с.-в. части Персидскаго Курдистана въ Изв. Шт. Кавк. В. О., 1910, №№ 29 и 30. Очень интересная статья, дающая не мало этнографическихъ свѣдѣній.

европейцамъ стало прямо не по себѣ, и одинъ изъ нихъ взмолился, чтобы шейхъ унялъ это бѣснованіе. По сигналу его оно, действительно, разомъ успокоилось.

Уже дервишество представляетъ собою совершенно другія начала, нежели мусульманство, но религіозная жизнь курдовъ представляетъ замѣчательное разнообразіе, и на курдской почвѣ сложились двѣ крайне интересныя религіи.

Изъ нихъ первая—ѣзидіи<sup>1)</sup>, обнаруживающее слѣды какихъ-то весьма древнихъ вѣрованій.

Громадный интересъ въ послѣдніе годы вызвало открытіе духовной литературы ѣзиди. О существованіи у нихъ книгъ было извѣстно чуть не сто лѣтъ, но только въ 1895 г. одинъ англійскій миссіонеръ (O. Parry) опубликовалъ найденный имъ арабскій текстъ двухъ небольшихъ книгъ «Китаби-джильве» (книга обнаруженія) и «Масхафи-решъ» (черный списокъ)<sup>2)</sup>. Въ 1911 г. католическій священникъ, арабъ Анастасъ Мари, напечаталъ не только арабскіе варианты, но и предполагаемый «курдскій подлинникъ» этихъ книгъ<sup>3)</sup>. Оригиналъ хранился въ особомъ ящикѣ подъ поломъ святилища (въ горахъ Синджаръ) и тщательно оберегался. Однако, А. Мари подкупилъ одного изъ сторожей, который тайно въ теченіе двухъ лѣтъ черезъ прозрачную бумагу снялъ точную копію съ рукописей. Дѣло осложнялось тѣмъ, что курдскій текстъ былъ написанъ особымъ тайнымъ шрифтомъ, который, однако, А. Мари сумѣлъ расшифровать. Теперь тексты эти научно переизданы и вполне изучены (М. Биттнеромъ въ Вѣнѣ въ 1913 г.).

Къ сожалѣнію, въ Европѣ не отмѣчено одно очень лестное для насъ, русскихъ, обстоятельство. Еще въ 1884 г. русскій консулъ въ Мосулѣ Ю. С. Карцовъ<sup>4)</sup> написалъ работу о ѣзиди, въ которой говоритъ, что видѣлъ выписки изъ книги «Джелoa» (т. е. Китаби-Джилъве), и затѣмъ даетъ ихъ переводъ, не оставляющій никакихъ сомнѣній, что это былъ именно тотъ документъ, честь окончательнаго опубликованія котораго принадлежитъ Анастасу Мари. Слѣдующая глава у Карцова заключаетъ близкій пересказъ второй книги ѣзиди: «Масхафи-решъ».

<sup>1)</sup> Таково ихъ простонародное названіе. Въ действительности же предполагается, что имя это происходитъ отъ стараго иранскаго слова эзда, что значитъ Богъ.

<sup>2)</sup> O. H. Parry—Six months in a Syrian Monastery, 1895. Второй вариантъ былъ напечатанъ иѣкимъ восточнымъ христіаниномъ Isya Joseph, Yezidi texts въ Americ. Journ. of Semitic lang., 1909, XXV, №№ 2 и 3.

<sup>3)</sup> Журналъ «Anthropos», 1911, томъ VI, тетрадь 1.

<sup>4)</sup> Не смѣшивать съ полк. Карцевымъ. Работы Ю. С. Карцова и проф. Егіазарова о ѣзиди помѣщены въ Зап. Кав. О. Геогр. О., XIII, выпускъ 2. Ср. также Ю. Карцевъ «Семь лѣтъ на Ближ. Востоке», 1906, стр. 187—190. Въ качествѣ курьера замѣчу, что въ Алебче я видѣлъ сына того доктора Бронислава Хемпеля, который лѣчилъ Карцова. Сынъ русскаго поляка, съ дѣтства воспитанный въ мусульманствѣ, оказался чистѣйшимъ курдомъ; его выдавалъ лишь свѣтлый цвѣтъ волосъ!

Мусульмане называютъ ѳзиди «чертопоклонниками», но теперь особенно, послѣ появленія новыхъ матерьяловъ, это бранное имя мало разъяснило бы дѣло.

ѳзиди, дѣйствительно, сами заявляютъ, что Шейтанъ (Сатана) и есть ихъ богъ Мелекъ-Таусъ, однако оказывается, что онъ <sup>1)</sup> просто одна изъ ипостасей Божества. ѳзидійство нерѣдко представляли себѣ, какъ дуалистическую религію, но это не совсѣмъ вѣрно. Добро и зло не являются истинными противоположными началами (Ормуздъ и Ариманъ), а, напротивъ, все твореніе истекаетъ изъ одного источника. Правда, ипостасей всѣхъ 6 (или 7) (Абъ-Таусъ, Азраиль, Исфаиль, Тураиль и т. д.), но созданы онѣ такъ, какъ свѣтъ отъ свѣта (т. е. какъ, напр., свѣтильникъ зажигается отъ свѣтильника). Черезъ ипостаси уже созданъ видимый міръ (кромѣ свѣтилъ, созданныхъ непосредственно Богомъ). Зло—по представленію ѳзиди—не есть сила природы, а лишь проявленіе свободной воли, отпавшей отъ Бога, «во всеобщемъ примиреніи съ которымъ зло найдетъ свой конецъ». Изначально добрый и лишь временно отпавшій отъ Бога Духъ (Аб-Таусъ—Сатана) является у сектантовъ предметомъ культа и почитанія <sup>2)</sup>. ѳзиди вѣрятъ въ переселеніе душъ, поклоняются свѣтиламъ и свѣту, имѣютъ не мало странныхъ «табу» (запрещеній): имъ не дозволяется ѳсть салатъ-латукъ, бобы, рыбу, одѣваться въ синее и т. д. У ѳзидовъ имѣется духовенство, правильно организованное въ касты. Главное святилище ихъ бывший христіанскій монастырь въ Лалишѣ (около Мосула), гдѣ погребенъ нѣкій Шейхъ-Ади <sup>3)</sup>, повидимому, считаемый за возстановителя чистоты религіи и за автора «Китаби-Джилъве». Интересно, что это историческое лицо, жившее въ XII в. по Р. Х. Мусульманскіе историки очень спокойно отзываются о немъ, какъ бы не подозрѣвая его въ иновѣріи, но извѣстно, что въ 1415 г. мусульманское населеніе разрушило его гробницу. Впослѣдствіи она была возстановлена, и ежегодно, 23 сентября, тамъ происходитъ 7-дневное празднество. Изъ европейцевъ на немъ удалось присутствовать лишь Лейарду, который описываетъ торжественныя ночныя моленія при свѣтѣ факеловъ и звукахъ флейтъ.

Надо упомянуть въ заключеніе, что «Мелекъ-Таусъ» значитъ буквально «Ангель-Павлинь», и изображеніе этой птицы играетъ у ѳзиди

<sup>1)</sup> Вѣрье: «Абтаусъ», что буквально толкуется: «рабъ Тауса».

<sup>2)</sup> Подробные планы и фотографіи святилища въ книгѣ W. Bachmann, Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan, 1913, стр. 9—15.

<sup>3)</sup> Относительно ѳзиди громадная литература имѣлась уже въ 1856 г. См. Лерхъ, I, 47. О взглядѣ ихъ на зло см. Н. Я. Марръ, З. В. О., XX, 131 и слѣд. По одной легендѣ Мелекъ-Таусъ отпалъ отъ Бога изъ гордости, не желая поклониться созданному человеку.



ритуальную роль <sup>1)</sup>. Некоторые ученые <sup>2)</sup> сопоставляют имя Таусъ съ древне-вавилонскимъ Тамузомъ, богомъ Солица и лѣтнаго тепла. Намѣчается и въ другихъ отношеніяхъ связь ѣзиди съ языческими сектами въ древней Месопотаміи. Какъ извѣстно, еще въ XI в. по Р. Х. въ гор. Харранъ (около Урфы), совершались поклоненія богу луны Сину, имя котораго легко распознать въ ѣзидійскомъ Шейхисинъ и т. д. <sup>3)</sup>.

Во всякомъ случаѣ, ѣзидіство—религія синкретическая, т. е. соединяющая и старающаяся примирить рядъ отдѣльныхъ началъ; наиболѣе оригиналенъ изложенный выше взглядъ ея на происхожденіе и характеръ зла.

Всѣхъ ѣзиди считается до 100.000 въ Турціи (Синджаръ, Мосуль, Хеккяри), и у насъ, на Кавказѣ, какъ упомянуто, 25.000 (въ 1910 г.) <sup>4)</sup>.

Гораздо менѣе изучена другая, преимущественно курдская, религія, такъ называемое «али-аллахійство» <sup>5)</sup>. Непосвященные полагаютъ обычно, что все дѣло въ обожествленіи четвертаго халифа Али, и повторяютъ мусульманскіе росказы о существующихъ, будто бы, у сектантовъ ритуальныхъ оргіяхъ, вродѣ хлыстовскихъ. Послѣдній фактъ опровергается, однако, даже мусульманскими авторитетами <sup>6)</sup>. Что касается характерныхъ чертъ исповѣданія, то вотъ онѣ. Божество 7 разъ являлось въ міръ во плоти, причемъ однимъ изъ воплощеній былъ дѣйствительно и Али. Каждый разъ Божество сопровождали четыре ангела, являющіеся ипостасями отдѣльныхъ свойствъ Бога. Такимъ ангеломъ былъ и пророкъ Мухаммедъ въ эпоху Али. Полное «раскрытіе тайны» произошло, однако, не во времена Али, а при позд-

---

<sup>1)</sup> Фотографія одного такого рѣдкаго изображенія (мѣдная чеканная фигурка) приложена къ статьѣ А. Мари.

<sup>2)</sup> Впервые: проф. Д. А. Хвольсонъ. На это возражаютъ, что на лѣтнюю пору (мѣсяцъ Темузъ — июль), у ѣзиди не приходится никакихъ праздниковъ, но, врядъ ли это рѣшающій аргументъ.

<sup>3)</sup> Тураевъ, Ист. Древ. Вост., I, 78. Возможно, что у ѣзиди найдется нѣчто общее и съ нынѣшними саввейцами (напр., въ обрядахъ очищенія водой и купанья); см. о нихъ книгу Ген. Консула въ Эрзерумѣ А. А. Адамова, Иракъ Арабскій, 1912, стр. 224—260.

<sup>4)</sup> Надо замѣтить, что въ старыя времена ѣзиди было гораздо больше. О знаменитыхъ князьяхъ Джезире Шереф-наме прямо говоритъ, что нѣкогда они слѣдовали «нравамъ и обычаямъ безбожной секты ѣзиди» (переводъ, II, 142). Племя сепики, съ которымъ намъ въ 1853—6 г.г. пришлось встрѣчаться у Баязида, состояло изъ ѣзиди, принявшихъ Исламъ (Аверьяновъ). Въ Персіи, насколько я знаю, осталась лишь одна ѣзидійская деревня въ Макинскомъ ханствѣ (селеніе Джеббарлу — 25 домовъ). Ср. мой «Отчетъ о поѣздкѣ въ Мак. ханство въ 1905 г.», 23—24.

<sup>5)</sup> «Али-адлахи», сами себя называющіе «люди истины», имѣются и у насъ въ Россіи, въ Елизаветпольской губ. и Карсской области. На Кавказѣ, однако, они въ большинствѣ не курдскаго происхожденія. Въ качествѣ особой религіи, они показаны и на оффиціальныхъ картахъ, см. Зап. Кав. Отд. Геогр. Общ. 1897, кн. XIX и Кавказ. Календарь 1907 г.

<sup>6)</sup> Ср., напр. «Бостан-ес-сіяхетъ», стр. 371.

нѣйшихъ воплощеніяхъ: Баба-Хошинъ и Султан-Сохакъ. Между прочимъ, Божество само поставило себя въ подчиненное положеніе по отношенію главнѣйшаго изъ своихъ спутниковъ <sup>1)</sup>.

Сектанты вѣрятъ въ переселеніе душъ, говоря, что смерть это подобіе того, какъ «утка ныряетъ въ воду»: въ одномъ мѣстѣ погрузится, а въ другомъ покажется вновь. Интересенъ ихъ обычай побратимства. Среди обрядовъ важную роль играетъ распределеніе между присутствующими особаго хлѣба и особеннымъ образомъ свареннаго мяса, что даже дало поводъ къ предположеніямъ, будто сектанты древніе хрістіане, сохранившіе память о причастіи. Это, конечно, невѣрно, такъ какъ секта по всему своему направленію ничего общаго съ хрістіанствомъ не имѣетъ. Съ мусульманами али-аллахи живутъ во враждѣ. Къ числу секты надо отнести и загадочныхъ кызыль-башей, занимающихъ въ Турціи цѣлый округъ Дерсимъ и извѣстныхъ своей непокорностью туркамъ <sup>2)</sup>. Персидскіе сектанты прямо утверждаютъ, что кызыль-баши ихъ единовѣрцы, да и само имя это есть не что иное, какъ бранное названіе персовъ по-турецки, и въ этомъ заключается косвенное подтвержденіе того, что секта въ Малой Азіи распространилась изъ Ирана.

Стоитъ отмѣтить одно чрезвычайно интересное повѣріе турецкихъ кызыль-башей. Вѣруя въ послѣдовательныя воплощенія Божества, они считаютъ, что „непобѣдимый воинъ-Али передалъ свой чудесный мечъ Россіи, которая съ помощью Англіи, также имѣющей отъ Али „зеленую грамоту“, будетъ разить турокъ“. Путешествовавшій въ 1913 г. въ Сивасскомъ вилаетѣ русскій ученый слышалъ отъ сектантовъ <sup>3)</sup>, будто Али сказалъ, что придетъ въ 30-омъ году (т. е. 1330 г. Хиджры) и не останется на 32-ой годъ. «По случайному совпаденію, которое на суевѣрный народъ должно дѣйствовать устрашающе, какъ указаніе свыше, война начинается, какъ разъ на исходѣ 30-го года» <sup>4)</sup>.

---

<sup>1)</sup> Ср. секту исмаилитовъ, у которыхъ творцомъ является Мелек-Азимъ («Великій Ангелъ», т. е. Всемірный Разумъ), а не само Божество, лишенное атрибутовъ. Последніе цѣликомъ относятся къ первой ипостаси (Великаго Ангела).

<sup>2)</sup> Али-Аллахійство, какъ въ Персіи, такъ и въ Турціи, распространилось и среди другихъ народностей. Въ Малой Азіи его исповѣдуетъ много такъ наз. туркменовъ, а въ Персіи много сектантовъ имѣется и въ Азербайджанѣ, гдѣ по преданію они размножились при династіи Черно-баранниковъ (XV в.), пригласившихъ изъ Турціи главней секты. О «печестии» названной династіи см. В. Бартольдъ, Турція, исламъ и хрістіанство, Ежемѣс. Журналъ, 1915 г., № 2.

<sup>3)</sup> Сходныя легенды слышалъ и французскій консулъ Гренаръ. Его замѣтки по русски изданы П. И. Аверьяновымъ въ Изв. Штаба Кавк. В. Окр. 1905, №№ 7 и 8 и 1907, № 19.

<sup>4)</sup> В. А. Гордлевскій, «Рус. Вѣдом.», 23 Окт. 1914. Тамъ же (16 января 1915) названный авторъ помѣстилъ статью «Изъ жизни курдовъ», заслуживающую особаго вниманія по своей сжатости, точности и богатству содержанія.

У «али-аллахи» есть письменная литература, въ томъ числѣ и на гуранскомъ нарѣчїи. Мнѣ впервые посчастливилось добыть и затѣмъ опубликовать одну такую рукопись книги «Серенджамъ» <sup>1)</sup>.

Во время послѣдняго моего путешествія (1914) мнѣ удалось, наконецъ, отыскать и посѣтить пресловутое святилище сектантовъ Птердиверъ (въ Авроманѣ), скрытое за неприступными скалами и рѣками, текущими въ пропасть. Съ точки зрѣнія живописности болѣе интересенъ, однако, находящійся въ Зап. Зохабѣ другой весьма почитаемый зяретъ Баба-Ядегаръ <sup>2)</sup>, гдѣ ранѣе меня уже побывали два русскихъ путешественника: бар. Боде <sup>3)</sup> и полк. Чириковъ.

Благодаря моимъ рекомендаціямъ отъ вліятельныхъ сектантовъ, я могъ осмотрѣть всѣ сокровенные уголки Б. Ядегара. Здѣсь каждая пядь земли соединена съ воспоминаніями. Мнѣ разсказывали, напримеръ, что во время одного собранія сектантовъ нѣкій дервишъ въ мистическомъ изступленіи бросился съ площадки гробницы въ глубокое отвѣсное ущелье со словами: „я пришелъ, Баба Ядегаръ, прими меня“. Молва превратила это паденіе въ чудо, но безпристрастные свидѣтели, увъ, увѣрили, что дервишъ тяжело разбился и скоро умеръ.

Мои проводники были такъ любезны, что разрѣшили мнѣ даже взять на память свѣтильникъ съ гробницы и чашку изъ священнаго источника Касланъ.

Отъ всей поѣздки у меня остались незабываемыя впечатлѣнія, и я не могу не закончить главы выпиской изъ моего путевого дневника: «21. IV. 1914—было полнолуніе, и ночью ярко были освѣщены: развалины древнихъ крѣпостей на сосѣднихъ горахъ, все уединенное глухое ущелье, поросшее прекраснымъ лиственнымъ лѣсомъ, и группа темныхъ кипарисовъ вокругъ бѣлаго купола, похожаго, по прекрасному сравненію Боде, на гигантское страусово яйцо въ гнѣздѣ зеленого моха. Гдѣ то глубокимъ груднымъ голосомъ ворковала горлинка, точно повторявшая дервишескій возгласъ: ху, ху; звенѣли колокольчики моихъ муловъ, отведенныхъ повыше на пастбище, да дежурный казакъ у лошадей изрѣдка мурлыкалъ свою кубанскую пѣсню... Мысль о томъ, что послѣ двѣнадцати лѣтъ ожиданія, случай привелъ меня въ этотъ завѣтный уголокъ, не выходила изъ головы, и какъ то ближе и понятнѣе становились чувства старыхъ хранителей святилища, по наслѣдству принявшихъ свои обязанности, цѣлую жизнь прожившихъ въ благоговѣйномъ служеніи своему святому и спокойно ожидающихъ часа, когда и ихъ покроетъ рѣзная мраморная плита въ тѣни тѣхъ же кипарисовъ, видѣвшихъ ихъ дѣдовъ, видѣвшихъ, быть можетъ, самого таинственнаго Баба Ядегара....».

<sup>1)</sup> В. Минорскій — Матеріалы для изученія персидской (читай: иранской?) секты Люди Истины или Али-Илахи, М. 1911, часть I.

<sup>2)</sup> Фотографія его (О. Манн) въ *Illustrirte Zeitung*, 30. IV. 1908, № 3383.

<sup>3)</sup> Библиотека для чтенія, 1854, т. 123, ч. III — «Путевыя замѣтки ст. сов. барона К. Боде, члена Рус. Геог. Общ., бывшаго первымъ секретаремъ Рос. Имп. Миссіи въ Тегеранѣ».

## VI. Характеръ курдовъ.

Три главнѣйшихъ причины вліяли и вліяютъ на складъ курдскаго характера: средневѣковый бытъ мелкихъ курдскихъ владѣній<sup>1)</sup>; племенное устройство аширетовъ и, наконецъ, пользованіе курдами въ цѣляхъ грубой политической борьбы. Последнее относится исключительно къ Турціи.

Всѣ эти факторы мы и рассмотримъ въ дальнѣйшемъ.

Абовьянъ<sup>2)</sup> называлъ курдовъ «рыцарями Востока». Определеніе это въ значительной степени сохранило свое значеніе, особенно, если оговориться, что оно относится лишь къ высшему классу курдовъ (предводители племенъ, помѣщики), и что практическій его смыслъ преимущественно въ указаніи на средневѣковость уклада жизни въ Курдистанѣ.

Курдь, конечно, не похожъ на Caballero de la triste figura, поспѣшающаго къ униженнымъ и оскорбленнымъ, но не типичнѣ ли, въ дѣйствительности, и для среднихъ вѣковъ какой-нибудь гордый своими предками баронъ, который кормитъ въ своемъ орлиномъ гнѣздѣ множество приближенныхъ; любитъ пѣсню и охоту; собираетъ пошлину со всего, что плыветъ или везется мимо него; не брезгаетъ въ темную ночь удалой потѣхой на большой дорогѣ, а порою въ искреннемъ порывѣ отправляется громить невѣрныхъ, не упуская случая, по дорогѣ пограбить и слабую христіанскую Византію.

Указанная раздробленность Курдистана, неопредѣленность въ отношеніи къ сувереннымъ государствамъ (Турціи и Персіи), полное преобладаніе «благороднаго» сословія и, какъ бы крѣпостной, характеръ зависимости крестьянъ безусловно вырабатывали у курдовъ черты такого феодальнаго типа.

Взять хотя бы необыкновенную гордость ихъ своимъ происхожденіемъ. Я раскрою здѣсь маленькій секретъ, какъ приводить курдовъ въ доброе настроеніе. Во время путешествій я заранѣе составлялъ себѣ длинныя генеалогіи начальниковъ племенъ и затѣмъ, при свиданіи съ ними, начиналъ невзначай допытываться, двоюроднымъ или троюроднымъ братомъ приходился Бапиръ Агъ какой-нибудь Баизъ Ага или Пиротъ Ага. Тутъ уже все собраніе разомъ оживлялось, и

<sup>1)</sup> Врядъ ли всѣ они подходятъ подъ названіе «дере-бейлиги», которое относилось собственно къ владѣльцамъ отдѣльныхъ горныхъ долинъ въ старой Турціи. Между тѣмъ, такія владѣнія, какъ Хеккяри, Боханъ, Сулейманіе представляли собою цѣлыя княжества, выходившія далеко за свои первоначальные предѣлы. Интересно отмѣтить, что и въ Персіи правитель Курдистана (Арделана) носилъ высокій титулъ Вали, пользовался полной самостоятельностью, и, вмѣстѣ съ Валиями Грузіи, Луристана и Арабистана, участвовалъ въ инвеститурѣ шаха на царство, держа одну изъ регалій (алмазные перевязи).

<sup>2)</sup> Ниже приведена подлинная выписка изъ этого автора.

разъясненія сыпались безъ конца. Въ Курдистанѣ нерѣдки неграмотные люди, знающіе наизусть 10—15 поколѣній своихъ предковъ съ массою развѣтвленій.

Можно подыскать такія же параллели и въ другихъ отношеніяхъ. Какъ представитель широкой веселой жизни въ замкахъ, мнѣ представляется мой пріятель несчастный Сердаръ Мукри, въ декабрѣ 1914 г. убитый при нашествіи турокъ на Тавризъ.

Въ 1911 г. онъ настоялъ, чтобы мы заѣхали въ его помѣстье Боканъ. При нашемъ приближеніи черезъ каждыя пять минутъ къ намъ присоединялись новыя партіи всадниковъ, затѣмъ выѣхалъ съ привѣтствіемъ сынъ Сердара, въ деревнѣ насъ встрѣтилъ самъ онъ и черезъ ряды пѣшей дворни и крестьянъ проводилъ въ садъ, гдѣ у бассейна былъ разбитъ рядъ палатокъ. Тотчасъ начался длиннѣйшій обѣдъ, потомъ чай, потомъ опять ѣда подъ звуки музыки и пѣнья; и это не только для насъ: для конвоя и слугъ былъ приготовленъ цѣлый котелъ плова, нарочно пойманы въ рѣчкѣ два колоссальныхъ жирныхъ сома, и т. д. Хлѣбосоольство въ концѣ концовъ разорило совершенно Сердара Мукри. Подбиравшіеся къ его имѣніямъ сосѣди изобрѣли оригинальный способъ доканать радушнаго хана: они громадными партіями отправлялись по недѣлямъ гостить у него, зная, что отказа ни въ чемъ не будетъ. Я не думаю впрочемъ, чтобы широкіе мукрійскіе нравы были приложимы къ большинству турецкихъ курдовъ.

Географическая и политическая раздробленность, кочеванье по строго опредѣленнымъ трактамъ, жизнь въ тѣсной племенной организации, не могли развитъ широкихъ общественныхъ чувствъ у курдовъ, которые рѣдко собираются въ крупныя селенія и города. Чтобы понять душу курда, надо посмотрѣть на все съ точки зрѣнія той единственной ячейки, изъ которой родится его представление о добрѣ и злѣ. Ни человечество, ни братство на почвѣ религіи, ни болѣе широкое сознаніе національности не доступны курдамъ, но тѣмъ сильнѣе у нихъ чувство рода и племени. Гдѣ бы мы ни находились, мы надѣмся, что за безопасностью нашей слѣдить и установленный обычай, и общество, и государство. Но на что положиться курдамъ, живущимъ фактически внѣ предѣловъ досягаемости безсильныхъ турецкаго и персидскаго правительствъ? Сила и самопомощь единственно, что цѣнно и осязательно для нихъ. Какъ одинъ человекъ, такъ и одно семейство не могутъ устоять въ борьбѣ за существованіе, и лишь за стѣною племени курды находятъ первую и достаточную защиту. Отсюда культъ племени, кровная месть и странный фактъ противорѣчія между поступками курдовъ во время прежнихъ турецкихъ войнъ и отдѣльными высокими подвигами мужества и самопожертвованія въ ихъ борьбѣ за свое племя.

О поведеніи курдовъ, въ качествѣ вспомогательныхъ турецкихъ войскъ, собрано много матеріаловъ (ген. Аверьяновъ), и большинство ихъ не въ пользу курдовъ, которые, встрѣтивъ отпоръ, быстро обращались въ бѣгство и грабили не только мирное населеніе, но даже и турецкія войска при отступленіяхъ. Но надо имѣть въ виду, что у курдовъ никогда и не было турецкаго патріотизма: Бзданшеръ возставалъ какъ разъ во время Крымской кампаніи. Въ 1877 г. большинство курдовъ дѣйствовало вдали отъ своихъ округовъ и, какъ древній Атласъ, теряло силы внѣ соприкосновенія съ своей родиной въ тѣснѣйшемъ смыслѣ; вербовка курдовъ шла крайне неуспѣшно, несмотря на содѣйствіе духовныхъ шейховъ; командиръ ополченія Фаикъ-Паша (впослѣдствіи преданный суду) приходилъ въ отчаяніе отъ своихъ подчиненныхъ. Можно думать, что и въ нынѣшнюю войну курды не отождествляютъ своихъ интересовъ съ младотурецкими<sup>1)</sup>.

Въ видѣ противоположенія можно привести сперва одинъ старый рассказъ французскаго путешественника Roujoulat<sup>2)</sup>: «взятый въ плѣнъ во время похода Хафизъ Паши въ 1837 г. тридцатилѣтній Бей, отличавшійся своей красотой, твердо отвергалъ всѣ предлагаемыя ему выгоды и почести за открытіе численности и позицій своихъ возставшихъ соплеменниковъ. «Бывши беемъ курдскимъ, я никогда не соглашусь быть начальникомъ другихъ людей», отвѣчалъ онъ гордо... Всевозможныя муки, продолжавшіяся два дня, не заставили его измѣнить своимъ единомышленникамъ: онъ даже во время бастонады преспокойно курилъ трубку. На третій день жестокій паша велѣлъ его посадить въ котель, наполненный кипяткомъ, но мужественный курдь остался твердымъ до смерти».

Я позволю себѣ въ подробности рассказать другой случай курдской удали и смѣлости, прошедшей у меня на глазахъ.

Лѣтъ 15 тому назадъ, въ районѣ Чехрика (Салмась), жилъ предводитель племени шеккакъ Джафаръ Ага<sup>3)</sup>, совершенно не считавшійся съ персидскими властями. Съ горъ своихъ онъ частенько спускался въ долины для грабежа, но я впослѣдствіи убѣдился, что бѣдное населеніе относилось къ нему скорѣе добродушно, такъ какъ нерѣдко, обобравъ какого-нибудь богатѣя, онъ раздавалъ часть добычи бѣднякамъ.

Правительство прибѣгло къ старому испытанному средству; назначивъ Джафаръ Агу пограничнымъ начальникомъ. Сперва, гордый

<sup>1)</sup> Быть можетъ, сопротивленіемъ курдовъ будутъ руководить религіозные мотивы, но въ гораздо большей степени они будутъ опасаться лишь утраты при новомъ порядкѣ своихъ земель и пастбищъ. Говоря о войнѣ 1826—27 г.г., П. И. Аверьяновъ справедливо говоритъ: «курды защищали не эриванскихъ сердаровъ, а свою собственную свободу и очаги».

<sup>2)</sup> См. Лерхъ, Изслѣдованія, I, 30.

<sup>3)</sup> Старшій братъ извѣстнаго Симко.

своимъ официальнымъ положеніемъ, онъ присмирѣлъ, но вскорѣ принялся за старое, и мнѣ пришлось быть свидѣтелемъ письменной войны между Джафаръ Агой и представителями власти, которая велась въ духѣ переписки Грознаго съ Курбскимъ. У Джафаръ Аги не было хорошаго персидскаго секретаря, а потому онъ тайно ночью вызывалъ къ себѣ стараго перса-поэта, служившаго письмоводителемъ у губернатора; этотъ мирза и сочинялъ изрядные отвѣты на имъ же самимъ поутру писанныя губернаторскія посланія; на бѣду, старика во время одной такой ночной экскурсіи захватили губернаторскіе люди, и въ потемкахъ ему порядочно досталось.

Въ концѣ концовъ пишкару Азербайджана клятвою на Коранѣ удалось уговорить Джафаръ Агу явиться съ повинной въ Тавризъ. Здѣсь мнѣ лично пришлось видѣть курдскаго предводителя и его восьмерыхъ оруженосцевъ, увѣшанныхъ рядами патронныхъ поясовъ.

Курды, сохраняя внѣшнее спокойствіе, не спускали глазъ со своего господина и, окружая его тѣснымъ кольцомъ, держали наготовѣ свои винтовки. Имъ не удалось уберечь Джафаръ Агу, который былъ предательски убитъ на лѣстницѣ у генераль-губернатора, вызвавшего его на прощальную аудіенцію. Засада была подготовлена заранѣе, домъ былъ окруженъ нѣсколькими сотнями вооруженныхъ людей. Потерявъ своего предводителя, убитаго наповалъ въ сердце, оруженосцы подняли стрѣльбу и, сохранивъ присутствіе духа, бросились не вонъ со двора, а внутрь зданія, разсѣивая испуганную толпу губернаторской челяди. Нѣсколько человѣкъ отбились и зашли въ подвалъ, гдѣ были энергично обстрѣляны; тѣмъ не менѣе, они вырвались и соединились съ товарищами. Въ суматохѣ курды чуть не захватили генераль-губернатора, а затѣмъ заперлись въ пустой комнатѣ и до ночи вели перестрѣлку. Замѣтивъ, что высоко въ стѣнѣ имѣлось отверстіе, куда зимой вставлялась труба желѣзной печки, курды встали другъ другу на плечи, разобрали кладку и, таща раненаго товарища, пролѣзли черезъ отверстіе на кровлю; оттуда по другимъ сосѣднимъ крышамъ и стѣнамъ, черезъ сады и переулки, они прошли тайно отъ осаждавшихъ и выбрались изъ громаднаго Тавриза. Утромъ за ними поскакала погоня, но курды, замѣтивъ, что преслѣдователи спѣшились, искусно отвлекли ихъ въ сторону, а затѣмъ бросились къ ихъ конямъ и ускакали на нихъ въ свой Чехриксъ. Изъ восьми спаслось шестеро, а двое убитыхъ, вмѣстѣ съ Джафаръ Агой, были замертво повѣшены на воротахъ губернаторскаго двора въ назиданіе проходящимъ, и мѣстная газетка напыщенными фразами восхваляла торжество мудрой политики.

Разсказъ не нуждается въ комментаріяхъ; лѣтъ черезъ пять послѣ происшествія мнѣ пришлось увидать въ Котурѣ всѣхъ спасшихся и слышать отъ нихъ подтвержденіе того, что я нѣкогда записалъ въ Тавризѣ. Если такова храбрость, на которую способны курды, то не

менѣе характерны и методы, примѣненные въ борьбѣ съ ними. Персы и турки не даромъ повторяютъ арабское изрѣченіе: «инналь-акрад тай-фатун миналь-аджинне», что значитъ: «курды — племя родомъ изъ джиновъ — чертей». И какъ бы въ подтвержденіе этого, они и при борьбѣ съ курдами считаютъ себя свободными отъ всякихъ сдерживающихъ началъ. Послѣ возстанія Шейха Обейдуллы персидскій военачальникъ Эмир-Низамъ <sup>1)</sup>, вызвавъ курдскаго предводителя Хамзе-Агу, поклялся на Коранѣ, что, пока онъ живъ будетъ на землѣ, онъ его не тронетъ; между тѣмъ онъ велѣлъ въ палаткѣ у себя вырыть яму и, когда Хамзе-Ага вошелъ, онъ скрылся въ ней и далъ сигналъ: пули изрѣшетили палатку, и Хамзе-Ага былъ убитъ. Эмир-Низамъ объяснилъ затѣй, что клятва не была нарушена, такъ какъ она была дѣйствительна, пока онъ былъ на землѣ, а онъ спустился подъ землю.

Подобнымъ же обманнымъ способомъ были перебиты въ Міандоабѣ бильбасскіе предводители, приглашенные на праздникъ; такъ же былъ захваченъ въ Турціи извѣстный Ёзданширъ, и, въ концѣ концовъ, становится понятнымъ, какъ вырабатывается у курдовъ недовѣріе ко всему, идущему извнѣ, и почему курды не могли слиться съ политическими организмами, части которыхъ они составляютъ.

Новѣйшій и весьма близкій наблюдатель курдской жизни Соанъ справедливо говоритъ: «постоянная опасность создала у курда подозрительность, смѣлость, чрезвычайное проворство и высоко развитую наблюдательность». Последнее качество подтверждается и моими наблюденіями. Когда мнѣ черезъ три года пришлось посѣтить тѣ же мѣстности, меня спрашивали, куда дѣвался мой старый конь, и припоминали такія его подробности, какія я и самъ давно забылъ. Конечно, объясняется это малымъ количествомъ новыхъ впечатлѣній, а, слѣдовательно, и непритупленностью воспринимательной способности. У курдовъ есть манера какъ-то пристально и пронзительно осматривать новыхъ лицъ, и у меня каждый разъ оставалось впечатлѣніе, точно эти десятки глазъ сфотографировали и закрѣпили меня навѣки.

Курды отнюдь не вялы и не тупы; для развитія образованности и грамотности просто не представляется случая <sup>2)</sup>, а отчасти виноваты и предрасудокъ главарей, которые считаютъ, что ихъ сословію приличны одни лишь воинскія упражненія; поэтому приходится видѣть молодыхъ людей, которые въ день разстрѣливаютъ штукъ по двѣсти патроновъ <sup>3)</sup>, а въ промежутки носятъ на своихъ небольшихъ горныхъ

<sup>1)</sup> Самъ курдъ изъ Гярруса. Въ Турціи также былъ Исмаилъ Хаккы Паша, усмиравшій непокорныхъ курдовъ въ 70-хъ годахъ прошлаго столѣтія.

<sup>2)</sup> Въ старыя времена курды дали мусульманству рядъ ученыхъ (Абу-ль-Фиды, Идриси), богослововъ и поэтовъ. Ср. Лерхъ и Марръ въ цит. сочиненіяхъ.

<sup>3)</sup> Этимъ они въ стрѣльбѣ достигаютъ прямой виртуозности; я видѣлъ, какъ извѣстный Симко, надѣвъ пустую гильзу патрона на качающіяся вѣтви дерева, прострѣливалъ ее, какъ разъ по срединѣ, шаговъ съ 15.



коняхъ, приученныхъ итти лишь короткимъ галопомъ. Стоитъ, одна представится случаю, и курды дѣлають быстрые успѣхи въ ученѣхъ. Они хорошіе лингвисты, и большинство ихъ говоритъ по-турецки или по-персидски. Многіе офицеры курды, заброшенные по многу лѣтъ въ дикіе пограничные углы, припоминали свою школьную французскую грамоту и старались сказать намъ хоть нѣсколько французскихъ фразъ. Когда Оскаръ Маннъ работалъ въ Соуч-булахъ, съ нимъ занимался нѣкій Мирза-Джевадъ, который быстро выучился болтать по-нѣмецки; затѣмъ онъ перебрался въ Берлинъ и сталъ зарабатывать деньги тѣмъ, что въ разныхъ учрежденіяхъ читалъ по-нѣмецки популярныя лекціи о Курдистанѣ. Въ томъ же Соуч-булахъ я видѣлъ курда, который, раза два побывавъ въ Нижнемъ на ярмаркѣ, замѣчательно хорошо усвоилъ русскую разговорную рѣчь. Нечего говорить про курдовъ, учившихся въ Константинополь или за границей; они, конечно, ничѣмъ не отличаются отъ своихъ турецкихъ коллегъ.

Живость курдскаго ума проявляется и въ любви къ родной природѣ. Для географа Курдистанъ обѣтованная страна: нѣтъ камня, ложбинки, уединеннаго дерева, которому не было бы дано какого-нибудь имени, съ которымъ не было бы связано какой-нибудь легенды. Въ 1914 г., пока мы были на югѣ, невѣроятныхъ трудовъ стоило добиться у арабовъ и луровъ имени цѣлыхъ хребтовъ или рѣчекъ, но только попали мы въ Курдистанъ, какъ картина перемѣнилась. Стоило набрести на какого-нибудь веселаго парня, пасшаго пестрое стадо козъ и овецъ, и онъ безъ конца готовъ былъ разсказывать: на одномъ камнѣ спаслась женщина отъ волковъ; другой камень раскололся по слѣдующему поводу: когда здѣсь сошлись двѣ враждебныя арміи, то начальники каждой изъ нихъ послали впередъ двухъ развѣдчиковъ, извѣстныхъ своимъ «дурнымъ глазомъ», чтобы сглазить врага. Случайно развѣдчики встрѣтились и рѣшили помѣряться своими силами: одинъ взглянулъ на камень, и глыба его треснула на двое; но тогда другой взглянулъ на своего соперника и у того лопнулъ глазъ, и т. д., и т. д.

Курды любятъ шутки, любятъ узнавать новости, любятъ участіе и похвалу своей свободной жизни. Ею они искренно гордятся и очень цѣнятъ признаніе ея привольности.

До сихъ поръ было мало спокойныхъ изучателей курдскаго быта и жизни; большинство путешественниковъ, видѣвшихъ курдовъ лично, отмѣчали многое хорошее, что въ нихъ есть, но въ общей литературѣ укрѣпилось о курдахъ исключительно отрицательное мнѣніе, и покуда оно будетъ держаться на вѣрѣ, не основанной на непосредственномъ знакомствѣ съ предметомъ, его, какъ и всякій предразсудокъ, трудно будетъ измѣнить. Вопросъ сводится къ тому, чтобы видѣть явленіе во всемъ его многообразіи и сложности причинъ, но, конечно,

никто не может отрицать темных сторон характера и современной жизни курдов.

Курды очень горячаго и вспыльчиваго нрава: Соанъ рассказываетъ, какъ, идя по дорогѣ, нѣсколько человѣкъ заспорили, съ какой стороны долженъ появиться на небѣ Сиріусъ <sup>1)</sup>, и прежде, чѣмъ яркая звѣзда разсѣяла астрономическія сомнѣнія путниковъ, двое или трое изъ нихъ уже лежали мертвыми.

Другой примѣръ: на обрывистомъ карнизѣ между Келе-шиномъ и Сидаканомъ мы наткнулись на странную картину. У дороги въ печальномъ ожиданіи сидѣла женщина, а взволнованный курдъ, припавъ на корточки, закрывалъ руками глаза небольшому навьюченному бычку, лежавшему на откосѣ. Оказалось, что быкъ не хотѣлъ итти быстрѣе, и тогда разгнѣванный хозяинъ хватилъ его по лбу увѣсистымъ камнемъ и лишь потомъ спохватился и сталъ его отхаживать.

Надо отмѣтить мстительность и подчасъ непонятную жестокость курдовъ: въ Соуч-булагѣ одинъ разъ курды зарѣзали ни въ чемъ повиннаго миссіонера лишь для того, чтобы скомпрометировать положеніе неугоднаго имъ губернатора—отвѣтственнаго за безопасность европейцевъ. Повидимому, курду, какъ и во многомъ похожему на него албанцу, доставляетъ удовольствіе испытать могущество своей пули <sup>2)</sup> и посмотреть, какъ однимъ движеніемъ курка можно ниспровергнуть сильнаго, здороваго человѣка. Въ значительной степени этимъ можетъ объясняться и печальный случай въ турецко-персидской разграничительной комиссіи 1914 г., когда безъ всякаго повода на прогулкѣ былъ тяжело раненъ англійскій секретарь г. Хоббардъ <sup>3)</sup>.

Говоря объ убійствахъ и пораненіяхъ, часто случающихся въ Курдистанѣ, необходимо все же смотрѣть на дѣло съ мѣстной, а не нашей европейской точки зрѣнія. Случаи эти вырастаютъ не изъ порочности отдѣльных народностей, а изъ общихъ условій быта и изъ наличія южной горячей крови. Не ходя далеко за какой нибудь албанской или сициліанской статистикой, можно указать, что у насъ въ Закавказьѣ ежегодно случается до полутора тысячъ убійствъ и что въ Елизаветпольской губерніи ихъ приходится 389 въ годъ <sup>4)</sup>, т. е. по одному въ день! Однако, эту «массу» убійствъ никто не истолковываетъ, какъ «массовыя» убійства. Быть можетъ, справедливо было бы такую же

---

<sup>1)</sup> По курдски Глявеж; появленіе его признакъ наступленія жары и начала переко-  
чевокъ выше въ горы.

<sup>2)</sup> Ср. работы А. А. Башмакова объ албанцахъ.

<sup>3)</sup> Ср. также извѣстный случай пораненія нѣмецкаго археолога В. Белькъ (1898 г.),  
который спасся лишь благодаря своему необычайному присутствію духа, несмотря на  
то, что въ него—безоружнаго курды стрѣляли на разстояніи нѣсколькихъ шаговъ (Отчетъ  
Консула Маевскаго).

<sup>4)</sup> Кавказ. Календарь, 1910 г.

поправку вносить и въ иѣкоторыя часто отрывочныя свѣдѣнія, поступающія съ мѣстъ въ *обычное* время.

Нельзя отрицать у многихъ курдскихъ племенъ и той наклонности, которую одинъ авторъ остроумно охарактеризовалъ, какъ «коммунизмъ....., по скольку рѣчь идетъ о чужой собственности». Одинъ разъ (1905) мнѣ пришлось видѣть издали дневной набѣгъ курдовъ на деревню въ Салмасѣ: отогнавъ крестьянъ выстрѣлами, курды бросились къ стаду, и въ бинокль было видно, какъ они его уводили въ горы. О томъ, что при этомъ происходитъ въ селеніи, я могу судить по другому своему впечатлѣнію (1911), когда при мнѣ въ дер. Кенгерлю (Салмасѣ) поднялась тревога, къ счастью оказавшаяся ложной. Мигомъ ребятишки бросились собирать скотъ, мужчины засѣли за прикрытіе, женщины съ плачемъ забѣгали по улицѣ, и я представилъ себѣ, насколько тяжеле была бы сцена въ турецкой армянской деревнѣ, отданной почти официально на «потокъ» курдамъ; тамъ жители и не подумали бы о сопротивленіи <sup>1)</sup>. Но, съ другой стороны, всѣ эти дѣркіе дневные грабежи въ бѣльшей мѣрѣ служатъ къ позору того государственнаго порядка, при которомъ такіе факты возможны. Что было бы и на Кавказѣ, и въ Туркменіи, если бы убрать русскія власти и организацію!

Если противленіе злу и насильникамъ не вело, въ особенности въ турецкомъ Курдистанѣ, къ добру, то практика выработала другіе приемы самосохраненія. Наиболѣе дѣйствительнымъ является «закладъ» иновѣрцевъ за какого-нибудь могущественнаго агу: Такой всегда находится, и тогда нападеніе на его покровительствуемаго грозитъ большими неприяностями для обидчика. Можно назвать много курдовъ, какъ бы включающихъ армянъ и несторіанъ въ свое племѣ <sup>2)</sup>.

Что касается покражъ, то курды отлично умѣютъ между собой находить ихъ слѣды, и во многихъ случаяхъ дѣло ограничивается уплатою похитителю обычнаго выкупа. И кража, и отысканіе совершаются подчасъ крайне наивно <sup>3)</sup>. Одинъ разъ мой проводникъ, шедшій пѣшкомъ, внезапно очутился впереди на сѣрой ослицѣ. Но не

<sup>1)</sup> Ср. тяжелыя картины, нарисованныя Конс. Маевскимъ въ его описаніи Ванскаго и Битлискаго Вилаетовъ.

<sup>2)</sup> Напр., Бедер-ханъ-бегъ въ Мергерверѣ; вышеназванный Мутіулла въ Мукушѣ; Хусейн-Паша въ Адильджевазѣ (1895); каймакамъ Хаджи-Ханъ въ Нордузѣ (1898) и т. д. Ибрахимъ Паша (Шехриверакъ) не допустилъ въ своихъ владѣніяхъ рѣзни армянъ и т. д.

<sup>3)</sup> Для параллели и характеристики общаго нравственнаго уровня населенія въблизи Курдистана приведу слѣдующій рассказъ официального русскаго представителя, касающійся мосульскихъ христіанъ (около 1880 года): «бывало, пропадетъ что-нибудь со стола; вспомнивъ, что тутъ только что сидѣлъ такой-то, посылаю къ нему каваса. Вскорѣ появляется виновный, несетъ въ рукѣ украденный предметъ и, улыбаясь, заявляетъ: это взялъ у Васъ я».

проѣхали мы и двухъ часовъ, какъ насъ нагнали истинные хозяева и безъ всякаго крика и столкновений отобрали животное отъ непрошеннаго всадника. Въ Пиждерѣ наши погонщики повздорили съ мѣстными курдами, произошло побоище, и въ концѣ концовъ курды, въ отместку, увели ночью цѣлый десятокъ нашихъ муловъ, изъ которыхъ каждый стоилъ рублей по 200. Мы обратились къ турецкимъ властямъ, которыя черезъ курдовъ быстро узнали, гдѣ находятся украденныя животныя, и мы вскорѣ получили обратно 8 изъ 10 муловъ <sup>1)</sup>. Я думаю, что остальные два мула были удержаны, какъ своего рода выкупъ за тотъ трудъ, который на себя приняли курды. Въ общемъ можно считать доказуемымъ парадоксъ, что въ дикихъ горахъ безслѣдно украсть что-нибудь труднѣе, чѣмъ въ городѣ.

## VII.

### Положеніе женщинъ. Отношенія къ другимъ народностямъ. Курдскій вопросъ.

Для характеристики народа крайне интересно положеніе женщинъ, и въ этомъ отношеніи курды, пожалуй, самый либеральный изъ мусульманскихъ народовъ. Ихъ жены и дочери, конечно, несутъ рядъ тяжелыхъ домашнихъ обязанностей: грузятъ вьюки, носятъ воду, ходятъ высоко въ горы доить скотъ и собирать топливо, и при этомъ всюду таскаютъ грудныхъ дѣтей, которыхъ привязываютъ къ спинѣ широкимъ поясомъ <sup>2)</sup>.

Женщины, однако, не закрываютъ лицъ; въ толпѣ онѣ смѣло сидятъ впережку съ мужчинами и въ общемъ разговорѣ вставляютъ свои словечки. «Много разъ въ деревняхъ—говоритъ Соанъ—хозяйка дома принимала меня въ отсутствіи мужа, сидѣла и бесѣдовала со мной, не разыгрывая ложной стыдливости или скромности турецкихъ и персидскихъ женщинъ, и съ радостью дѣлилась со мной запасами пищи и питья. Когда являлся мужъ, хозяйка изъ вниманія къ гостю не покидала его, пока мужъ не устроитъ свою лошадь и не выйдетъ самъ въ палатку». Ни о какомъ затворничествѣ нѣтъ, конечно, и рѣчи: молодежь отлично другъ друга знаетъ; браку предшествуетъ настоящее ухаживаніе, и романтическія чувства широко царятъ въ курдскихъ

<sup>1)</sup> Я не могу въ данномъ случаѣ объяснить успѣхъ турецкимъ вліяніемъ. Въ этихъ округахъ властей почти нѣтъ, и каймакамъ со своими немногочисленными жандармами живетъ въ Кала-дизе (Хамидіе), какъ въ осадѣ. Успѣшность розыска объяснялась, вѣроятно, желаніемъ главарей показать Комисіи свою вліятельность и непосредственной просьбой, обращенной къ нимъ турецкимъ Комиссаромъ.

<sup>2)</sup> Генер. Консулъ Орловъ далъ интересное описаніе ловкости, съ которой вели себя во время перекочевки женщины племени джафъ; имъ надо было и гнать скотъ по узкимъ тяжелымъ тропамъ, и поправлять постоянно сползающіе вьюки и т. д.

сердцахъ. Лѣтъ 20 тому назадъ около Соуч-булага произошелъ такой странный случай: курдомъ плѣнилась молодая европейская барышня, которая перешла въ мусульманство и, несмотря на всѣ увѣщанія консула и родителей, осталась со своимъ мужемъ <sup>1)</sup>).

Очень легко у курдовъ разводъ. Курды въ пылу спора иногда клянутся, что, если что нибудь не сбудется, то они разведутся, и, дѣйствительно, это случается. Потомъ раскаяніе начинаетъ мучить мужа, онъ радъ бы вновь принять въ домъ свою бывшую жену, но по закону это невозможно, если только жена въ промежуткѣ не выйдетъ за другого, а затѣмъ не разведется съ нимъ. Въ городахъ есть даже особые профессионалы, соглашающіеся за деньги разыграть такую процедуру, чтобы уничтожить послѣдствія перваго развода. При этомъ случается обычно рядъ *qui pro quo*, которымъ посвящено много курдскихъ анекдотовъ. Все это относится, однако, преимущественно къ городамъ, а у кочевниковъ, конечно, нравы гораздо проще и строже.

У курдовъ есть особая пляска «чопи», родъ хоровода съ подпрыгиваньемъ. Предводитель его въ одной рукѣ держитъ свитый платокъ, а другой ведетъ кругомъ танцоровъ, сплетшихся руками въ одну стѣну. Одинъ разъ танцы эти были устроены въ мою честь у богатаго курдскаго помѣщика, и стоило заиграть зурнѣ съ аккомпаниментомъ барабана, какъ всѣ деревенскія женщины въ пять минутъ облачились въ новыя ферязи, надѣли на голову что то вродѣ капоровъ, насурмились, встали впережку съ мужчинами и до самаго вечера оттапывали съ увлеченіемъ свои тяжелые па.

Женщина у курдовъ безусловно имѣетъ свою индивидуальность. Недаромъ, напр., если мать отличается умомъ или красотою, имя ея прибавляется къ имени ея сына, и какой нибудь «Бапири-Шашанъ» (т. е. Бапиръ, сынъ Шашаны) разноситъ всюду извѣстность своей матери. Можно привести много примѣровъ, когда женщины становились во главѣ племенъ, всецѣло подчинявшихся имъ. Извѣстно, напримѣръ, что, при окончательномъ занятіи Хеккяри турками, округъ этотъ управлялся женщиной (Hartmann). Въ маленькомъ городѣ Алебче (около Сулейманіе) намъ самимъ въ 1914 г. пришлось видѣть знаменитую Аделе-ханумъ, вдову Османъ-Паши Джафа. Еще нѣсколько лѣтъ тому назадъ она фактически была управительницей всего округа, номинально порученнаго турками ея мужу, который почти всегда находился въ отсутствіи. Соанъ подъ видомъ персидскаго купца прожилъ нѣкоторое время при ея маленькомъ дворѣ и удивительно интересно описалъ, какъ она судила и рядила своихъ подданныхъ, не забывая и женскія дѣла, въ видѣ закупки всякихъ матерій и веденія домашняго хозяйства. Теперь младотурецкое правительство прислало въ Алебче настоящаго турецкаго чиновника, и Аделе-ханумъ живетъ въ нѣкоторой опалѣ

<sup>1)</sup> Cp. Wilson, Persian life and customs, N. Y., 1899, и цит. статью Д. Д. Бѣляева.

на покоѣ. Держить она себя съ большимъ достоинствомъ. Къ намъ въ лагерь она нанесла визитъ съ кучей своихъ невѣстокъ и прислужницъ и охотно согласилась сняться. За подарки ея сыну она благодарила письмомъ на французскомъ языкѣ, которое, какъ оказалось, написалъ одинъ молодой курдъ, обучавшійся въ гор. Сенне у католическихъ миссіонеровъ. Вѣроятно, тому обстоятельству, что Аделе-ханумъ держить высоко престижъ женскаго имени, надо приписать фактъ, что единственная европейская дама нашей экспедиціи стала предметомъ крайняго вниманія со стороны обитательницъ Алебче. Много ихъ выходило навстрѣчу намъ, чтобы посмотрѣть на пріѣзжую ханумъ, а потомъ отбоя не было отъ посѣтительницъ, партіями осаждавшихъ нашу палатку и приносившихъ привѣтственные дары въ видѣ кислаго молока, тутовыхъ ягодъ, яицъ и т. д. Удивительно при этомъ было благонравіе нашихъ гостей: не было ни грубыхъ вопросовъ, ни неловкихъ хихиканій; всѣ съ интересомъ смотрѣли на новый укладъ жизни, принимали угощеніе и съ полнымъ довѣріемъ рассказывали свои дѣла.

Курды вообще очень чадолюбивы, и около каждаго главаря копошится любимецъ замарашка—какой нибудь десятый или двѣнадцатый по счету сынъ. Нерѣдко въ горахъ видишь браваго курда, держащаго на рукахъ надежду своей старости. Мнѣ припоминается одна сцена изъ моихъ прежнихъ путешествій. Разъ намъ пришлось ползти съ караваномъ по узкой дорожкѣ надъ обрывомъ, какъ вдругъ изъ-за горы надъ нами по какой-то козьей тропѣ вышли двѣ фигуры: впереди легко одѣтый курдъ, очевидно, бѣдный крестьянинъ, несъ закутаннаго въ тряпье больнаго ребенка; слѣдомъ шла жена съ добрымъ и опечаленнымъ лицомъ и, чтобы облегчить мужа, несла его кинжалъ. Оказалось, ребенокъ упалъ съ крыши и былъ въ обморокѣ. Родители спѣшили показать его знахарю, жившему по сосѣдству. Увидѣвъ европейцевъ, которые на Востокѣ слывуть дскторами, мать ухватилась за стремя, бросилась цѣловать ноги, умоляя спасти ея ребенка; во всей этой сценѣ было много искренности и живого горя, и, какъ антитеза, мнѣ припомнилось общее презрѣніе курдовъ къ опасности и смерти и слова одного курдскаго начальника: «умереть позорно лишь на своей постели, а если меня поразитъ пуля, и меня принесутъ домой, всѣ будутъ радоваться, что я умеръ, какъ слѣдуетъ». Можетъ быть, это суровая философія и раздѣляется курдскими матерями, но горе бѣдной женщины убѣдительно свидѣтельствовало и о болѣе мягкихъ струнахъ ихъ сердца.

Невозможно, конечно, дать полное и исчерпывающее представленіе о характерѣ народа, разбитаго на много племенъ, живущаго въ разнообразныхъ географическихъ условіяхъ, не подстриженнаго подъ гребенку уравнивающей культуры, наконецъ, народа почти еще не изученнаго. Ко всему, что было сказано, быть можетъ, позволительно добавить о нѣкоторой разницѣ въ характерѣ курдовъ,

смотря по тому, живутъ они отдѣльно или смѣшанно съ другими, особенно христіанскими народами. Тамъ, гдѣ всѣхъ связываютъ одинаковыя условія быта, вырабатывается нѣкоторое подобіе порядка даже при полномъ отсутствіи государственной власти <sup>1)</sup>: сами курды въ такихъ районахъ какъ Сулейманіе, Соуч-булагъ и т. д. кажутся болѣе симпатичными.

Жизнь съ менѣе воинственными элементами (какъ азербайджанскіе тюрки-шінты или армяне), безусловно развращаетъ курдовъ. Вырабатываются двѣ морали: одна для тѣхъ, кто на ударъ можетъ отвѣтить ударомъ, а другая по отношенію тѣхъ, чья слабость лишь искушаетъ, соблазняетъ легкостью насилія и добычи. Представленіе о томъ, что сила должна быть великодушна, есть продуктъ долгой и утонченной цивилизаціи, а фактически на тѣхъ низшихъ степеняхъ ея, гдѣ еще человѣкъ человѣку является волкомъ, слабость не только пагубна для ея носителей, но развращающе дѣйствуетъ и на сильныхъ. Только крѣпкая государственная власть, стоящая надъ мелкими интересами, могла бы уравнивать и упорядочить отношенія между курдами и другими народностями, но Персія слишкомъ слаба, чтобы охранить отъ курдовъ своихъ мирныхъ мусульманъ, а въ Турціи курды систематически науськивались на армянъ, и сочетаніе этой грубой политической интриги съ перспективой безнаказаннаго обогащенія было соблазномъ, передъ которымъ не устояли бы и многіе гораздо болѣе курдовъ цивилизованные народы.....

Такимъ образомъ, мы подошли къ «курдскому вопросу», который въ сущности слагается изъ трехъ отдѣльныхъ проблемъ. Первая и главнѣйшая касается устройства въ будущемъ совмѣстнаго сожителства курдовъ и армянъ. Напомнимъ, что армяне находятся въ абсолютномъ большинствѣ лишь въ ближайшемъ сосѣдствѣ Ванскаго озера. Безусловно, они, какъ гораздо болѣе развитой элементъ, имѣющій опытныхъ руководителей, въ видѣ своей интеллигенціи, при справедливомъ режимѣ приобрѣтутъ все заслуженное культурное преобладаніе, но нельзя представлять себѣ, чтобы армянскіе крестьяне всюду слишкомъ превосходили своимъ уровнемъ осѣдлыхъ курдовъ. Выше уже указывалось, что въ дикихъ округахъ есть армянскія общины, говорящія исключительно по-курдски. Самый обиходъ въ армянскихъ селеніяхъ—порою отъ разореній, порою отъ страха представить соблазнъ для сосѣдей—бѣднѣе, чѣмъ у мусульманъ <sup>2)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Одинъ разъ въ маленькомъ курдскомъ городкѣ Саккызѣ я былъ особенно пораженъ горячей жизнью на улицахъ и базарахъ при полномъ отсутствіи представителей правительства.

<sup>2)</sup> Ср. напр. К. Н. Смирновъ, Поѣздка и т. д., гдѣ, какъ и у многихъ другихъ военныхъ авторовъ, указывается, что въ смыслѣ матеріальной культуры наиболѣе перодовой элементъ на Армянскомъ плоскогорьѣ—выселившіеся съ Кавказа мусульмане горцы.

Вообще непринятіе во вниманіе того обстоятельства, что территория Курдо-Арменіи занята смѣшаннымъ населеніемъ, вызвало бы, въ будущемъ, много тяжелыхъ потрясеній. Если удалить нынѣшнее турецкое безвластіе и безправіе, то нѣтъ причинъ, почему армяне и курды—многовѣковые сосѣди—не могли бы между собой выработать *modus vivendi* такъ, чтобы курдское скотоводство дополняло армянскіе промыслы и земледѣліе. Нуженъ лишь контроль и благожелательное посредничество высшей силы, безъ которыхъ является опасность столкновенія слишкомъ обостренныхъ пока національныхъ страстей.

Замѣтимъ, что въ Хеккяри, гдѣ курды перемѣшаны съ несторіонами, съ 40-хъ годовъ прошлаго столѣтія не случилось ничего подобнаго армянской рѣзнѣ <sup>1)</sup>.

Повидимому, и съ армянами въ старое время отношенія курдовъ были гораздо ровнѣе, и крайне знаменателенъ отзывъ о нихъ армянскаго писателя Абовьяна, писавшаго въ 1846 г. слѣдующее: «воинственность, прямодушіе, честность и безпредѣльная преданность своимъ князьямъ, строгое исполненіе даннаго слова и гостепріимство, месть за кровь и родовая вражда даже между ближайшими родственниками, страсть къ грабежу и разбою и безграничное уваженіе къ женщинамъ—вотъ добродѣтели и качества общія всему народу» <sup>2)</sup>. Что характеристика эта—очень сочувственная, ясно съ перваго взгляда. Нѣкоторыя ея части даже сильно преувеличены, и я не рѣшился бы подписаться, напр., подъ курдской вѣрностью <sup>3)</sup> и прямодушіемъ, но все это особенно знаменательно, какъ показатель отсутствія вражды къ курдамъ со стороны «Отца новой армянской литературы» <sup>4)</sup>.

Вторая сторона курдскаго вопроса, это несомнѣнное существованіе національнаго движенія среди курдовъ, значительныя массы которыхъ живутъ на югѣ изолированно отъ другихъ народностей. Во что и какъ выльется это движеніе, во главѣ котораго, повидимому, постараются встать предводители главнѣйшихъ курдскихъ племенъ, сказать трудно. Но, поскольку рѣчь идетъ о сохраненіи курдовъ отъ поглощенія турками, и политическія соображенія, и самая простая справедливость за то, чтобы арійцамъ-курдамъ <sup>5)</sup> была дана полная

<sup>1)</sup> Мы говоримъ не объ области аширетныхъ несторіанъ, гдѣ хрістіане занимаютъ господствующее положеніе, а объ отдѣльныхъ деревняхъ на сѣверѣ и на востокѣ.

<sup>2)</sup> Въ связи съ этимъ Абовьянъ и называетъ курдовъ «рыцарями». См. Лерхъ, Изслѣдованія. I, 28.

<sup>3)</sup> И тутъ приходится припомнить такіе случаи, какъ возвращеніе курдомъ Мусабеемъ долга, на который кредиторы, уѣхавшіе въ Россію, не имѣли никакого документа (Маевскій), или исторію перехода въ руки армянскихъ купцовъ курдскихъ имѣній по просроченнымъ платежамъ—въ Азербайджанѣ.

<sup>4)</sup> См. Тер-Саргсянцъ, изъ «Ранъ Арменіи» Х. Абовьяна, Восточный Сборникъ въ честь А. Н. Веселовскаго. М. 1914.

<sup>5)</sup> Такое названіе имѣеть за собою во всякомъ случаѣ не меньше правъ, чѣмъ, напримѣръ, причисленіе болгаръ къ славянамъ.



возможность отстоять свой языкъ и народность, создать письменность и школы. Надо вновь подчеркнуть, что, какъ бы дики ни были отдѣльные племена, курды отнюдь не являются расой съ пониженной умственной организаціей, вродѣ какихъ нибудь первобытныхъ полинезийцевъ. Напротивъ, въ ихъ мозгу видимо нѣтъ никакихъ препятствій къ усвоенію культурнаго мышленія. Множество курдовъ прошло турецкія, особенно военныя, школы, и отсутствіе развитой курдской письменности возмѣщалось до сихъ поръ возможностью читать и писать на турецкомъ языкѣ, вполнѣ способномъ къ выраженію какихъ угодно понятій. Изъ курдовъ вышелъ рядъ выдающихся дѣятелей и въ Турціи, и въ Персіи <sup>1)</sup>. Сами курды считаютъ, что въ турецкихъ войскахъ имѣется не менѣе тысячи офицеровъ ихъ соотечественниковъ, преимущественнаго сулейманійцевъ.

Есть, наконецъ, и третій взглядъ на значеніе курдовъ. Разселены они полосой, окаймляющей сѣверную Месопотамію. Несомнѣнно, экономическое развитіе и политическое значеніе этой послѣдней, какъ арены многихъ вліяній: тутъ будетъ и Багдадская дорога, въ чьихъ бы рукахъ она ни оказалась, и европейская торговая конкуренція, и турецкія традиціи, и возможный арабскій сепаратизмъ, и, наконецъ, наше мирное проникновеніе съ сѣвера. При стремленіяхъ закрѣпить всѣ эти вліянія курдскій вопросъ встанетъ во всей широтѣ. Но курды не только стѣна между сѣверомъ и югомъ; они сами тянутся далеко на востокъ въ предѣлы Персіи и черезъ все армянское плоскогорье вплоть до нынѣшнихъ нашихъ предѣловъ. Хорошо дренировать всѣ эти разливы и ввести всѣ 3 милліона курдовъ въ законныя рамки спокойнаго существованія—вотъ одна изъ крупнѣйшихъ проблемъ будущей политики въ Передней Азіи.

## VII. Курды въ Россіи.

Особый вопросъ нашей внутренней политики составляютъ курды, живущіе въ Россіи. Впервые они появились въ русскихъ предѣлахъ послѣ Гюлистанскаго договора съ Персіей въ 1813 году <sup>2)</sup>, когда мы приобрѣли территорію нынѣшней Елизаветпольской губерніи. Въ результатѣ Туркманчайскаго трактата 1828 г., отъ Персіи къ намъ отошли эриванскіе курды и, наконецъ, въ 1878 г. число представителей этой народности въ Россіи увеличилось ихъ карсскими и ардаганскими соплеменниками <sup>3)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> Напр. Великій Везиръ Саид-Паша, выдающійся политическій дѣятель Исмаиль Бабанъ-заде, извѣстный Эмиръ-Низамъ (Ген. Губернаторъ Азербайджана) и т. д.

<sup>2)</sup> Фактически послѣ побѣды Циціанова 1804—5 г.г. (Аверьяновъ).

<sup>3)</sup> О числѣ и разселеніи ихъ см. выше глава I.

При каждой войнѣ на Закавказскомъ фронтѣ оживлялся интересъ нашъ къ курдамъ, и всѣ безъ исключенія руководители военныхъ дѣйствій обращали особое вниманіе на установленіе съ ними мирныхъ отношеній, что въ значительной мѣрѣ и удавалось, въ особенности, когда этимъ дѣломъ завѣдывалъ полковникъ (и будущій графъ) Лорисъ Меликовъ (1853—6 г.).

Еще въ 1829 г. во время войны противъ Турціи на нашей сторонѣ дѣйствовало 4 мусульманскихъ полка, и изъ нихъ одинъ <sup>1)</sup> исключительно курдскій (400 всадниковъ).

Въ Крымскую войну у насъ было два курдскихъ полка: одинъ Карсскій, а другой Эриванскій; послѣднимъ командовалъ маіоръ Джафаръ-Ага, впослѣдствіи дослужившійся до генеральскаго чина и оказавшій намъ очень большія услуги своимъ вліяніемъ на зарубежныхъ курдовъ. Всѣ потомки его до сихъ поръ получаютъ пенсію отъ Русскаго Правительства, а одинъ изъ нихъ Али-Ашреф-Ага Шамшадиновъ, считающійся теперь главою русскихъ курдовъ, имѣетъ чинъ генераль-маіора <sup>2)</sup>.

Въ 1877—8 г.г. на нашей сторонѣ дѣйствовалъ рядъ курдскихъ милиціонныхъ организацій, всего до 13 сотенъ.

Особаго боевого значенія войска эти не имѣли, но о поведеніи ихъ есть цѣлый рядъ одобрительныхъ отзывовъ со стороны высшихъ начальниковъ, и во всякомъ случаѣ милиція эта приносила очень большую пользу въ тылу, включая въ нашъ контроль тѣ элементы, которые могли бы иначе создавать для насъ рядъ безпокойствъ <sup>3)</sup>.

По свидѣтельству компетентныхъ лицъ, современное положеніе русскихъ курдовъ неважное. Главнымъ образомъ безземелье заставило многихъ изъ нихъ переселиться въ Турцію, поощрявшую ихъ къ тому и зачисленіемъ въ офицеры ополченія «хамидіе». Между тѣмъ, какъ турецкіе и персидскіе курды разъ по 6 въ годъ мѣняють мѣста кочевій, нашимъ курдамъ хватаетъ ихъ пастбищъ лишь на два лѣтнихъ мѣсяца.

У насъ нерѣдко представляютъ, что осѣданіе кочевниковъ является неоспоримымъ прогресомъ, но помимо того, что скотоводство является необходимымъ дополненіемъ къ земледѣлію <sup>4)</sup>, въ отношеніи

<sup>1)</sup> Командовалъ русскій офицеръ, помощникомъ котораго былъ курдскій бекъ; кромѣ того, при полкѣ былъ русскій адъютантъ, 15 драгунъ-нижегородцевъ, мулла и мирза-письмоводитель.

<sup>2)</sup> Джафаръ Ага умеръ въ 1876 г. Кромѣ Шемшадиновыхъ, вторая знатная фамилія курдовъ въ Россіи: Фатибековы.

<sup>3)</sup> Большинство документовъ объ этихъ ополченіяхъ опубликовано въ Актахъ Кавказской Археографической Комиссіи.

<sup>4)</sup> Одинъ вдумчивый наблюдатель курдской жизни такъ формулировалъ этотъ вопросъ: «для чего хорошаго пастуха обращать въ плохого земледѣльца?». Надо, однако, замѣтить, что среди курдовъ, живущихъ на лѣвомъ берегу Аракса, есть и вполне осѣдлые земледѣльцы. О бытѣ, вѣрованіяхъ, языкѣ эриванскихъ курдовъ имѣется чрезвычайно вдумчивое изслѣдованіе проф. Егіазарова въ Зап. Кав. О. И. Р. Г. О. XIII, вып. 2 (1891) Статистическія его данныя, впрочемъ, устарѣли.

курдовъ надо добавить, что мѣста, которыми они пользуются, напри- мѣръ, подъ Араратомъ, и не пригодны для земледѣлія, а съ другой стороны жить лѣтомъ въ болотистыхъ низинахъ съ массой мошкары прямо тяжело.

Давно указывалась также необходимость устроить особый органъ (приставство) для объединенія управленія курдами <sup>1)</sup>, какъ это у насъ сдѣлано въ отношеніи ставропольскихъ «трухменъ». Наши порядки курдамъ непонятны; они часто не знаютъ, у кого изъ многочисленныхъ чиновниковъ разныхъ вѣдомствъ имъ слѣдуетъ искать управы. Въ осо- бенности тягостны и недоступны курдамъ приемы нашего правосудія съ его сложными формальностями: имъ нужно было бы власть болѣе скорую въ дѣйствіяхъ, осязательную и сосредоточенную.

Необходимы курдамъ и школы <sup>2)</sup>, по возможности казенныя, такъ какъ сами они, какъ сказано, народъ бѣдный. Для знатныхъ родовъ, изнывающихъ отъ постепенной и естественной утраты вліянія, жела- тельно доступъ къ болѣе высокому образованію. Въ настоящее время имѣется уже одинъ студентъ-курдъ (въ Харьковѣ) и одинъ кадетъ (въ Кіевѣ). Надо полагать, что расширеніе возможности поступать на военную службу было бы особенно по сердцу курдамъ.

Старая Русса, 30. V. 915.



---

<sup>1)</sup> Мысль эта впервые была высказана такимъ знатокомъ курдовъ, какъ Лорисъ-Меликовъ, составившимъ въ 1855 г. «Правила для управленія куртинскими племенами» по приказу ген.-ад. Муравьева. Онъ предполагалъ при русскомъ начальникѣ курдовъ сохра- нить двухъ курдовъ-помощниковъ: карскаго и эриванскаго.

<sup>2)</sup> Сейчасъ у эриванскихъ курдовъ имѣются двѣ школы въ Зорѣ: и въ Миракскомъ обществѣ. Для полноты можно упомянуть, что въ гор. Хоѣ (Персія) подъ руководствомъ русскаго консула дѣйствовала нѣкоторое время небольшая школа для курдскихъ дѣтей.